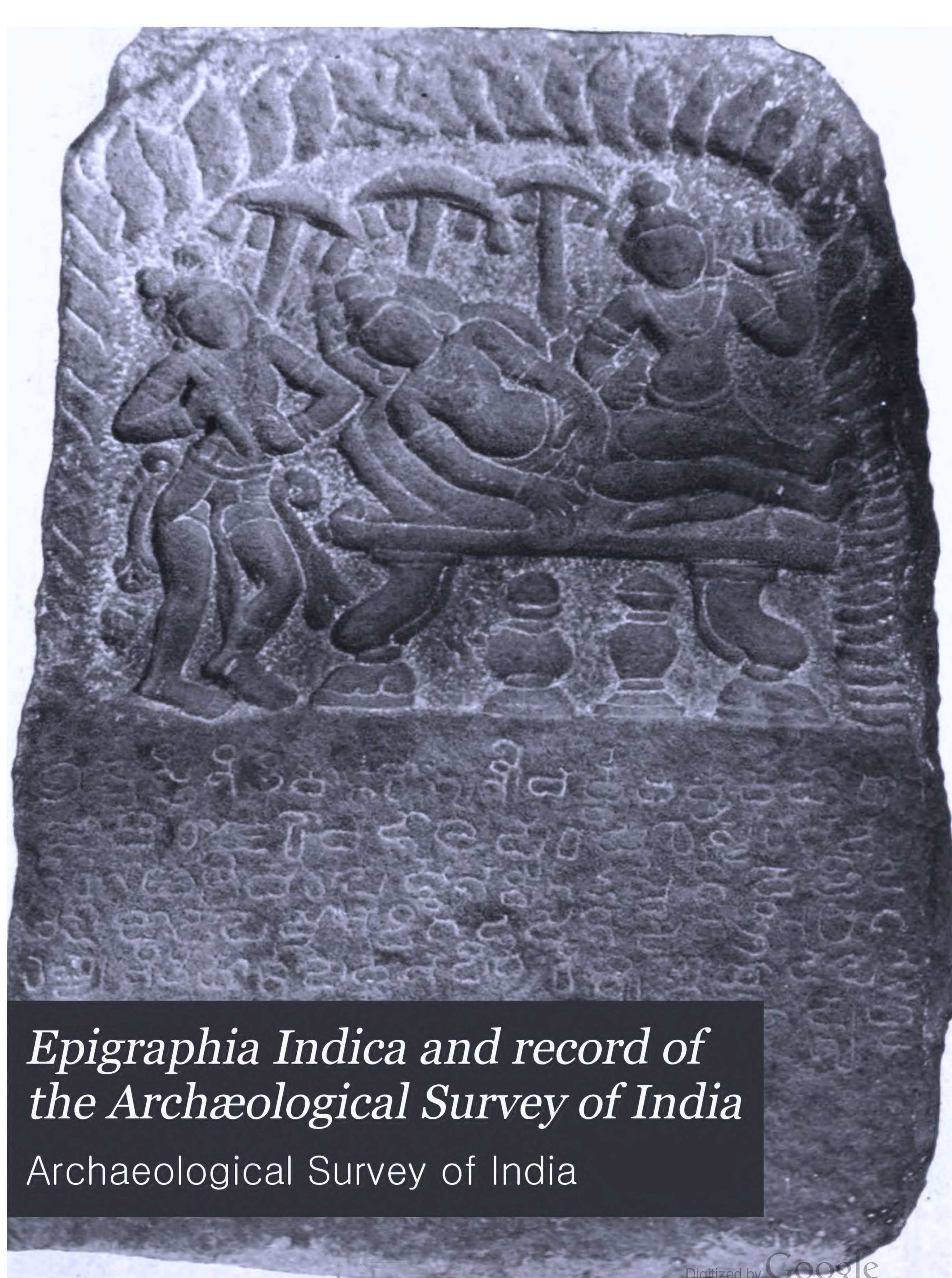


Epigraphia Indica and record of the Archæological Survey of India
Archaeological Survey of India

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST; FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS;
CORR. MEMB. OF THE BATAVIA SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCES AT GÖTTINGEN.

VOL. VI.—1900-01.

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CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

LIST OF PLATES.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

A.—VOLUME V.

Page 16, text lines 12, 13.— Professor Kielhorn has told me that, in line 41 of the Kauṭhêṁ plates of A.D. 1009 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23), he takes what I have presented as *Karkara-raṇa-staṁbhau,* "the two pillars of war of Karkara," as meaning "**Karkara and Raṇastambha,**" and that he would interpret in a similar way the passage, specified above, in the Managôḷi inscription of A.D. 1161, This latter passage, indeed, when considered apart from the bias created by my previous rendering of the other passage, makes the point quite certain. And, in the abstract of contents (p. 20, lines 5, 6 from the bottom), there should be read "annihilated king **Kakkara** and king **Raṇakambha,** the sun and moon in the **Râshṭrakûṭa** sky."— It is due to Mr. Wathen, who brought to notice the Miraj plates of A.D. 1024 which include the verse given in the Kauṭhêṁ record, to add that the translation put forward by him presents " Karkara and Ranastambha, rájás both of the Ráshtra-kúta race;" see *Jour. R. As. Soc.,* F. S., Vol. III. p. 269.— The idea naturally occurs, to take **Raṇastambha** as a *northern* kinsman and ally of Kakka II., and to connect him with the Jaipur territory in Râjputâna, in which there is the fortress of 'Ranthambhor,'= **Raṇastambhapura,**— the 'Rintimbore or Rantamboor' of Thornton's Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV. (1854), p. 320.—J. F. F.

,, 21, line 18,— *for* of the race of Vâjins, *read* of the Vâjivaṁśa; *and cancel note 2.* As has been brought to my notice by Professor Kielhorn, the Vâjivaṁśa is mentioned elsewhere, and the Jain Huḷḷa or Huḷḷapa, a minister of the Hoysaḷa prince Narasiṁha I., belonged to it; sec, for instance, *Insors. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* Introd. pp. 52, 54.— J. F. F.

,, 71, line 13 from bottom,— *for* **summer-solstice,** *read* **winter-solstice.**

,, 77, line 8,— *for* °नाक्र[मति*], *read* °नाक्र[मत*].

,, 96, ,, 12,— *for* **summer solstice,** *read* **winter-solstice.**

,, 150, line 9.— Mr. Krishna Sastri corrects *jagaḍavâḍu* into *jâgaṭavâḍu,* which would be the same as *jayaghaṇṭavâḍu,* 'one who strikes the gong;' compare *jâgaṁṭa* or *jêgaṁṭa* in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary,* and *jâgaṭe* or *jêgaṭê* in Kittel's *Kannaḍa Dictionary.*

,, 168, line 7,— *for* Bellary, *read* Anantapur.

,, 201, paragraph 3.— The identification, which I put forward in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* p. 378, of Bhaṇḍâragaviṭṭage with 'Kowteh,' a small village six miles south-west-by-west from Shôlâpur, on a stream (the 'Adeela Nulla') which flows into the Sînâ, which again flows into the Bhîmâ, is wrong. I cannot recall the circumstances in which I made the mistake, or the book and map which I then consulted. But it is clear, now, that **Bhaṇḍâragaviṭṭage** is the modern '**Bhundarkowteh**' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), on the north bank of the Bhîmâ itself, in lat. 17° 27′, long. 75° 44′, about twenty miles south-west from Shôlâpur.— J. F. F.

B.—VOLUME VI.

Page 6, line 2,— *for* **ânnbhâv-,** *read* **ânubhâv-.**

,, 11, note 6,— for °*sañchanna-,* read °*sañchhanna-.*

,, 26, line 9 from bottom,— *for* **Sâmâṅgaḍ,** *read* **Sâmângaḍ.**

,, 27, line 9,— *for* **Kṛishṇaraja I.,** *read* **Kṛishṇarâja I.**

,, 53, note 7, line 6,— *for* **Maṇḍalikatrinêtra,** *read* **Maṇḍalikatriṇêtra.**

Page 57, note 9, line 3,—*for* Vol. V., *read* Vol. III.

„ 66, line 9,—*for* Nolambâdhirâja, *read* Nolambâdhirâja.

„ 67, note 4, line 3,— for *-Permmânadigal=*, read *-Permmânaḍigaḷ=*.

„ 68, „ 6, „ 2,—*for* Permanadi, *read* Permanaḍi.

69, line 11,—*for* Kyâtanahalli, *read* Kyâtanahaḷḷi.

„ 70, „ 8,—*for* Kisukâd, *read* Kisukâḍ.

„ 83, „ 16,—*for* king, *read* kings.

„ 93, „ 7,—*for* Maḷapas, *read* Malapas.

„ 105, verse 1, and note 8.—Professor Kielhorn has now fully accounted for the description of Vishṇu here as *Puraṁdara-nandana,* "son of Indra;" see *Göttinger Nachrichten,* 1900, p. 350 ff., where he has shewn that it may be traced back to the use of *Âkhaṇḍala-sûnu,* in the *Kirâtârjunîya,* i. 24, to denote primarily Arjuna, "the son of Indra," and secondarily Vishṇu, "the younger brother of Indra." As he has said, in conclusion;—"If a poet like Bhâravi could use *Âkhaṇḍala-sûnu* as a name of the god Vishṇu, we cannot wonder that some petty poet should have employed its exact synonym *Purandara-nandana,* in just the same sense."—J. F. F.

„ 110, note 7.—Mr. H. Krishna Sastri aptly identifies **Symamdary** with **Siṁhâdri,** *i.e.* **Siṁhâchalam** in the Vizagapatam district; compare Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 27.

„ 111, line 7 f. from bottom.—Mr. H. Krishna Sastri states that Pâranandi Bhâskarâvadhânin at Nellore possesses a complete copy of the *Chandrikâ,* a commentary on Kṛishṇamiśra's *Prabôdhachandrôdaya* by **Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa,** the sister's son of **Sâḷva-Timma.** The colophon of the first act reads as follows:—*Iti śrîmad-râjâdhirâja-râja-paramêśvara-śrî-Vîrapratâpa-śrî-Kṛishṇarâya-mahârâya-sâmmrâjya-dhuraṁdha r a - śrî-Sâḷva-Timmarâya-daṁḍanâyaka-bhâginêya-Nâdiṁḍla-Gôpa-maṁtr i ś ê k h a r a - virachitâyâṁ Prabôdhachaṁdrôdaya-vyâkhyâyâṁ Chaṁdrik-âkhyâyâṁ prathamô-ṁkaḥ* ||

„ 113, line 3 from bottom,—*for* Môtupalle, *read* Môṭupalle.

„ 117, note 11.—*Vṛitrabhid-aśman* is synonymous with *indra-nîla,* 'a sapphire.'

„ 128, „ 6, line 4,—*for* -Kṛishṇu, *read* -Kṛishṇa.

„ 131, verse 33, line 3 f.—Read: "If not, why (*dost thou*) whose emblem is the Garuḍa (*assume*) this (*ensign of the hawk*)?"

„ 132, verse 42,—*for* "whose deep compassion with heroes was," *read* "whose heroism and compassion were."

„ 135, line 20,—for *saṁvachchhaa,* read *saṁvachchhara.*

„ 157, text line 191,—*for* तैयरय°, *read* तुैयरय°.

„ 169, the last line, and page 170, first line; and throughout subsequent references.—I have recently had occasion to look up Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article on the records of A.D. 915, in the *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. His introductory remarks shew that these two records were obtained at **Bagumrâ.** And they ought, therefore, to be referred to as "the Bagumrâ plates of A.D. 915," and not by a title connecting them with Nausâri as their find-place. His remarks further shew that the seal of each of these two records presents, not only the god Śiva as stated by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253, but also a *svastika* and a Gaṇapati and the legend *śrîman-Nityavarsha.*—J. F. F.

„ 169, note, line 14.—Cancel the words "while his own illustrious queen was prospering." The correct translation of this passage is given in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 92.

„ 185, line 7 from bottom,—*for* -Bassappa *read* -Basappa.

„ „ note 14,—*for* 7, 8, *read* 6, 7.

„ 189, „ 1.—It might have been added here that Ratnâvalôka occurs as a *biruda* of the *Mahâsâmanta* Bappuvarasa in the Mahâkûṭa inscription of A.D. 984: see *Ind. Ant.*

Vol. X. p. 104, No. 96, text line 2; the *biruda* has there been translated, by "he whose glances were (*as bright*) as jewels."— J. F. F.

Page 225, line 10 from bottom,—*for* Eastern India, *read* Southern India.

" 251 ff.; the Diḍgûr inscription.—In editing this record, I overlooked a fact to which Professor Kielhorn has kindly drawn my attention. Just as here we have Dosi as the name of the governor of the Banavâsi province under king Kattiyara, so also we have Dosirâja as the name of the person at whose request, as recorded in the Vakkalêri plates of A.D. 757 (see Vol. V. above, p. 201), the Western Chalukya king Kîrtivarman II. granted the village of Suḷḷiyûr, which was in the Pânuṁgal *vishaya* and consequently in the Banavâsi province. The Dosi of the Diḍgûr inscription may well have been a grandson of the Dosirâja of the Vakkalêri plates. At any rate, the identity of these two names Dosi and Dosirâja, and their connection with the same part of the country, is another point in favour of the view that Kattiyara was a Chalukya.— J. F. F.

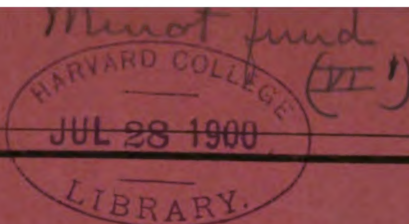
" 286, line 20 f. from bottom.— Professor Kielhorn contributes the following remark on this date:—"For Śaka-Saṁvat 789 expired it corresponds to **the 23rd December A.D. 867.** On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha ended 12 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise, and the **Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti** took place during the same *tithi*, 1 h. 10 m. *before* mean sunrise."

" 286, line 18 ff. from bottom.— In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXI. p. 254 f. Dr. Fleet has shewn that **Kâmpilya, Chokkhakuṭi, Dabbhellaṅka** (this is the correct reading), **Apasundara** and **Kâlûpallikâ** correspond to the modern villages **Kaphleta, Chokhad, Dabhel, Asundar** and **Karoli,** and that the river **Mandâkinî** is now called **Mindhola.**

" 321, line 15 from bottom,—*for* Kaśâkûḍi, *read* Kâśâkuḍi.

" 324, note 1, line 4 f., and page 325, line 5,—*for* Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar, *read* Jammaṇa-Uḍaiyar.

" 327, line 23,—*for* -Udaiya[r*], *read* -Uḍaiya[r*].



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME VI.

No. 1.—AIHOLE INSCRIPTION OF PULIKESIN II.; SAKA-SAMVAT 556.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on the east side-wall of an old temple called Mêguṭi, at Aihoḷe in the Hungund tâluka of the Bijâpur (formerly Kalâdgi) district.[1] It was first edited, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 67 ff., and a revised version of the text and translation, with an improved photo-lithograph, has been given by the same scholar, *ibid.* Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff., and *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 129 ff. I re-edit the inscription at the suggestion of, and from an estampage supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet himself, who was anxious to publish the accompanying photo-lithograph which is the first true facsimile of this record. In common fairness I am bound to state that Dr. Fleet's edition, published more than twenty years ago, was an excellent piece of work, which has been of great assistance to me; and I would wish it to be understood that I consider any improvements in the reading or interpretation of the text which I may be able to offer, to be mainly due to the rapid advance of Indian epigraphy, brought about to no small extent by Dr. Fleet's own exertions.

The inscription contains 19 lines of writing, of which nearly the whole of line 18 and the short line 19 apparently are a later addition of little importance, which may be left out of consideration in these introductory remarks. The writing covers a space of about 4′ 9½″ broad by 2′ ½″ high; it is well engraved, and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is between ½″ and ⅝″. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are of the regular type of the characters of the Western Chalukya records of the period to which the inscription belongs. Of initial vowels, the text contains the signs for *a*, *â*, *i* and *u*, and of the signs of the ordinary Sanskṛit consonants, all excepting *ḍh*; but *chh*, *ṭh* and the rare *jh*[2] (in *=ôjjhati*, l. 7) occur only as subscript letters. The alphabet also includes the signs of the *jihvâmûlîya* (*e.g.* in *Ravikîrttiẖ=kavitâ-* at the end of line 17), the *upadhmânîya* (*e.g.* in *yaḫ=prabhavaḫ=purusha-*, l. 1), and the Draviḍian *ḷ* (*e.g.* in *Mâḷava-*, l. 11, and *puḷina-*,

---

[1] See *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains Bombay Pres.*, p. 183.

[2] It is strange that none of the published palæographic Tables should give a single instance of the southern form of *jh* from an inscription. The form of the subscript *jh* used in the present inscription is almost identical with the one employed in the first Cambodian inscription (in the word *ujjhita* in line 7, *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13, and Plate), the alphabet of which in other respects essentially differs from that of the Western Chalukya inscriptions.

l. 12); and of final *m* (*e.g.* in *ratnânâm*, l. 1, and *suchiram*, l. 2), final *t* (*e.g.* in *prakarshât*, l. 3), and final *n* (in *iv=âbhavan*, l. 11, and *dvijân*, l. 15). Besides we have the ordinary signs of punctuation, one or two vertical lines, but they are employed irregularly.— The **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit, and the text is all in verse, the metres employed in the 37 verses being: the ordinary Ślôka, in vv. 20, 22, 27, 31, 33, 34 and 36; Aupachchhandasika, in vv. 9 and 26; Âryâ, in vv. 1-4 and 7; Âryâgîti, in v. 37; Upajâti, in v. 6 and v. 19 (Indravajrâ); Rathôddhatâ, in v. 8; Vaṁśastha, in v. 12; Drutavilambita, in v. 10; Praharshiṇî, in v. 30; Vasantatilakâ, in vv. 11, 14, 28 and 35; Mâlinî, in vv. 13, 15 and 23-25; Hariṇî, in v. 13; Mandâkrântâ, in v. 17; Śârdûlavikrîḍita, in vv. 5, 29 and 32; Mattêbhavikrîḍita, in v. 18; and Sragdharâ, in v. 16. So far as I am able to judge, the author has properly observed the metrical rules, and his choice of the metres in some instances, as when he uses the metre Sragdharâ in v. 16, appears most appropriate.— The **orthography** calls for few remarks. *Visarga* has everywhere been changed to the *jihvâmûlîya* before *k*, and to the *upadhmânîya* before *p*, and has been assimilated to a following sibilant. The final *m* of a word is at the end of a verse or half-verse always denoted by the special sign of the final *m*, except in *trayâṇâṁ* at the end of verse 25; and in the interior of a Pâda before a consonant it is either changed to *anusvâra* or to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs (before *ch*, *chh* and *j* it is always changed to *ñ*). At the end of the first and third Pâdas of a verse the rules of *saṁdhi* have occasionally not been observed, and they have once or twice been neglected in other places. The letter *ṅ* is employed instead of *anusvâra* in *Jayasiṅha-*, l. 3; *v* instead of *b* in *vîbhatsa-*, l. 11, and *=vvalaiḥ*, l. 14; and *j* instead of *y* in *chirañ=jâtaḥ* (for *chiraṁ yâtaḥ*), l. 2. Before *r*, *k* is always doubled (*e.g.* in *parâkkrama-*, l. 5); and before *y*, *dh* is similarly treated in *ârâddhya*, l. 15. The Dravidian *ḷ* is used in the names *Kâḷidâsa*, l. 18, *Âḷupa*, l. 9, *Kêraḷa*, l. 15, *Chôḷa*, ll. 14 and 15, *Naḷa*, l. 4, *Mâḷava*, l. 11, and *Kaunâḷa*, l. 13; and also in the words *antarâḷa*, l. 13, *aḷi*, l. 8, *âvaḷi*, l. 9, *kâḷarâtri*, l. 4 (but not in *kâla*, l. 16), *puḷina*, l. 12, and *vigaḷita*, l. 11. Clerical errors there are few, and they can be easily corrected.

The inscription is **a poem by a certain Ravikirti,** who during the reign of the **Chalukya Polekêśin Satyâśraya** (*i.e.* the Western Chalukya Pulikêśin II.), whom he describes as his patron, founded the temple of the Jaina prophet **Jinêndra** on which the inscription was engraved, and who uses the occasion to furnish a eulogistic account (*praśasti*) of the history of the Chalukya family, and especially of the exploits of Pulikêśin II. As a translation of the poem will be given below, it is unnecessary to burden this introduction with an abstract of the contents, the more so because the historical facts related in this record have been fully discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet;[1] but I may draw attention to one or two statements of our author which are made in verses of which either my text or translation differs from those of the previous edition. From the restitution of the true reading, *Bhaimarathyâḥ*, in verse 17, it appears that the two invaders **Âppâyika** and **Gôvinda,** of whom one was repulsed by Pulikêśin II., while the other was made an ally, had come to conquer the country north of the river **Bhaimarathî,** usually called Bhîmarathî, and that no horses from the northern seas are spoken of in that verse. Again, from the wording of verse 22 it would appear now that the **Lâṭas, Mâḷavas** and **Gûrjaras** were not conquered by force, but submitted to, or sought the protection of, Pulikêśin of their own accord. Of greater interest perhaps is my interpretation of verse 28. It will be seen that that verse speaks of a piece of water, apparently containing some islands, which was occupied by Pulikêśin's army, and is called **the Kaunâḷa water,** or the water (or lake) of Kunâḷa. The position of this piece of water is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the poem. Pulikêśin according to verse 26 subdued the Kaliṅgas and **Kôsalas**; he then according to verse 27 took the fortress of Pishṭapura, the modern Piṭhâpuram

[1] See Prof. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., especially p. 51; and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed., especially p. 349 ff.

in the Gôdâvarî district; after that, in verse 28, comes his occupation of 'the water of Kunâḷa;' this again is followed, in verse 29, by his defeat of the Pallava ruler near Kâñchîpura; and in verse 30 he crosses the river Kâvêrî. Pulikêśin's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India; and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shews that 'the water of Kunâḷa' can only be the well-known **Kolleru lake**, which is south of Piṭhâpuram, between the rivers Gôdâvarî and Kṛishṇâ. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunâḷa,' given in the poem, would be applicable even at the present day; and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island which more than once has been the object of attack. In the Chellûr plates[1] of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍa II. of Śaka-Saṁvat 1056 (exactly five hundred years after the date of the present inscription) we are told that in the Veṅgî-maṇḍala there is a great lake in which, like Vishṇu's city Dvârakâ in the ocean, is a town named Sarasîpurî, unconquerable by enemies, and that at the time of the inscription that town was possessed or governed by Kâṭama-Nâyaka of **Kolanu**, a Telugu word meaning 'lake,' which according to other inscriptions[2] must undoubtedly be connected with the Kolleru lake, and which in my opinion is identical with **Kunâḷa.**[3]

Regarding the **date** of the inscription as given in verses 33 and 34, I have nothing to add to what Dr. Fleet already has stated about it. It corresponds, for the expired year 3735 of the Kaliyuga, here described as the year 3735 since **the Bhârata war**, and—which is the same—for Śaka-Saṁvat 556 expired, to A.D. 634-35.

Important as this inscription is as an historical document, to myself it seems almost more interesting from a literary point of view. The statement in verse 37 that it raises its author to the level of **Kâlidâsa** and **Bhâravi**, is surely an exaggeration, but in my opinion this poem indubitably places him in the very front rank of court-poets and writers of *praśastis*. **Ravikirti** is thoroughly conversant with the rules of the Alaṁkâra-śâstra, and like a true *dâkshiṇâtya*, he is unsurpassed in some of his *utprêkshâs*. He is familiar with the works of India's greatest poets, and seems to have especially profited by the study of that most perfect poem of Kâlidâsa's, the *Raghuvaṁśa*. That this *kâvya* of Kâlidâsa's about A.D. 600 was well-known in widely distant parts of India, and even beyond the confines of India proper, there can be no doubt now. I have elsewhere[4] had occasion to shew that one of its verses (XII. 1) has been present to the mind of the author of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, dated in A.D. 588. I have also drawn attention to the fact[5] that another verse of the same poem (VI. 23) has been imitated in one of the Nâgârjunî Hill cave inscriptions of the Maukhari Anantavarman, which for palæographic reasons cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century. Besides, so far as I can judge, part at least of the text of the *Raghuvaṁśa* was

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 57.

[2] See Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 308.

[3] We may compare (see Hêmachandra's *Prâkṛit Grammar*, II. 116 ff.) *âlâna*=*âṇâla*, *Achalapura*=*Alachapura*, *karêṇû*=*kaṇêrû*, etc.—*Kunâḷa* very probably is the *Kuṇâla* of the grammarians, which according to Ujjvaladatta is the name of a locality, and according to Hêmachandra (*Uṇâdigaṇa* 476) the name of a town.—Moreover, notwithstanding the difference of spelling, I have no doubt whatever that the *Kaunâḷa* of our inscription is identical with the *Kaurâḷaka* in line 19 of the Allâhâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 7), which in that inscription is enumerated immediately before *Paishṭapuraka*, just as in the present inscription the *jalaṁ Kaunâḷam* is mentioned immediately after *Pishṭapura*. (An antiquated statement, lately repeated in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 63, induces me to add that by the inspection of an excellent estampage I have convinced myself that *Kaurâḷaka*, as published by Dr. Fleet, is the true reading in Samudragupta's inscription).

[4] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 276.

[5] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 224.

familiar to the composer of the first Cambodian inscription,[1] which according to the most competent authorities belongs to the commencement of the seventh century. And turning to Chalukyan inscriptions, it is sufficient to say that the half-verse *yathâvidhi-hutâgnînâṁ yathâkâm-ârchitârthinâm* of *Ragh.* I. 6, is actually copied by the writer of the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalêśa,[2] which may be specifically dated in A.D. 602, and was certainly composed before A.D. 610. As regards the present inscription, I have brought together in the notes to my translation a number of parallel passages both from the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kirâtârjunîya*, which can leave no doubt as to Ravikîrti's indebtedness to the authors of those two *kâvyas*. Here I would only add that for the principal part of his poem, the description of the exploits of his patron in verses 17-32, Ravikîrti clearly has taken as his model the *Raghu-digvijaya* in *Ragh.* IV., and that very probably he would himself have styled this part (if not the whole) of his *praśasti* the **Digvijaya of Polekêśin Satyâśraya.**

TEXT.[3]

1 Jayati[4] bhagavân(ñ)=**Jinêndrô** [vî]ta-ja[râ-ma]raṇa-janmanô yasya [|*] jñâna-samudr-ântargga[ta]m=akhilañ=jagad=antarîpam=iva | (||) [1*] Tad=anu chiram=apari[mê]yaś=**Chalukya**-kula-vipula-jalanidhir=jjayati || (|) pṛithivî-mauli-lalâmnâṁ yaḥ=prabhavaḥ=purusha-ratnânâm || [2*] Śûrê vidushi cha vibhajan=dânam=mânañ=cha yugapad=êkatra || (|)

2 avihita-yâthâsaṁ[kh]y[ô] [ja]yati cha **Satyâśrayas**=suchiram || [3*] Pṛithivîvallabha-śabdô yêshâm=anvartthatâñ=chirañ=jâtaḥ[5] [|*] tad-vaṁśêshu jigîshushu têshu bahushv=apy=atîtêshu || [4*] [6]Nânâ-hêti-śat-âbhighâta-patita-bhrânt-âśva-patti-dvipê nṛityad-bhîma-kavandha-khaḍga[7]-kiraṇa-jvâlâ-sahasr[ê] raṇê [|*]

3 Lakshmîr=bhâvita-châpal=âpi cha kṛitâ śauryyêṇa yên=âtmasât(d=)râj=âsîj=**Jayasiṅha**-[8]**vallabha** iti khyâtaś=**Chaluky**-ânvayaḥ || [5*] [9]Tad-âtmajô=bhûd=**Raraṇarâga**-[10]nâmâ divy-ânubhâvô jagad-êkanâthaḥ [|*] amânushatvaṁ kila yasya lôkaḥs=[11]suptasya jânâti vapuḥ-prakarshât [|| 6*] [12]Tasy=âbhavat=tanûjaḥ=**Polekêśi(śî)** ya[ḥ][13] śrit-êndukântir=api [|*]

4 Śrî-vallabhô=py=ayâsîd=**Vâtâpipurî**-vadhû-varatâm || [7*] [14]Yat-trivargga-padavîm=alaṁ kshitau n=ânugantum=adhun=âpi râjakam [|*] bhûś=cha yêna hayamêdha-yâjinâ prâpit-âvabhṛitha-majjanâ[15] babhau [|| 8*] [16]**Naḷa-Mauryya-**

[1] *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13. When writing the second half of verse 6 (*dvishâm asahyô yasyaiva pratâpô na ravêr api*) the author of the inscription had in his mind, and the wording of his verse was influenced by, *Ragh.* IV. 49 (*Diśi mandâyatê têjô dakshiṇasyâṁ ravêr api, tasyâm êva Raghôḥ Pâṇḍyâḥ pratâpaṁ na vishêhirê*); in the inscription the use of the particle *api* after *ravêr* in my opinion is awkward, if not improper; in Kâlidâsa's verse it is most appropriate. The idea expressed in verse 7 (*Yasya sainyarajô dhûtam ujjhitâlaṅkṛitishv api, ripustrîgaṇḍadêśêshu chûrṇṇabhâvam upâgatam*) was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 54 (*Bhayôtsṛishṭavibhûshâṇâṁ têna Kêralayôshitâm, alakêshu chamûrêṇuś chûrṇapratinidhîkṛitaḥ*).

[2] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, line 1 of the text. The same inscription contains other fragments of verses (l. 2, *ṛiddhyâ Vaiśravaṇôpamaḥ*; l. 10, *Mahêndra iva durddharshaḥ Râma ivâparâjitaḥ Śibir=Auśînara iva*; l. 11, *samudra iva gambhîraḥ kshamayâ pṛithivî-samaḥ*), the source of which I have not discovered yet. The Nerûr plates of Maṅgalêśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) also contain a half-verse (l. 11, *Babhau sa Vainya-pratimâna-kîrttis=tamaḥ=pramṛidnan=svaguṇ-âṁśujâlaiḥ*), which I have not yet identified.

[3] From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

[4] Metre of verses 1-4: Âryâ.

[5] Read =*chiraṁ yâtaḥ*.

[6] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[7] Originally *khâḍga* was engraved, but the *â* of *khâ* seems to have been struck out again.

[8] Read *Jayasiṁha-*.

[9] Metre: Upajâti.

[10] Read *Raṇarâga-*.

[11] Read *lôkas=*.

[12] Metre: Âryâ.

[13] This *yaḥ* (or *ya* ?) was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[14] Metre: Rathôddhatâ.

[15] Possibly the *akshara nâ* has been altered to *naṁ* in the original, and *prâpit=âvabhṛitha-majjanaṁ* (i.e *prâpitâ ava°*) would be a better reading.

[16] Metre: Aupachchhandasika.

Kadamba-kâḷarâtrihs=[1]tanayas=tasya babhûma(va) **Kirttivarmmâ** [|*] para-dâra-nivṛitta-chittavṛittêr=api[2] dhîr=yasya ripu-śri-

5 y=ânukṛishṭâ || [9*] [3]Raṇa-parâkkrama-labdha-jayaśriyâ sapadi yêna virugna(gṇa)m=aśêshataḥ [|*] nṛipati-gandhagajêna mah-aujasâ pṛithu-**Kadamba**-kadamba-kadambakam[4] [|| 10*] [5]Tasmin=Surêśvara-vibhûti gat-âbhilâshê râj=âbhavat=tad-anujaṅ=kila **Maṅgal[ê]śaḥ**[6] [|*] yaḥ=pûrvva-paśchima-samudra-taṭ-ôshit-âśva-sênâ-rajaḥ-paṭa-vinirmmita-digvitânaḥ [|| 11*] [7]Sphuran-mayûkhair=asi-dîpikâ-śataiḥ(tair=)

6 vyudasya mâtaṅga-tamisra-sañchayam [|*] avâptavân=yô raṇaraṅga-mandirê **Kaṭachchuri**-śrî-lalanâ-parigraham || [12*] [8]Punar=api cha jighṛikshôs=sainyam=âkkrânta-sâlam[9] ruchira-bahu-patâkaṁ **Rêvatî-dvîpam**=âśu [|*] sapadi mahad=udanvat-tôya-saṁkkrânta-bimbam[10] Vara(ru)ṇa-balam=iv=âbhûd=âgataṁ yasya vâchâ || [13*] [11]Tasy=âgrajasya tanayê Nahush-ânubhâgê(vê) Lakshmyâ kil=âbhi-

7 lashitê [12]**Pol[e]kêśi**-nâmni [|*] sâsûyam=âtmani bhavantam=ataḥ=pitṛivyam[13] jñâtv=âparuddha-charita-vyavasâya-buddhau [|| 14*] Sa[14] yad-upachita-[ma]ntr-ôtsâha-śakti-prayôga-kshapita-bala-viśêshô **Maṅgalêśas**=[15]samantât [|*] sva-tanaya-gata-râjy-ârambha-yatnêna sârddhaṁ nijam=atanu cha râjyañ=jîvitañ=ch=ôjjhati sma || [15*] [16]Tâvat=tach-chha[t*]tra-bhaṅgê jagad=akhilam=arâty-andhakâr-ôparuddhaṁ

8 yasy=âsahya-pratâpa-dyuti-tatibhir=iv=âkkrântam=âsît=prabhâtam [|*] nṛityad-vidyut-patâkaiḥ=prajavini maruti kshuṇṇa-pa[r]yyanta-bhâgair=ggarjjadbhir=vvârivâsai(hai)r=aḷi-kula-malinaṁ vyôma yâtaṁ kadâ vâ || [16*] Lab[dhv]â[17] kâlaṁ bhuvam=upagatê jêtum=**Âppâyik**-âkhyê **Gôvindê** cha dvirada-nikarair=uttarâm=**Bhaimarathyâḥ** [|*] yasy=ânîkair=yudhi bhaya-rasa-jñatvam=êkaḥ=prayâtas=tatr=âvâptam=phalam=upakṛitasy=â-

9 parêṇ=âpi sadyaḥ | (||) [17*] [18]**Varadâ**-tuṅga-taraṅga-raṅga-vilasad-dhaṁsâvalî-mêkhalâṁ **Vanavâsim**=avamṛidnatas=surapura-prasparddh[i]nîṁ sampadâ [|*] mahatâ yasya bal-ârṇṇavêna paritas=sañchhâdit-ôrvvîtalaṁ |[19] sthala-durggañ=jala-durggatâm=iva[20] gataṁ tat=tatkshaṇê paśyatâm [|| 18*] [21]**Gaṅg-**

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[1] Read °*râtris=*; the sign of *visarga* may have been struck out already in the original.

[2] Originally *-nivṛittichittêrapi* was engraved; afterwards the *i* of *tti* and the *ê* of *ttê* appear to have been struck out, the *aksharas vṛitt[ê]* were engraved below the line, and the place where they should be inserted was indicated by a vertical line above the line, before *ra*.

[3] Metre: Drutavilambita.

[4] Originally °*kaḥ* seems to have been engraved.

[5] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[6] The signs for *li* and *lê* being very similar, it is somewhat difficult to say whether the reading here and in line 7 is *Maṅgaliśa* or *Maṅgalêśa*; in neither place is it *Maṅgalîśa*. I read the name *Maṅgalêśa*, because I do not think that the engraver twice would have made the same mistake, and because in line 7 the third *akshara* of the name appears to me undoubtedly to be *lê*. Compare the *lê* of *kâlê* in l. 16, and the *li* of *malinaṁ* in l. 8, and of *liṅga* and *Kaliṅga* in l. 13.

[7] Metre: Vaṁśastha.

[8] Metre: Mâlinî.

[9] Read *-sâlaṁ*.

[10] Read *-bimbaṁ*.

[11] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[12] The sign of the first consonant (*p*) of this name, in my opinion, at the top has the vowel *o*, and below it, *u*, but the latter seems to have been struck out. In the following syllable, originally the full sign of *la* seems to have been engraved; whether the vowel-sign at the top is meant for *i* or *e*, is difficult to say.

[13] Read *=pitṛivyaṁ*.

[14] Metre: Mâlinî.

[15] Instead of the *akshara śa* originally *śô* seems to have been engraved.

[16] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[17] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

[18] Metre: Mattêbhavikrîḍita.

[19] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[20] In the original, between *durgga* and *tâmiva*, the *aksharas tâmivaga* were engraved, and then struck out again.

[21] Metre: Indravajrâ.

Âlup-êndrâ vyasanâni sapta hitvâ pur=ôpârjjita-sampadô=pi [|*] yasy=ânnbhâv-ôpanatâs=sad=âsann=â-

10 sanna-sêvâmṛita-pâna-śauṇḍaḥ[1] [|| 19*] **Koṅkaṇêshu**[2] yad-âdishṭa-chaṇḍa-daṇḍ-âmbuvîchibhiḥ [|*] udastâs=tarasâ **Mauryya**-palvalâmbu-samṛiddhayaḥ | (||) [20*] [3]Apara-jaladhêr=Llakshmî[ṁ] yasmin=**Purîm**-Purabhit-prabhê madagaja-ghaṭ-âkârair=nnâvâṁ śatair=avamṛidnati [|*] jalada-paṭal-ânîk-âki(kî)rṇṇan=navôtpala-mêchakañ=jalanidhir=iva vyôma vyômnas=sa-

11 mô=bhavad=ambubhiḥ(dhiḥ) [|| 21*] [4]Pratâp-ôpanatâ yasya **Lâṭa-Mâḷava-Gûrjjarâḥ [|*]** daṇḍ-ôpanata-sâmanta-charyy-âch[â]ryyâ iv=âbhavan || [22*] [5]Aparimita-vibhûti-sphîta-sâmanta-sênâ-makuṭa-maṇi-mayûkh-âkkrânta-pâdâravindaḥ [|*] yudhi patita-gaja(jê)ndr-ânîka-vî(bî)bhatsa-bhûtô bhaya-vigaḷita-harshô yêna ch=âkâri **Harshaḥ || [23*]** Bhuvam=urubhir=anîkaiś=śâ-

12 satô yasya **Rêvô(vâ)**-vividha-puḷina-śôbh-âvandhya-**Vindhy**-ôpakaṇṭh[aḥ][6] [|*] adhikataram=arâjat=svêna têjô-mahimnâ śikharibhir=ibha-varjyâ(rjyô) var[sh]maṇâ sparddhay=êva [|| 24*] Vidhivad=upachitâbhiś=śaktibhiś=Śakkrakalpas=tisṛibhir=api guṇ-aughais=svaiś=cha mâhâkul-âdyaiḥ [|*] agamad=adhipatitvaṁ yô **Mahârâshṭrakâṇâṁ** navanavati-sahasra-grâma-bhâjâṁ trayâṇâṁ [|| 25*] Gṛihiṇâṁ[7] sva-

13 sva-guṇais=trivargga-tuṅgâ vihit-ânyakshitipâla-mânabhaṅgâ[ḥ] [|*] abhavann=upajâta-bhîtiliṅgâ yad-anîkêna sa-**Kô[sa*]lâḥ-Kaliṅgâ[ḥ || 26*]** Pishṭaṁ[8] **Pishṭapuraṁ** yêna jâtaṁ durggam=adurggamañ=[9]chitraṁ yasya kalêr=vṛittam[10] jâtaṁ durggama-durggamam | (||) [27*] [11]Sannaddha-vâraṇa-ghaṭâ-sthagit-ântarâḷam[12] nân-âyudha-kshata-nara-kshataj-âṅgarâgam[13] [|*] âsîj=jalaṁ yad-avamarditam=abhra-garbhaṁ **Kaunâḷam**-a-

14 mbaram=iv=ô[j ?]ita-[14]sândhyarâgam || [28*] [15]Uddhût-âmala-châva(ma)ra-dhvaja-śata-chchha[t*]tr-ândhakârair=vva(bba)laiḥ śauryy-ôtsâha-ras-ôddhat-[16]âri-mathanair=mmaul-a(â)dibhish=shaḍvidhaiḥ [|*] âkkrânt-âtmabalônnatim=balarajassañchhanna-**Kâñchîpuraḥ(ra)**prâkârântari t a - p r a t â p a m = a k a r ô d = y a ḥ = **Pallavânâm**-patim || [29*] **Kâvêrî**[17] dṛita-śapharî-vilôla-nêtrâ **Chôḷânâṁ** sapadi jay-ôdyatasya yasya [|*] praśchyôtanmada-gaja-sê-

15 tu-ruddha-nîrâ saṁsparśaṁ pariharati sma ratna-râśêḥ | (||) [30*] [18]**Chôḷa-Kêraḷa-Pâṇḍyânâm**[19] yô=bhût=tatra maharddhayê [|] **Pallav-ânîka-nîhâra-**tuhinêtaradîdhitiḥ || [31*] [20]Utsâha-prabhu-mantra-śakti-sahitê yasmin=samastâ diśô jitvâ bhûmi-patîn=visṛijya mahitân=ârâddhya dêva-dvijân [|*] **Vâtâpin-**nagarîm=praviśya nagarîm=êkâm=iv=ôvvi(rvvî)m=imâm[21] chañchan-nîradhî(dhi)-nîla-nîra-parikhâṁ

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[1] Read *-śauṇḍâḥ*. [2] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [3] Metre: Hariṇî.

[4] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [5] Metre of ver ses 23-25: Mâlinî.

[6] This, in my opinion, is the in tended (and undoubtedly correct) reading. Originally °*ṇṭhô* was engraved, but the two lines forming the *ô* appear to have been struck out again.

[7] Metre: Aupachchhandasika.—The *akshara sva* at the end of the line should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.

[8] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh). [9] Read °*rggamaṁ* |. [10] Read *vṛittaṁ*.

[11] Metre: Vasantatilakâ. [12] Read °*râḷaṁ*.

[13] Originally *-narakshatakshata*° seems to have been engraved, but the first *kshata* apparently has been struck out again.

[14] Read *=ôdita-*. [15] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [16] Originally *-ôddhit-* was engraved.

[17] Metre: Praharshiṇî.— Read *druta-*. [18] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[19] Read *-Pâṇḍyânâṁ*. [20] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [21] Read *=imâṁ*.

16 **Satyâśrayê** śâsati || [32*] **Triṁśatsu**[1] **tri-sahasrêshu Bhâratâd-âhavâd-itaḥ** [|*] **sapt-âbdaśata-yuktêshu śa(ga)têshv-abdêshu pañchasu** [|| 33*] **Pañchâśatsu Kalau kâlê**[2] **shaṭsu pañcha-śatâsu cha** [|*] **samâsu samatîtâsu Śakânâm-api bhûbhujâm** || [34*] [3]Tasy=âmbudhitraya-nivârita-śâsanasya

17 **Satyâśrayasya** param=âptavatâ prasâdaṁ [|*] śailañ=**Jinêndra**-bhavanam=bhavanam=[4]mahimnân=nirmmâpitam=matimatâ **Ravikîrttin**-êdam || [35*] [5]Praśastêr=vvasatêś=ch=âsyâḥ[6] **Jinasya** trijagad-gurôḥ=[7]karttâ kârayitâ ch=âpi **Ravikîrttiṁ**-kṛitî svayam || [36*] [8]Yên=âyôji navê=śma-sthiram=arttha-vidhau vivêkinâ Jina-vêśma [|*] sa [9]vijayatâṁ **Ravikîrttiṁ**-kavitâ-

18 śrita-**Kâḷidâsa-Bhâravi**-kîrttiḥ | (||) [37*] ◎ [10]Mûlavaḷḷi-Veḷmaḷtikavâḍa-[Ma][11]chchanûr-Ggaṅgavûr-Puḷigeṟe-Gaṇḍavagrâma(mâ) iti asya bhukti[ḥ |*] Giri(rê)[s=ta]ṭât=paśchim-[â]bhigata[12] Nimûvârir=yyâva[t*] mahâpathântapurasya si(sî)mâ uttarataḥ dakshiṇatô

19 [13]. . . . ga . . [14] na ◎

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious[15] is the holy **Jinêndra**— he who is exempt from old age, death and birth— in the sea of whose knowledge the whole world is comprised like an island.

(V. 2.) And next, long victorious is the immeasurable, wide ocean of the **Chalukya** family, which is the birth-place of jewels of men that are ornaments of the diadem of the earth.

(V. 3.) And victorious for very long is **Satyâśraya**, who in bestowing gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned, both together on either, observes not the rule of correspondency of number.[16]

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[1] Metre of verses 33 and 34: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[2] After this a second *lê* seems to have been engraved and then cancelled again.

[3] Metre: Vasantatilakâ. [4] Originally =*bhavanaṁ* was engraved. [5] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[6] Read =*âsyâ*. [7] Read -*gurôḥ* |. [8] Metre: Âryâgîti.

[9] In the place of *vi* originally *ja* was engraved; afterwards it was erased and *i* was engraved above and *v* below it.

[10] From here the writing differs from, and seems undoubtedly more modern than, that of the preceding part of the inscription. Compare especially the signs for *a*, *k*, *t*, *r* and *l*.

[11] Dr. Fleet read this *akshara pa*, and he may possibly be right.

[12] Not understanding the passage, I am unable to say whether (as proposed by Dr. Fleet) this should be altered to °*gataṁ*.

[13] Here one or two *aksharas* are illegible. [14] Here one *akshara* is illegible.

[15] Ravikîrti in verses 1-3 glorifies first the Jaina prophet, Jinêndra, for whom he has built the temple at which the inscription was engraved; secondly (*tad=anu*), the Chalukya family, the history of which forms the theme of his poem; and lastly, his patron, the king Satyâśraya (Pulikêśin II.) of that family. Similarly, in the first three verses of the (unpublished) Tâḷgund Kadamba inscription the poet Kubja first glorifies the god Sthâṇu (Śiva), near whose temple the Kadamba king Kâkusthavarman founded a tank; secondly (*tam=anu*), the Brâhmaṇ caste to which the Kadambas, whose rise to power Kubja describes, belonged; and lastly, the king Kâkusthavarman himself.— With the epithet commencing with *vîta-*, compare *vîta-janma-jarasaṁ* (*paraṁ śuchi brahmaṇaḥ padam*) in the *Kirâtârjunîya*, V. 22.

[16] Interpreted by Pâṇini's rule, I. 3, 10, *yathâ-saṁkhyam=anudêśaḥ samânâm*, the statement that Satyâśraya bestowed 'gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned' would mean, that he bestowed gifts on the brave, and honours on the learned. But the fact that the king really bestowed gifts and honours, both together, on the brave as well as on the learned, shews that the above statement should not be interpreted by, or, as the poet puts it, that Satyâśraya did not act in accordance with, Pâṇini's *yâthâsaṁkhya*-rule. As Ravikîrti here refers to Pâṇini, I. 3, 10, so Bhâravi in the *Kirâtârjunîya*, XIII. 19, clearly refers to the immediately preceding rule of Pâṇini's, I. 3, 9, *tasya lôpaḥ*; compare Mallinâtha's commentary on the verse. Similarly, to give only one more instance, Kâlidâsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XII. 58 (*dhâtôḥ sthâna iv=âdêśam*), alludes to Pâṇini, I. 1, 56, *sthânivad=âdêśô=nalvidhau*.

(V. 4.) When many members of that race, bent on conquest, applied to whom the title of Favourite of the Earth had at last become appropriate, had passed away,—

(V. 5.) There was, of the **Chalukya** lineage, the king named **Jayasiṁha-vallabha**, who in battle— where horses, footsoldiers and elephants, bewildered, fell down under the strokes of many hundreds of weapons, and where thousands of frightful headless trunks and of flashes of rays of swords were leaping to and fro[1]— by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness.[2]

(V. 6.) His son was he who was named **Raṇarâga**, of divine dignity, the one master of the world, whose superhuman nature, (*even*) when he was asleep, people knew from the pre-eminence of his form.[3]

(V. 7.) His son was **Polekêśin**, who, though endowed with the moon's Beauty, and though the favourite of Fortune, became the bridegroom of **Vâtâpipurî**.[4]

(V. 8.) Whose path in the pursuit of the three objects of life[5] the kings on earth even now are unable to follow; and bathed by whom with the water of the purificatory rite, when he performed the horse-sacrifice, the earth beamed with brightness.

(V. 9.) His son was **Kîrtivarman**, the night of doom to the **Naḷas, Mauryas** and **Kadambas**, whose mind, although his thoughts kept aloof from others' wives, was attracted by the Fortune of his adversary.

(V. 10.) Who, having secured the fortune of victory by his valour in war, being a scent-elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad *kadamba* trees— the **Kadambas**.[6]

(V. 11.) When his desire was bent on the dominion of the lord of the gods,[7] his younger brother **Maṅgalêśa** became king, who by the sheets of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning over the quarters.[8]

(V. 12.) Who in that house which was the battle-field took in marriage the damsel, the Fortune of the **Kaṭachchuris**, having scattered the gathering gloom, (*viz.*) the array of elephants (*of the adversary*), with hundreds of bright-rayed lamps, (*viz.*) the swords (*of his followers*).

(V. 13.) And again, when he was desirous of taking **the island of Rêvatî**, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like Varuṇa's forces, quickly come there at once at his word (*of command*).

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[1] Literally, 'dancing.' The compound commencing with *nṛityad-* reminds one of *Ragh.* VII. 48, where a warrior whose head has been cut off with the sword (*khaḍga*) rises into the sky, and from there views his headless trunk dancing on the battle-field (*nṛityat=kabandhaṁ samarê dadarśa*).—The preceding *aśva-patti-dvipa* is equivalent to *aśva-dvipa-vîra*, *ibid.* verse 39.

[2] Compare *Ragh.* XVII. 46, *chapal=âpi svabhâvataḥ . . . Śrîḥ*.

[3] The gods are called *a-nimisha*, or *a-nimêsha*, because they do not shut their eyes (compare *Ragh.* III. 43). When the king was asleep, he did shut his eyes, yet even then the pre-eminence of his form shewed him to be a god. *Vapuḥ-prakarsha* occurs *e.g. ibid.* III. 34 and 52, and *Kir.* III. 2.—It may be noted that the word *jagad-êkanâthaḥ*, used in this verse, occurs in *Ragh.* V. 23, together with *dvijarâja-kântiḥ* which is synonymous with the epithet *śrît-êndukântiḥ* in the next verse of this inscription.

[4] Beauty (*Kânti*) personified is regarded as the wife of the Moon. The town Vâtâpipurî is represented by the poet as a newly married woman (*Vâtâpipury=êva vadhûr=navôḍhâ, tasyâ varô vôḍhâ*); compare *Ragh.* XVII. 25, *rājyaśrî-vadhû-varaḥ*.

[5] I.e. *dharma*, *artha* and *kâma*.

[6] The expression *pṛithu-Kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam* apparently was suggested to our author by the *pṛithu-kadamba-kadambaka* in *Kir.* V. 9. In the Tâḷgund Kadamba inscription the *kadamba* tree and the Kadamba family have the epithet *uru*, corresponding to the adjective *pṛithu* in the present inscription and in the Kauṭhêṁ plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 21.

[7] *I.e.* when he died.

[8] Compare *Ragh.* XVIII. 22, *vêlâ-taṭêsh=ûshita-sainikâśvam*; and IX. 50, *gaganam=aśvakhur-ôddhata-rêṇubhir=nṛi-savitâ sa-vitânam=iv=âkarôt*. The eastern and western seas bound the earth on either side; compare *Kumârasambhava*, I. 1.

(V. 14.) When his elder brother's son, named **Polekêśin,** of a dignity like Nahusha's, was coveted by Fortune,[1] and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile,[2]—

(V. 15.) That **Maṅgalêśa,** whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by Him,[3] abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for[4] his own son, both that no mean kingdom of his and his life.

(V. 16.) Then, on the subversion of that rule encompassed by the darkness of enemies, the whole world grew light again, invaded as it were by the lustrous rays of His irresistible splendour. Or when was it that the sky ceased to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning were dancing like banners, and the edges of which were crushed in the rushing wind ?[5]

(V. 17.) When, having found the opportunity, he who was named **Âppâyika,** and **Gôvinda** approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the **Bhaimarathî,** the one in battle through His armies came to know the taste of fear,[6] while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

(V. 18.) When He was besieging **Vanavâsi,** which for a girdle[7] has the rows of *haṁsa* birds that sport on the high waves of the **Varadâ** as their play-place, and which by its wealth

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[1] A comparison with *Ragh.* V. 38 suggests the interpretation that it was desired to confer on Polekêśin the dignity of *Yuvarâja,* or heir apparent.

[2] The verb *apa-rudh* means 'to debar, to shut out from, to banish, to exile;' it is often joined with *râshṭrât, râshṭrâd=aparuddhaḥ* being equivalent to *râshṭrâd=bhrashṭaḥ;* and *aparuddhaś=charati* is used of a person who as an exile wanders about in foreign countries. Already in the *Atharvavêda,* III. 3, 5, we find the phrase *anyakshêtrê aparuddhaṁ charantam,* in a hymn by which the restoration of an exiled king is accomplished; see Bloomfield's *Atharvavêda,* p. 74. And in the *Aitarêya-Brâhmaṇa,* VIII. 10— I take this quotation from the St. Petersburg *Dictionary*— the manner in which a prince who has lost his kingdom may regain it, is described thus: *Yady u vâ ênam upadhâvêd râshṭrâd aparudhyamânas: tathâ mê kuru yathâham idaṁ râshṭram punar avagachchhânîty, êtâm êvainaṁ diśam upanishkramayêt, tathâ ha râshṭram punar avagachchhati;* 'if ever there should seek shelter with him (*i.e.* with the anointed Kshatriya) one who is being shut out from his kingdom, saying "act for me in such a manner that I may regain this kingdom," he (*i.e.* the anointed Kshatriya) should let him depart in *this* (*north-eastern*) direction; so verily he recovers his kingdom.' From all this it is clear that what our poet wishes us to understand, is, that Polekêśin, either banished by Maṅgalêśa or having left the country from fear of him, went to neighbouring princes and asked their assistance in the recovery of his rights. The expression *aparuddha-charita* is used by the poet with special reference to the phrase *aparuddhaś=charati,* as explained above.— *Vyavasâya-buddhi* is used by Kâlidâsa in the *Kumârasambhava,* IV. 45.

[3] *I.e.* Polekêśin, whose exploits are eulogized in verses 15-32. In the original the sentences in these verses are all relative clauses, the relative pronouns of which are correlated with the *tasya* at the commencement of verse 35. In my translation I have written the pronoun, when it refers to Polekêśin, with an initial capital letter.

[4] For the use of the word *gata* compare *e.g. Sîtâ-gataṁ snêham,* 'his love for Sîtâ,' in *Ragh.* XV. 86; see also above, verse 11, *vibhûti-gat-âbhilâsha.*

[5] The first half of the verse states that, as the rising sun dissipates the darkness of night, so Polekêśin dispersed the enemies who on the destruction of Maṅgalêśa's rule (literally, of the umbrella which is the sign of sovereignty) on all sides beset the realm. And the second half impresses on the reader the fact that only then, on Polekêśin's rise to power, and at no other time, the troubles attending Maṅgalêśa's destruction were put an end to. Though the poet, employing the rhetorical figure of *aprastutapraśaṁsâ,* in the second half of the verse actually speaks of a phenomenon of nature, the clearance of the sky of storm-clouds by the agency of the sun, the context and his choice of the words (*patâka, paryanta-bhâga,* the verb *garj* for which see *e.g. Ragh.* IX. 9, and *aḷi-kula* which recalls *ari-kula*) at once suggest to the reader what is intended to be conveyed.— The question ending with *kadâ vâ* undoubtedly requires an answer in the negative (*na kadâpi*). The word *tâvat* with which the verse commences I take in the sense of *tasminn=avasarê* or *tatkâla êva*; compare *e.g. Kumârasambhava,* VII. 30 and 63. With the second half of the verse compare Varâhamihira's description of the clouds at the time of an earthquake, *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ,* XXXII. 17.

[6] Compare *Ragh.* III. 26, *sutasparśarasajñatâṁ yayau.*

[7] The city of Vanavâsi, being represented as a woman, has for her tinkling girdle the rows of singing *haṁsa* birds that play in the Varadâ river which flows close to the town. Compare *Ragh.* IX. 37; also *ibid.* XIX. 40, *saikataṁ cha Sarayûṁ vivṛiṇvatîṁ śrôṇi-bimbam=iva haṁsa-mêkhalam;* and *Kir.* IV. 1, *kûjatkalahaṁsa-mêkhalâṁ . . . priyâm=iva . . . bhuvam.*

rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

(V. 19.) Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the **Gaṅga** and **Âḷupa** lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.[1]

(V. 20.) In the **Koṅkaṇas** the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools[2]— the **Mauryas.**

(V. 21.) When, radiant like the destroyer[3] of Pura, He besieged **Purî,** the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky.[4]

(V. 22.) Subdued by His splendour, the **Lâṭas, Mâḷavas** and **Gûrjaras** became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.[5]

(V. 23.) **Harsha,** whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (*harsha*) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle.

(V. 24.) While He was ruling the earth with his broad armies, the neighbourhood of the **Vindhya,** by no means destitute of the lustre of the many sandbanks of the **Rêvâ,** shone even more brightly by his great personal splendour, having to be avoided by his elephants because, as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains.[6]

(V. 25.) Almost[7] equal to Indra, He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth[8] and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty over the three **Mahârâshṭrakas** with their nine and ninety thousand villages.

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[1] Though they had renounced the vice of drink together with the other six vices, they again became drunkards. The seven vices are enumerated *e.g.* in the verse (Böhtlingk's *Ind. Sprüche*, 2994): *Dyûtaṁ mâṁsaṁ surâ vêśy=âkhêṭa-chaurya-parâṅganâḥ | mahâpâpâni sapt=aiva vyasanâni tyajêd=budhaḥ* ||

[2] Compare the *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, in the first act, *atrabhavataḥ kila mama cha samudra-palvalayôr=iv=ântaram=asti*; the comparison apparently is a proverbial one.—The juxtaposition of the two words *chaṇḍa* and *daṇḍa* also is most common; compare *e.g. Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 415 (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 33), l. 11 of the text, *Yama-daṇḍa-chaṇḍa-dôrddaṇḍa*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 349, l. 55 (as corrected by Dr. Hultzsch), *bâhu-daṇḍa-chaṇḍ-âśani*; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 218, l. 40, *chaṇḍ-âsi-daṇḍa*; *etc.* Compare also the very common title or epithet *mahâprachaṇḍadaṇḍanâyaka*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 127, l. 6 of the text, and elsewhere.

[3] *I.e.* the god Śiva.

[4] For a similar way of comparing heaven and earth with each other see *Ragh.* IV. 29, *bhuvas=talam=iva vyôma kurvan=vyôm=êva bhûtalam.*

[5] Although the Lâṭas *etc.*, impressed by his majesty and power, had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection, they behaved so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force. Compare *Ragh.* XVII. 81, where the *daṇḍôpanata-charita* of the gods Indra *etc.* towards the king Atithi is described. With *âchâryâ abhavan* one may compare *âchâryakaṁ chakrê*, *ibid.* XII. 78.

[6] Really the mountainous country of the Vindhya had to be avoided by the king's elephants, because it was impassable for them; but the poet's reason is, that the elephants were higher than the Vindhya. If they had gone there, the Vindhya by the presence of these mountain-like elephants would have transgressed the command of the sage Agastya (the *Vindhyasya saṁstambhayitâ mahâdrêḥ*, *Ragh.* VI. 61; see also XII. 31) that it should not grow higher so long as Agastya remained in the south. In this way the very absence of the king's elephants becomes an additional token of his might.—With the whole verse compare *Ragh.* XVI. 31; for the use of *avandhya* see *ibid.* I. 86, *âśaṁsit-âvandhya-prârthana*, literally 'one whose prayer is not destitute of fulfilment.'

[7] He was like Indra because, like that deity, he possessed certain *śaktis*; but was inferior to him because his *śaktis* were only three (the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy), while Indra possesses eight *Śaktis* (Indrâṇî *etc.*).

[8] According to Pâṇini, IV. 1, 141, *mâhâkula* would mean 'born in a noble family.'

(V. 26.) Through the excellencies of their householders prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life, and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the **Kalingas** with the **Kôsalas** by His army were made to evince signs of fear.

(V. 27.) Hard pressed (*pishṭa*) by Him, **Pishṭapura** became a fortress not difficult of access; wonderful (*to relate*), the ways of the Kali age to Him[1] were quite inaccessible!

(V. 28.) Ravaged by Him, **the water of Kunâḷa**[2]— coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants— was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen.[3]

(V. 29.) With his sixfold forces,[4] the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas, and darkness,[5] and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, He caused the splendour of the lord of the **Pallavas**, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of **Kâñchîpura**.[6]

(V. 30.) When straightway He strove to conquer the **Chôḷas**, the **Kâvêrî**, who has the darting carps for her tremulous eyes, had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting-juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean.[7]

(V. 31.) There He caused great prosperity to the **Chôḷas, Kêraḷas and Pâṇḍyas,** he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost— the army of the **Pallavas.**

(V. 32.) While He, **Satyâśraya,** endowed with the powers of energy, mastery and good counsel,— having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to gods and Brâhmaṇs, having entered the city of **Vâtâpi**— is ruling, like one city, this earth which has the dark-blue waters of the surging sea for its moat;[8]

(V. 33.) (*Now*) **when thirty** (*and*) **three thousand and five years besides, joined with seven hundred years, have passed since the Bhârata war;**

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[1] Against Pâṇini, II. 3, 69, the genitive case is used in construction with *durgama* in accordance with the maxim *khalartha-yôgê=pi śêsha-vivakshâyâṁ shashṭhîm=ichchhanti*; see *e.g.* Mallinâtha on *Ragh.* XVII. 70, where Kâlidâsa has *tasya* (instead of *têna*) *durlabhaḥ*.

[2] *I.e.* the Kunâḷa (Kolanu, Kolleru) lake; compare my introductory remarks, above, p. 2 f.

[3] Compare *Ragh.* XVI. 58 (especially the words *galit-âṅgarâgaiḥ saṁdhyôdayaḥ sâbhra iva*); XI. 60 (*sâṁdhya-mêgha-rudhira*); and *Kir.* IX. 9 (*sthagita-vârida-paṅktyâ saṁdhyayâ*).

[4] For the *shaḍvidhaṁ balam* see *Ragh.* IV. 26 and XVII. 67.

[5] The darkness raised by the troops is the dust, the *rajô-ndhakâra* of *Ragh.* VII. 39. (In *Kir.* XVII. 20 we similarly have a *śar-ândhakâra*, and in the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita*, I. 75, a *khaḍg-ândhakâra*). The poetical beauty here lies in the fact that darkness is enumerated together with such very different things as chowries *etc.*

[6] *Balarajassañchanna-Kâñchîpuraprâkârântarita* is a Karmadhâraya compound. The splendour of the Pallava first (when he was defeated in the open) was only obscured; afterwards (when he had to retire within the walls of his fortress) it entirely vanished. The poet of course wishes us to understand that the splendour of the Pallava is compared with the sun.

[7] The verse clearly was suggested to our author by *Ragh.* IV. 45: *Sa sainya-paribhôgêna gajadâna-sugandhinâ* | *Kâvêrîṁ saritâṁ patyuḥ śaṅkanîyâm=iv=âkarôt* ‖ By the fact that his soldiers used the water of the river for bathing *etc.*, and in doing so made it fragrant with the rutting-juice of their elephants, Raghu made the (river) Kâvêrî an object of suspicion for the ocean, her husband, who by the smell of her body would be led to believe that she had had intercourse with other men. Ravikîrti too mentions the rutting-juice, but does so in a mere *epitheton ornans* which he might as well have omitted, because in his verse the real reason for the Kâvêrî's keeping away from the ocean is, that her current was obstructed by the bulky elephants on which Polekêśin crossed the river. Ravikîrti has spoiled Kâlidâsa's verse by crowding into it an idea from *Ragh.* IV. 38 (*sa tîrtvâ Kapiśâṁ sainyair=baddha-dvirada-sêtubhiḥ*).— The epithet of the Kâverî, *druta-śapharî-vilôla-nêtrâ*, apparently was suggested by the epithet *śapharî-parisphurita-châru-dṛiśaḥ* in *Kir.* VI. 16 (compare also *ibid.* IV. 3); *praśchyôtan-mada* occurs *ibid.* VII. 35.

[8] Part of this verse was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 85-87, describing the conclusion of Raghu's *dig-vijaya.* With the end of the verse compare *ibid.* I. 30: *Sa vêlâ-vapravalayâṁ parikhîkṛita-sâgarâm* | *ananyaśâsanâm=urvîṁ śaśâs=aika-purîm=iva* ‖

(V. 34.) **And when fifty (*and*) six and five hundred years of the Śaka kings also have gone by in the Kali age;**

(V. 35.) This stone mansion of **Jinêndra,** a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the wise **Ravikîrti,** who has obtained the highest favour of that **Satyâśraya** whose rule is bounded by the three oceans.

(V. 36.) Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the **Jina** revered in the three worlds,[1] the wise **Ravikîrti** himself is the author and also the founder.

(V. 37.) May that **Ravikîrti** be victorious, who full of discernment has used the abode of the **Jina,** firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme,[2] and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of **Kâḷidâsa** and of **Bhâravi**![3]

No. 2.—TWO KADAMBA GRANTS.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Both these grants were discovered by Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, and are edited here, with his kind permission, from ink-impressions made in 1892 by Dr. Fleet from the original plates, which Mr. Rice had been good enough to send to him for examination. Dr. Fleet has placed the impressions at my disposal, and has also supervised the preparation of the accompanying photo-lithographs.

A.—KÛḌGERE PLATES OF VIJAYA-ŚIVA-MÂNDHÂTṚIVARMAN.

The second year.

These plates were obtained by Mr. Rice at **Kûḍgere** in the Shikârpur tâluka of the Shimoga district of Mysore, and were first publicly mentioned in his *Report* for 1890-1. A summary of their contents has been already given by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are **three copper-plates,** the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about 6⅞" broad by 3" high. The plates are quite smooth, their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are thin; but, the engraving being shallow, though otherwise quite good, the letters do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The interiors of the letters, here and there, shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. Various marks and faint lines on the margins and between the lines of writing, in my opinion, render it very probable that **the plates originally bore another inscription.** The **ring** on which the plates are strung seems to be of brass, not of copper; it is a plain one, about $\frac{3}{16}$" thick and $2\frac{7}{8}$" in diameter. It had already been cut when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands. There is **no seal,** and no indication about the ring of one having ever been attached to it. The weight of the three plates is 13 oz., and of the ring, 1¼ oz.; total, 14¼ oz.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}$". The **characters** are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet, and in their general appearance, among Kadamba inscriptions,

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[1] Or 'the preceptor of the three worlds.'

[2] *Viz.* the history of the Chalukyas.—In the original verse observe the *Yamakas* at the ends of the first and second, and of the third and fourth Pâdas (*jinavêśma* and *ravikîrttiḥ*). The locative *artha-vidhau* is a good instance of a *nimitta-saptamî*.

[3] I purposely omit from my translation the line which follows in the original, and which is a later addition to the poem. The first part of it enumerates six villages, the revenues of which apparently were assigned to the temple of Jinêndra founded by Ravikîrti. The concluding part of it, which speaks of boundaries, I do not understand.

resemble most those of the Dêvagere plates of the fourth year and the Halsî plates of the *Mahârâja* Mṛigêśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, and Vol. VI. p. 24, Plates). As regards individual letters, I would draw attention to the very clear and distinct form of *ḍh* in *dṛiḍha*, l. 6 (as compared with the sign for *ḍ* in *Kauṇḍinya*, l. 9); to the form of the Dravidian *ḷ* in *Koḷâla*, l. 7; and to the fact that the subscript *t*— while in the conjunct *kt* it is denoted by the ordinary sign for *t* (without the loop) used in this inscription, and in *nt* by the sign with the loop— in the conjunct *tt* is written in both ways, as may be seen *e.g.* from *sva-dattâṁ* and *para-dattâṁ*, in line 14. I would lay some stress on this last point, because we have the same two ways of writing the conjunct *tt* also in the Dêvagere plates of the third year of the *Mahârâja* Mṛigêśavarman, in which the single *t*, as in the present inscription, is always denoted by the sign without the loop;[1] (compare *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35, Plate, *nivarttanaṁ* in line 12, and the same word and *dattavân* in line 13). For final consonants the full signs, written below the line, are used in *dattavân*, l. 12. *pramâdât*, l. 13, and *-bhâk*, l. 16. Final *m* is written in the same way in *siddham*, l. 1; but in other places where my text shews a final *m*, that letter is denoted by a small hook, engraved at the bottom of the line.— The **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit, and, with the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the text is in prose. In respect of **orthography,** I need only mention that the word *brahma* is written *bramha*, in line 10. The phraseology of the text is the usual one, except that some rare technical terms occur in lines 8 and 9.

The inscription records that the *Dharmamahârâja* of (the family of) the **Kadambas, Vijaya-Śiva-Mândhâtṛivarman,** at **Vaijayantî** (*i.e.* Banavâsi), **on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśâkha in the second year (of his reign),** granted some land at the village of **Koḷâla** to a spiritual teacher (perhaps the king's own teacher), named Dêvaśarman. The charter (*paṭṭikâ*) was written by the *rahasy-âdhikṛita*,[2] or private secretary, Dâmôdaradatta.

The genealogy of **Mândhâtṛivarman** is not given; and as his name does not occur in the published inscriptions, his relation to the known princes of the same family cannot for the present be determined with any certainty. But I may say that a comparison of this inscription with the other Kadamba inscriptions would lead me to connect Mândhâtṛivarman more closely with **Mṛigêśavarman** than with any other Kadamba prince. Palæographical reasons for this statement have been given above. Other reasons are, that both princes, and they only, are described as residing at **Vaijayantî**; that one is called **Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigêśavarman,**[3] and the other **Vijaya-Śiva-Mândhâtṛivarman**; and that, corresponding to the epithets of Mândhâtṛivarman in the present inscription, *anêka-sucharit-ôpachita-vipula-puṇya-skandha* and *âhav-ârjita-vipula-parama-dṛiḍha-sattva*, we have, in Mṛigêśavarman's inscriptions, *anêka-janmântar-ôpârjita-vipula-puṇya-skandha* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and p. 37, l. 6 of the text), and *âhav-ârjita-parama-ruchira-dṛiḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 35, l. 5) or *naik-âhav-ârjita-parama-dṛiḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 37, l. 10). All this looks to me as if Mândhâtṛivarman might have been either, as a younger brother of Śântivarman, the immediate predecessor of Mṛigêśavarman, or the younger brother and immediate successor of this prince.

[1] The case is different *e.g.* with the Halsî plates of the fifth year of the *Mahârâja* Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate), where the single *t* is denoted by both the sign without the loop and the sign with the loop, and where *tt* is written in three different ways (by two signs of *t* without the loop; both with the loop; and the first without the loop, and the second with it).

[2] The same official title (in Prâkṛit *rahasâdhikata*) occurs in the Pallava inscription in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 50 of the text. The same inscription has another rare term in common with the present inscription; see below, p. 15, note 7. The *rahasy-âdhikṛita* in other inscriptions is called simply *rahasya*; see above, Vol. III. p. 21, note 1.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, ll. 4 and 17 of the text. Mṛigêśavarman is so called also in the Hiṭṇahebbâgilu plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, No. 18. The same plates apparently have in common with the present inscription the rare term *antaḥkara-vishṭika*, which I have not found elsewhere. (The term *parihṛita-paṅg-ôtkôṭa* in the same plates may be compared with *sarvva-paṅga-parihṛita*— not *sarva-paṅgu-parihṛita*, as printed— in line 5 of the Goa plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 532, *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365, and Plates.)

The village of **Koḷâla,** which is mentioned in this inscription, I am unable to identify with certainty. The *Madras Postal Directory* shews two villages named 'Kolala,' in the Tumkûr district of Mysore,— one in the Tipṭûr tâluka, post-town 'Turuvekere,' and the other in the Tumkûr tâluka, post-town 'Kolala' itself; probably Koḷâla is one or other of these.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Siddham || Śrî-vijaya-**Vaijayantyâm**[2] dharmmamahârâjaḥ
2 S v â m i - M a h â s ê n a - m â t ṛ i g a ṇ - â n u d h y â t - â b h i s h i k t a ḥ
3 Mânavya-sagôtrô Hâritî-putraḥ pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-
4 charchchikaḥ **Kadambânâm** śrî-**Vijaya-Śiva-Mândhâtṛivarmmâ**

Second Plate; First Side.

5 a n ê k a-[3]s u c h î(c h a)r i t-ô p a c h i t a-v i p u l a-p u ṇ y a-s k a n d h a ḥ
6 âhav-ârjjita-vipula-parama-dṛiḍha-sat[t*]vaḥ **savassarê**[4]
7 **dvitîyê Vaiśâkha-paurṇamâsyâm Koḷâla-grâmê** ' sîmni[5]
8 sa-pânîya-pâtaṁ sa-dakshiṇam a-khaṭvâ-vâs-audana[m][6]

Second Plate; Second Side.

9 a-bhaṭa-pravêśam antaḥkara-vipṭi(shṭi)ka[m] Kauṇḍinya-
10 sagôtrâya datt-ânuyôgâya Taittirîya-sabramha(hma)-
11 châriṇê Dêvaśarmmaṇê Modekaranî-nâma-halam
12 râja-mânêna viṁśati-nivarttanaṁ kêdâraṁ da[tta]vân [|*][7]

Third Plate.

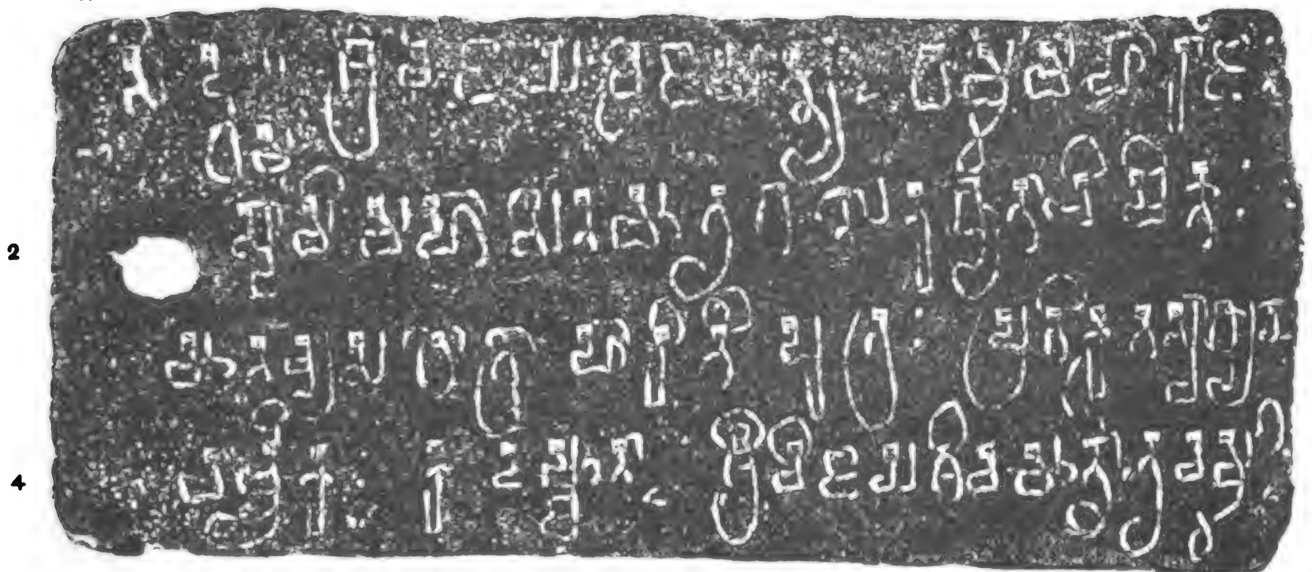
13 Pramâdât [8]adharmmâd=vâ yô=sy=âbhiha[r]tt[â] sa pâ[taka]-sa[ṁ]yukt[ô]
14 bhavati [|*] Uktañ=cha [|*] [9]Sva-dattâṁ para-datt[âṁ] vâ |[10] yô harêna(ta) vasundharâm [|*]
15 shapṭhiṁ(shṭiṁ) varsha-sahasrâṇi narakê pachyatê tu saḥ || Yô=sya
16 abhirakshitâ sa tat-phala-bhâk [|*] Uktañ=cha [|*] Bahubhi[11] vasudhâ bhuktâ
17 râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ[12] bhûmas=tasya tasya tadâ phala[ṁ] [||*]
18 [D]âm[ô]daradatêna[13] rahasy-âdhikṛitêna likhit=êyaṁ paṭṭikâ ||

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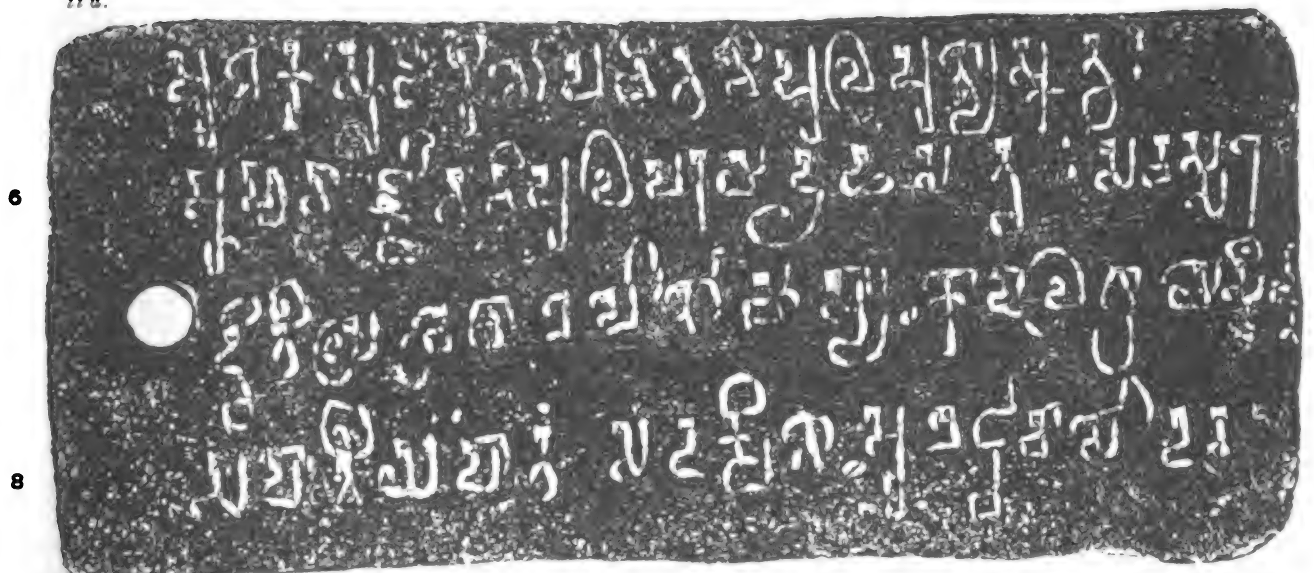
[1] From Dr. Fleet's impressions.
[2] Here, and in other places below, the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.
[3] Originally *sû* seems to have been engraved.
[4] Read *saṁvatsarê.* The alteration of *ssa* into *tsa* seems to have been made already in the original.
[5] Below the *s* of this word originally the letter *m* was engraved. Read *-grâma-sîmni.*
[6] Originally the full sign of *m* (*ma*) was engraved here, but, with the exception of the 'box' at the top, it has been effaced.
[7] Below this line some writing— perhaps the words *pramâdât adharmmâd=vâ yô=sy=â* of the next line— was engraved, and cancelled again.
[8] Instead of the initial *a* the *akshara pra* was originally engraved.
[9] Metre, here and below: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[10] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[11] Read *bahubhir=.*
[12] Read *bhûmis=tasya.*
[13] Read *°dattêna.*

Kudgere Plates of Vijaya-Siva-Mandhatrivarman.

i.



ii a.



J. F. FLEET. FULL-SIZE. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii b.

iii

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) (*Be it*) accomplished ! At (*the city*) of victory, the famous **Vaijayanti**, the *Dharmamahârâja*[1]— anointed after meditating on Svâmi-Mahâsêna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the Mânavya *gôtra* (*and*) a son[2] of Hâritî, studying the requital (*of good or evil*) as his sacred text,[3]— the glorious **Vijaya-Śiva-Mândhâtṛivarman** of (*the family of*) the **Kadambas**, who by his many good actions has accumulated an abundant store of religious merit, and has acquired in war abundant and supreme enduring strength, **on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśâkha in the second year (of his reign)**, has given, with pouring out of water[4] (*and*) with a present (*of money*), the plough-land called[5] Modekaranî within the borders of the village of **Koḷâla**, by the king's measure a field of twenty *nivartanas*, to the spiritual teacher[6] Dêvaśarman, who belongs to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and is a student of the Taittirîya Vêda,— exempt from (*the duty of providing*) cots,[7] abode, and boiled rice, free from the ingress of soldiers, (*and*) exempt from internal taxes and forced labour.[8]

(L. 13.) He who from wantonness or wickedness takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of sin. And it has been said: Whosoever should take away land given by himself or given by

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[1] *I.e.* 'the *Mahârâja* who is devoted to religion ;' but the whole is used as a title, as *dharma-mahârâjâdhirâja* and *dharma-yuvamahârâja* are in Pallava inscriptions.

[2] This must not be taken literally. The Kadambas generally were *Hâritîputras*, and therefore individual Kadamba kings also have the same epithet.

[3] Instead of *pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchika*, which occurs also in the Halsî plates of the *Mahârâja* Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30), other Kadamba plates have *pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchaka* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35), *pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchâpâra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 31 ; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136 ; and below p. 18), *pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchâ-pâraga* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 25, and Vol. VII. p. 33), and *pratikṛita-charchâpâra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 37), where the word *svâdhyâya* has probably been omitted by mistake. Since all these epithets apparently are synonymous, it will be sufficient to analyse one of them ; and I select for the purpose *pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchâpâra*. *Charchâpâra*, which in the *Mahâbhâshya* on P. III. 2, 1, is given by the side of *vêdâdhyâya*, 'one who studies the Vêda,' according to Haradatta denotes 'a person who repeats or studies a particular text, (*charchâm pârayati*) ; and *svâdhyâya-charchâpâra* therefore would be 'one who studies his Vêdic text.' The word *pratikṛita*, in previous translations of Kadamba inscriptions, has been either omitted or rendered by 'adopted,' a meaning which *pratikṛita* cannot well convey. In my opinion, it will be safer to take the word as a substantive and in its well-known sense of 'requital, recompense,' and to regard *pratikṛita-svâdhyâya* as a Karmadhâraya compound (in the sense of *svâdhyâya iva pratikṛitam* or *pratikṛitam êva svâdhyâyaḥ*), so that the whole epithet would denote 'one who studies the requital (of good or evil) as his sacred text.' If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithet alludes to the history of the Kadambas, as told in the Tâlgund inscription (Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 286; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27). So long as the Kadambas were private Brâhmaṇs, it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts; in other words, they were *svâdhyâya-charchâpârâs*. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to requite good and evil; to do so was, what the study of the Vêda had been to them before; and thus, having been *svâdhyâya-charchâpârâs*, they then were *pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchâpârâs*.

[4] The phrase *sa-pânîya-pâtam*, which also occurs below, p. 18, l. 17, and in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, is equivalent to *udak-âtisargêṇa*, *udaka-pûrvam*, and similar expressions. In the same sense, but occasionally misunderstood, we repeatedly meet with *udakaṁ pâtetvâ* in the *Jâtakas* ; compare *e.g.* Vol. III. p. 286, l. 3, *udakaṁ pâtetvâ adâsi* ; Vol. II. p. 371, l. 13, *suvaṇṇabhiṁkârena pupphagandhavâsitaṁ udakaṁ pâtetvâ adâsi* ; and Vol. VI. p. 344, l. 10, *râjâ tussitvâ gandhodakapuṇṇaṁ suvaṇṇabhiṁkâraṁ âdâya . . . . . "gâmaṁ râjabhogena bhuñjâ" ti seṭṭhissa hatthe udakaṁ pâtetvâ.* This last quotation clearly states the well-known fact that the water was poured into the hand of the donee.— With the *sa-dakshiṇam* of our inscription compare the *sa-hiraṇya*[*ṁ**] in line 9 of the (spurious) Hosûr plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 97.

[5] Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 23, l. 6 of the text, where also a field has a special name (*Beḷovara*).

[6] I take *datt-ânuyôga* to be equivalent to *anuyôga-kṛit*, which according to Goldstücker's *Dictionary* denotes 'an Âchârya or spiritual teacher.' Dêvaśarman was perhaps the king's own teacher.

[7] Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, l. 31 of the text, where also we have *khaṭṭâvâsa* (*khaṭvâ-vâsa*), in a Pallava inscription.

[8] The expression *antaṅkara-vishṭika* apparently occurs also in the Hiṭṭahebbâgilu plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, plate iii. *b*, l. 1.—[With *antaḥ-kara* compare *antar-âyam*, 'internal revenue,' and its counterpart *puṛav-âyam*, 'external revenue,' in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 61, text line 5 f.— E. H.]

others, he is burnt in hell for sixty-thousand years. He who preserves this (*gift*), shares the reward of it. And it has been said : The earth has been possessed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; to whomsoever at any time the land belongs, to him, for the time being, belongs the reward (*of a grant*).

(L. 18.) This charter was written by the private secretary Dâmôdaradatta.

B.—BANNAHAḶḶI PLATES OF KṚISHṆAVARMAN II.

The seventh year.

These plates were discovered about 1888, while digging at **Bannahaḷḷi** in the Chikmagaḷûr tâluka of the Kaḍûr district of Mysore, and are now in the possession of the Pâṭil of Haḷêbîḍ. They were first publicly noticed by Mr. Rice in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introduction, p. 15; and an account of their contents is given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are **four copper-plates,** the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about 8¾" broad by 2¾" high. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The engraving is good, but not very deep. The letters do not shew through on the reverse sides of the plates; they shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout.— On one of the edges, the plates are numbered, by four notches[1] on plate i., three on plate ii., two on plate iii., and one on plate iv. (*i.e.* in exactly the reverse order); and near these notches there is also a single notch on each plate : whether this marking is ancient or recent, is not apparent.— The plates are strung on a **ring,** which had been cut already when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands; it is about ¼" thick, and 2¾" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured in a **seal** which is roughly circular, about 1½" in diameter. About a quarter of an inch from the edge of it, there is a raised rim ; and inside this, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a lion, standing to the proper right.[2] The weight of the four plates is 1 lb. 9¼ oz., and of the ring and seal, 7 oz. ; total, 2 lbs. ¼ oz.— The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between $\frac{3}{16}$" and $\frac{5}{16}$". The **characters** belong to the southern alphabet. With those of the Halsî plates of the fifth year of the *Mahârâja* Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate) they have this in common that the letter *t*, both when used singly and in conjuncts, is mostly denoted by the sign with the loop; but otherwise they quite differ from those of other Kadamba inscriptions, and might, in their general appearance, rather be compared with the characters of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramêndravarman II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 196, Plate). From the photo-lithograph it will be seen that the letters are frequently finished off, or embellished, with small circles. The *sva* of *svasti* in line 1 has two such circles at the ends of the lines on the proper right; the *sti* of the same word two at the bottom of the superscript *i*, and one at the end of the proper right stroke of *s*; the *ya* of the following word *jayaty=* has two at the top; *etc.* I believe, there can be no doubt that by these circles the writer has tried to imitate the little 'boxes' of the characters of such inscriptions as the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava *Yuvamahârâja* Vishṇugôpavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51, Plates), and has done this in a not very intelligent manner. A certain influence of the characters of Pallava inscriptions may perhaps be distinctly traced also in the use of the looped *t* already mentioned; and in the fact that in the *akshara* *ṇâ* the vowel *â* is here denoted by a separate downward stroke, while in other Kadamba inscriptions it is nearly always written, in the ordinary way, by bending back the last downward stroke of *ṇ*, in an upward direction; compare the *aksharas* *ṇâṁ* in line 4 of the present inscription, *ṇô* in line

[1] For other plates which are marked in the same manner, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 197.

[2] I owe the above information to Dr. Fleet, according to whom the later Kâdambas, both of Hângal and of Goa, also had the *siṁha-lâñchhana* or lion-crest; see his *Dynasties*, second ed., pp. 560 and 566. Mr. Rice finds the lion also on the seal of the Hiṭṇahebbâgilu plates; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 2.

17 of the Uruvupalli plates, *ṇḍ* in line 3 of the plates of the Pallava Siṁhavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, Plate), and *ṇḍ* in line 3 of the Halsî plates of the Kadamba Kâkusthavarman (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 23, Plate).[1] The usual test-letters, *kh* (in *duḥkham*, l. 22), *j*, *b*[2] and *l*, are all of the earlier type; but some other letters, such as the subscript *ṭ* of *shṭi* in lines 2 and 24, the *sh* of *śrêshṭhinâ*, l. 19, and some forms of *y* (as in *Kaikêya*, l. 7, *samayâchâra*, l. 18, *yô*, l. 24, and *śriyâ*, l. 11), seem to me to present so late an appearance that, in my opinion, this inscription can hardly be placed earlier than the seventh century A.D. The Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in the names *Vaḷḷâvi* and *Koḷa-Nallûra*, l. 16; the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* in *duḥkham*, l. 22; and the sign of final *m*, the only final consonant which occurs, in °*pâlanam*, ll. 22 and 23.— The **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit. After the words *ôṁ svasti*, the text opens with a verse eulogizing the god Hari (Vishṇu), and in lines 20-26 it contains four benedictive and imprecatory verses, ascribed to Manu; otherwise it is in prose. The main part of the text, ll. 3-17, forms a single sentence, the construction of which is not quite correct, and which, except for the phrases with which it commences, reminds one of Pallava grants rather than of other Kadamba inscriptions. The **orthography** does not call for any particular remarks.

The inscription is one of the **Kadamba** *Mahârâja* **Kṛishṇavarman [II.]**, the son of the *Mahârâja* **Siṁhavarman**, who was a son of the *Dharmamahârâja* **Vishṇuvarman**, who was begotten by the *Dharmamahârâja* **Kṛishṇavarman [I.]** on a daughter of **Kaikêya.** It records (in ll. 13-17) that, **on the fifth tithi and under the nakshatra Jyêshṭhâ in the waxing half of the month Kârttika, in the seventh year of his reign,** the king granted the village **Koḷa-Nallûra** in the **Vaḷḷâvi-vishaya** to a Brâhmaṇ of the Kauśika *gôtra*, named Vishṇuśarman; and adds (in ll. 17-20) that the king was advised (to make this donation) by the *Śrêshṭhin* Haridatta of the Tuṭhiyalla *gôtra* and *pravara.*

I consider it very probable that the **Kṛishṇavarman I.** of this inscription is the *Dharmamahârâja* **Kṛishṇavarman** who in the Dêvagere plates of the *Yuvarâja* Dêvavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33) is mentioned as the father of this Dêvavarman. Judging from the writing, the Dêvagere inscription undoubtedly is earlier than the present inscription; the Kṛishṇavarman who is mentioned in it, like Kṛishṇavarman I. of this inscription, is described as *aśvamêdha-yâjin*, 'the performer of a horse-sacrifice;' and the (in these inscriptions unusual) statement of the present grant that Vishṇuvarman was Kṛishṇavarman's son 'from the daughter of Kaikêya,' seems pointedly to indicate that Kṛishṇavarman I. had one or more sons from another wife, and would thus agree with the fact that the Dêvagere grant is by a son of Kṛishṇavarman named Dêvavarman.— The names of the Kadamba *Mahârâjas* **Vishṇuvarman** and **Siṁhavarman** do not occur in other inscriptions of the same family.

Of the **localities** mentioned, the name of the Vaḷḷâvi *vishaya* appears to survive in 'Ballâvi,' the name of a town in the Tumkûr district of Mysore, Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, Plate 34, Cc; the village Koḷa-Nallûra I am unable to identify.

The **date** does not admit of verification. Judging from a number of native calendars, the *nakshatra* Jyêshṭhâ is joined more frequently with the 4th than with the 5th *tithi* of the bright

[1] In the Hirahaḍagalli plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, Plates) the *ḍ* of *ṇḍ* is denoted by a line attached to the foot of *ṇ*, on the proper left side; compare the word *bamhaṇḍṇaṁ*, in line 8. Practically the same way of writing *ṇḍ* we have *e.g.* in lines 1 and 9 of the Dêvagere plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Mṛigêśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, Plates). And the same sign for *ṇḍ* occurs in line 6 of the Halsî plates of the same king (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 24, Plate); there, however, a separate downward stroke originally was wrongly added to *ṇḍ*, and subsequently cancelled again. (In Prof. Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, Plate VII. Col. xiii. No. 43, the uncorrected wrong form is given; the correct sign for *ṇḍ* is given *ibid.* No. 21). In the Halsî plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, Plate) the sign for *ṇḍ* which is used in the present inscription is employed once, exceptionally, in line 1.

[2] The sign of *b* in *bala*, l. 1, apparently is open on the proper right; see above, Vol. V. p. 119.

half of Kârttika; but it sufficiently often goes together with the 5th as a current *tithi*, to render the mention of it, by itself, practically useless.[1]

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Ôṁ[3] Svasti || [4]Jayaty=udrikta-Daityêndra-bala-vîryya-vimarddanaḥ [|*]
2 jagat-pravṛitti-saṁhâra-sṛishṭi-mâyâdharô Hariḥ [||*]
3 Svâmi-Mahâsêna-mâtṛigaṇ-ânudhyât-âbhishiktânâṁ Mânavya-
4 sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritî-putrâṇâṁ pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchchâpârâṇâṁ

Second Plate; First Side.

5 [5]śrî-**Kadambânâṁ Kṛishṇavarmma**-dharmmamahârâjasya[6] aśvamêdha-yâjinaḥ
6 anêka-samara-saṁkaṭ-ôpalabdha-vijayakîrttêḥ vidyâ-vinîtasya
7 **Kaikêya**-sutâyâm=utpannêna śrî-**Vishṇuvarmma**-dharmmamahârâjêna
8 [7] gandharvvâ-hastiśikshâ-dhanurvvêdêshu Vatsarâj-Êndr-Ârjuna-samêna

Second Plate; Second Side.

9 śabdârttha-nyâya-vidush=ôtpâditasya[8] putra śrî-**Siṁhavarmmâ Kadambânâṁ**
10 mahârâjâ(jô) vikrântô=nêka-vidyâ-viśâradas=tasya sûnunâ śrî-**Kṛishṇavarmma**-
11 mahârâjêna sva-vîryya-bala-parâkram-ôpârjjita-râjyaśriyâ
12 paramabrahmaṇyêna samyak-prajâpâla[na*]-dakshêṇa kshîṇa-lôbhêna
13 **varddhamâna-vijayarâjya-saṁvatsarê saptamê Kârttika-mâsê**

Third Plate; First Side.

14 **âpûryyamâṇa-pakshê pañchamyâṁ Jyêshṭhâ-nakshatrê** Kauśika-sagôtrâya
15 vêda-pâragâya shaṭkarmma-niratâya âhit-âgnayê Vishṇuśarmma-nâma-
16 dhêyâya âtma-niśrêyasârtthaṁ **Vaḷâvi-vishayê Koḷa-Nallûra**-
17 nâma-grâmô dattaḥ sa-pâṇîya-pâtaḥ[9] sarvva-parihâraḥ [|*] Tuṭhiyalla-gôtra-
18 pravarêṇa samay-âchâra-sa[ṁ]pannêna svakarm-ânushṭhâna-tatparêṇa

Third Plate; Second Side.

19 râja-pûjitêna gô-sahasra-pradâtrâ Haridatta-śrêshṭhinâ upadêśaḥ
20 kṛitaḥ [||*] Atra Manu-gîtâ ślôkâ bhavanti || [10]Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ

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[1] A *nakshatra* (Uttara-bhadrapadâ) is mentioned together with a *tithi* (the 10th of the dark half of Kârttika) also in the date of the Dêvagere plates of the third year of the Kadamba Mṛigêśavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35; but that date is incorrect. The *nakshatra* either was *Uttara-phalgunî* (for the 10th of the dark half of Kârttika) or the *tithi* was the 10th of the *bright* half of Kârttika. Curiously, exactly the same mistake was made in the date of the Hâsan plates of Dêvarâya I. of Vijayanagara, of Śaka-Saṁvat 1328; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 150, *P.S.O.-C.I.* No. 25.

[2] From Dr. Fleet's impressions.

[3] Represented by a symbol, which stands on the proper right margin, before the space between lines 2 and 3. The same symbol, similarly placed, we have in the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava *Yuvamahârâja* Vishṇugôpavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51. And the same symbol, placed before the first line of the text, occurs in the plates of the Pallava *Mahârâja* Siṁhavarman, *ibid.* p. 155; in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramêndravarman II., above, Vol. IV. p. 195; and elsewhere.

[4] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] The letter *ś* is imperfect on the proper right side.

[6] Here, and in other places below, the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

[7] Read *gândharvva-*.

[8] Since some correction is necessary in lines 9 and 10, it is simplest to alter °*ditasya* to °*ditaḥ*. Similar mistakes occur in the Vakkalêri plates of Kîrtivarman II., above, Vol. V. p. 202.

[9] Read *-pâtaṁ*.

[10] Metre, here and below: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

i.

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ii a.

6

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ii b.

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12

iii a.

14

16

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iii b.

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iv.

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21 râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi[s=*] tasya tasya
22 tadâ phalaṁ || Svaṁ dâtuṁ sumahach=chhakyaṁ duḥkham=any-ârttha-pâlanam [|*]
23 dânaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ v=êti[1] dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanam [||*]

Fourth Plate.

24 Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ [|*] shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi
25 ghôrê tamasi pachyatê [||*] Adbhir=ddattaṁ tribhir=bhuktaṁ sadbhiś=cha paripâlitâṁ [|*]
26 êtâni na nivarttantê pûrvva-râja-kritâni cha || Yô=sya lôbhân=môhâd=v=â-
27 bhibartt[â*] sa pañcha-mahâpâtaka-[2]saṁyuktô bhavati [||*] Svasty=astu gô-brâhmaṇêbhyaḥ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ôṁ. Hail! Victorious is Hari (Vishṇu), who crushes the strength and heroism of the haughty lord of the Daityas, (*and*) owns the art of upholding, destroying and creating the world.

(L. 3.) (*In the family*) of the glorious **Kadambas,** anointed after meditating on Svâmi-Mahâsêna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the Mânavya *gôtra* (*and*) sons of Hâritî, who study the requital (*of good or evil*) as their sacred text, (*there was*[3]) the *Dharmamahârâja* **Krishṇavarman,** the performer of a horse-sacrifice, who obtained the fame of victory in many a hard-fought battle, (*and was*) well-trained in learning. To him was born, from the daughter of **Kaikêya,** the *Dharmamahârâja*, the glorious **Vishṇuvarman,** in the art of music,[4] the management of elephants and the science of archery like the king of Vatsa,[5] Indra and Arjuna, learned in grammar[6] and logic. He begot as his son the *Mahârâja* of the **Kadambas,** the glorious **Siṁhavarman,** valiant (*and*) conversant with many branches of learning.

(L. 10.) His son, the *Mahârâja*, the glorious **Krishṇavarman,** who has gained the fortune of royalty by his heroism, strength and enterprise, (*and is*) most devoted to religion, able to protect properly his people, (*and*) free from greed, — **in the seventh year of his prosperous reign of victory, on the fifth tithi in the waxing half in the month Kârttika, under the nakshatra Jyêshṭhâ,—** for the sake of his beatitude in the life to come, has given, with pouring-out of water, the village named **Koḷa-Nallûra** in the **Vaḷḷâvi-vishaya,** with every exemption (*from taxes*), to the Brâhmaṇ who keeps alive the sacred fire, named Vishṇuśarman, who belongs to the Kauśika *gôtra,* knows the whole Vêda, (*and*) delights in the six duties (*enjoined on Brâhmaṇs*).

(L. 17.) The *Śrêshṭhin* Haridatta, of the Tuṭhiyalla *gôtra* and *pravara,* whose conduct is comformable with his obligations, who is solely devoted to the performance of his duties (*and*) is honoured by the king, (*and*) who bestows thousands of cows,[7] has advised[8] (*the king to make this donation*).

[1] After this there is a mark on the plate, perhaps intended for a sign of punctuation, which, however, is unnecessary.

[2] This *ka* was at first omitted, and then engraved below the line.

[3] In the original, lines 3-17 form a single sentence, which has been broken up here into four.

[4] Some words here and below remind one of line 13 of the Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradâman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 259; for *gândharva* see also *e.g. Râmâyaṇa,* Bo. ed., II. 2, 35.

[5] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 357, verse 29.

[6] *Śabdârtha* literally is 'the words and their meanings' or 'the meanings of words.' In the Junâgaḍh rock inscription the expression has generally been taken to mean 'grammar and polity.'

[7] Ushavadâta gave (as alms) three hundred thousand cows; see *Archæol. Surv. of West. India,* Vol. IV. p. 99, No. 5, line 1.

[8] Compare the Halsî plates of the *Mahârâja* Harivarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, l. 8 of the text.

(L. 20.) Here there are (*the following*) verses sung by Manu:—[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 26.) He who from greed or infatuation takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of the five great sins. May blessings rest on cows and Brâhmaṇs! [1]

No. 3.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(*Continued from Vol. V. page 200.*)

Vol. IV. of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* again contains a number of Chôḷa inscriptions with Śaka dates. Dr. Hultzsch has sent me revised transcripts and translations of six of them (Nos. 32-37), which are all in the Heggaḍadêvankôṭe tâluka of the Mysore district. The transcripts were made from inked estampages, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A. The seventh of the new dates (No. 38) is taken from Vol. III. of Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

I would add here a few words about **the commencement of Râjarâja's reign.** Above, Vol. V. p. 48, I found that that reign commenced between (approximately) the 24th December A.D. 984 and the 29th August A.D. 985. By the statement of the Śuchîndram inscription, *ibid.* p. 44, according to which the tenth year of the king's reign commenced with the month of Karkaṭaka, the previously found period is reduced **to the time from the 25th June to the 25th July A.D. 985.**

A.— RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

32.— On a stone at the Bâṇêśvara temple at Beḷatûru.[2]

1 Śrî svasti [||*] Saka-varisha [3]voṁbhaynûṟa-nâlvatta-mûṟe(ṟa)neya varishada[4] Raudra-saṁvatsarada Â-
2 shâḍha-mâsada puṇṇave Uttarâshâḍha-nakshatraṁ Maka-
3 ra-chandraṁ Bri(bṛi)haspati-vâraṁ śrî-Muḍigoṇḍa-Râjêndra-Chôḷaṁ râjyaṁ [ge]-
4 yyutt-ire iyâṇḍu oṁbhattâvudaṟa(ṟo)ḷ.

"**Thursday,** the moon being in **Makara,** the *nakshatra* being **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Âshâḍha in the **Raudra** year (*which corresponded*) to the nine-hundred-and-forty-third year of the **Śaka** years,— **in the ninth year of the reign of the glorious Muḍigoṇḍa-Râjêndra-Chôḷa.**"

The Jovian year **Raudra** by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 943 as a current year (= A.D. 1020-21). In that year the month Âshâḍha was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the second or *nija* Âshâḍha ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday,** the 7th July A.D. 1020, when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., and by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., after mean

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[1] Cows and Brâhmaṇs are often mentioned together in this order; compare *e.g.* line 15 of Rudradâman's inscription referred to above; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 32, l. 10 of the text; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 52, and p. 129, l. 28; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 39, l. 1; *Râmâyaṇa*, Bo. ed., I. 26, 5; III. 23, 28 (*svasti gô-brâhmaṇêbhyas=tu*); III. 24, 21 (*svasti gô-brâhmaṇânâṁ cha*); VI. 107. 49; *etc.*

[2] Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 16.

[3] The opening words of line 1 as far as *voṁbha* are engraved at right angle to the remainder.

[4] This word is entered below the line and its omission indicated by a cross above *neya*.

sunrise. The ending point of Uttarâshâḍhâ being 276° 42′ 15″ or 280°, the moon of course was in the sign **Makara** (270° —300°).

According to our date, this **Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020,** fell in **the ninth year** of the king's reign. How far this statement may agree with other dates of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I., will be considered below, under No. 34.

33.— On a stone lying at the Bâṇêśvara temple at Beḷatûru.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Pûrvva-dêsamuṁ
2 Gaṁgeyuṁ Kaḍâramuṁ goṇḍa kô Pa-
3 rakêsarivarmmar=âna śrî-Râjêndra-
4 Chôḷadêvargg=iyâṇḍu irppatt-eraḍâ-
5 vudu [|*] svasti [|*] Saka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-
6 śataṁga 955ya Śrîmukha-saṁvatsarada Mârggaśi-
7 ra-suddha-pâḍivam=Mûl-Ârkkad=aṁdu.

"**In the twenty-second year** (*of the reign*) **of king Parakêsarivarman** *alias* **the glorious Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva,** who conquered the Eastern country, the Gaṅgâ, and Kaḍâram,[2] —on **Sunday,** (*the nakshatra being*) **Mûla,** during the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Mârgaśira** in the **Śrîmukha** year (*which was*) the 955th of the hundreds of years passed from the time of the Śaka king."

The Jovian year **Śrîmukha** by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 955 as an expired year (=A.D. 1033-34). In that year the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśira ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th October A.D. 1033, when the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ. This in no way satisfies the requirements of the case.

I have no doubt that the month intended in the original is really the month Pausha of our Tables[3] (which follows immediately upon Mârgaśira), because, for that month, the date regularly corresponds to **Sunday,** the 25th November A.D. 1033,[4] when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. 14 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Mûla,**[5] by the Brahma-siddhânta for 2 h. 38 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal-space system for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

According to our date, this **Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033,** fell in **the twenty-second year** of the king's reign. This, too, will be considered under the next date.

34.— On a stone in front of the Arkêśvara temple at Aṅkanâthapura.[6]

1 Svasti [||*] Sha(śa)ka-varishaṁ 959neya I(î)śvara-shatsaṁrada[7]
2 Âsaḍa-mâssada[8] Kâḷashṭavaya Shâti-naktra Somma-
3 varada [a]ndu śrî-Mmu(mu)ḍigoṇḍa-Gaṅgegoṇḍa-Râjhê(jê)ndra-Chô-
4 ḷadêvarkk=iya(yâ)ṇḍu ippata-aṟavudu.[9]

[1] Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 17.

[2] Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 69, date No. 5.

[3] I must add that there may be a way of proving the quotation in the original date of the month *Mârgaśira* to be correct. In Śaka-Saṁvat 955 expired, by the rules of mean intercalation, a month was intercalated before Pausha. That month would ordinarily be called *Pausha*; but it might be called *Mârgaśira* on the supposition that it was calculated by the Ârya-siddhânta, and named according to Brahmagupta's rule; see my *List of North. Inscr.* No. 484. This remark does not affect the correctness of the European equivalent of the date, given above.

[4] On the immediately preceding day the *Dhanuḥ-saṁkrânti* took place, 13 h. after mean sunrise.

[5] That it is correct to translate *Mûl-Ârkad=andu* by 'on Sunday, (*the nakshatra being*) Mûla,' is proved by a date on p. 17 of the Roman text of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. That date gives us for calculation Śaka-Saṁvat 1039 (current, the year Durmukha), Jyaishṭha-bahula 1, and *Mûl-Ârkavâra*; and it corresponds to *Sunday*, the 28th May A.D. 1116, when the first *tithi* of the dark half commenced 4 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and when the *nakshatra* was *Mûla* by all systems.

[6] Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 104.

[7] Read *-saṁvatsarada.*

[8] Read *Âshâḍha-mâsada Kâḷâshṭamiyuṁ Svâti-nakshatraṁ Sôma-vârad=andu.*

[9] Read *ippatt-âṟâvadu.*

"On **Monday**, the *nakshatra* being **Svâti**, during the *Kâlâshṭamî* (*tithi*) of the month of Âshâḍha in the **Îśvara** year (*which was*) the 959th Śaka year,—**in the twenty-sixth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious Muḍigoṇḍa-Gaṅgegoṇḍa-Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva.**"

The Jovian year **Îśvara** by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 959 as an expired year (=A.D. 1037-38). *Kâl-âshṭamî* is a name of the 8th *tithi* of the dark half. As this *tithi*, in the month of Âshâḍha, can under no circumstances be joined with Svâti (the 15th *nakshatra*), the given date cannot be correct.

As a matter of fact, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of Âshâḍha of Śaka-Saṁvat 959 expired ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 8th July A.D. 1037, when the *nakshatras* were Aśvinî and Bharaṇî (the first and second *nakshatras*). And the 8th *tithi* of the *dark* half cannot have been quoted erroneously instead of the 8th *tithi* of the *bright* half (on which in Âshâḍha the *nakshatra* may be Svâti), because in the given Śaka year the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Âshâḍha ended on a Thursday (the 23rd June A.D. 1037), not on a Monday. I have calculated the date also for other months of the given year, but without any satisfactory results.

Giving up this date as hopelessly wrong, we have still to consider what *data* are furnished by the two preceding dates for ascertaining the time of the commencement of the reign of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. By No. 32 the 7th July A.D. 1020 fell in the ninth year, and by No. 33 the 25th November A.D. 1033 in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. Accordingly (approximately) the 7th July A.D. 1012 and the 25th November A.D. 1012 must have fallen in the first year; and **the reign of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.**, according to the two new dates, therefore undoubtedly must have **commenced some time between (approximately) the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July A.D. 1012.**

I have previously (above, Vol. IV. p. 266) stated that the king's reign commenced between the 24th October A.D. 1001 and the 23rd October A.D. 1002. That statement necessarily was based solely on the date No. 5 (*ibid.* p. 69), which corresponds to the 23rd October A.D. 1032, and which, according to the actual reading of the date, is of the 31st year of the reign of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. With the new dates before me, in which the numbers of the regnal years are given in words, I feel sure that the number 31 in the date No. 5 has been put erroneously for 21, and that the 23rd October A.D. 1032 really fell in the 21st year of the king's reign, which would agree with the new result. This result would also tend to shew that in the incorrect date No. 34 the Śaka year (959 expired), at any rate, is given correctly.

B.—RAJADHIRAJA.

35.—On a stone in front of the Mâri temple at Koḷagâla.[1]

1 Śrî-Râjâdhirâjadêva[r*]gg=iyâṇḍu [35]-[2]
2 âvadu [Sa]kha-va[ri]śaṁ[3] 975[ne]-
3 ya [4]Vijayôśchaiva-saṁvatsara[da]
4 Jêshṭa-mâsada sukla-pakshada tra[yô*]-
5 daśi Âdityavârad=andu.

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[1] Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 114.

[2] The two figures of the date are damaged, but cannot be read otherwise. Mr. Rice reads *yâṇḍugeṁṭâradu*. From this erroneous reading he further concludes that Râjâdhirâja's regnal years were reckoned in two different ways; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 13 of the Introduction.

[3] Read *Śaka-varshaṁ*.

[4] This curious form is derived from certain *versus memoriales* (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1881, p. 276), in which the year Vijaya is introduced by the words *Vijayaś=ch=aiva*. Compare the two similar terms *Pramôdûta* and *Pramâdîcha*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 109, note 2.

"In the [35]th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious **Râjâdhirâjadêva,**— on **Sunday,** the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyaishṭha in the **Vijaya** year (*which was*) the 975th Śaka year."

The Jovian year **Vijaya** by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 975 as an expired year (=A.D. 1053-54). For that year the date is incorrect; for the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the given year corresponds to Tuesday, the 1st June A.D. 1053, which was entirely occupied by the *tithi.*[1]

The date would be correct for the third (instead of the 13th) *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaishṭha of the given year, which ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** the 23rd May A.D. 1053.

From what I have stated above, Vol. IV. p. 266, about the commencement of Râjâdhirâja's reign, it is clear that any date of the 35th year of that king's reign must fall between (approximately) the 15th March A.D. 1052 and the 2nd December A.D. 1053.

C.— RAJENDRADEVA.

36.— On a stone near the Binakalamma temple at Beḷatûru.[2]

1 Ôṁ [||*] Svasti śrî-Chôḷa-râjaṁ sakaḷa-vasudheyaṁ koṇḍu Râjêndradêvaṁ [3]dust-âri-vrâta-ghâtaṁ negaḷe barisam=âṟ=âge mattaṁ Sak-âbdaṁ [|*] vis[t]â-

2 rak[k*]=oṁbhat-êḷ-oṁbhatum=ene barisaṁ Hêmaḷaṁbi-prasiddhaṁ svastaṁ mâsaṁ gaḍaṁ Kâ[r*]ttikam=asi[ta]-dinaṁ dvâdasî Sômavâraṁ |(||)

"Hail! **When it was six years after the glorious Chôḷa king Râjêndradêva,** renowned as the slayer of crowds of wicked enemies, **had taken possession of the whole earth,**— and again, in detail, in the Śaka year reckoned as nine, seven and nine (*i.e.* 979), in the year known as **Hêmaḷambin,** on **Monday,** the twelfth *tithi*, a day of the dark (*fortnight*) of the auspicious month of Kârttika."

The Jovian year **Hêmalambin** by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 979 as an expired year (=A.D. 1057-58); and for that year the date corresponds to **Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057,** when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta* Kârttika ended 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

Below, under No. 38, it will be seen that the words of the date 'when it was six years after' *etc.*, simply are intended to convey the sense of 'in the sixth year of the reign of.'

37.— On a vîrakal at Gujjappanahuṇḍi.[4]

5 Vîra-siṁggâsanattu vîṭr=irind=aruḷina kôv=Irâjakêsaripadmar=âna oḍeya
6 śrî-Râjêndradêvargg=iyâṇḍu panniraṇḍâvudu . . . .
7 . . . .
8 Saka-varisha
9 984 . . .[5]
10 saṁvatsarada
11 Pâlguṇa-mâ-
12 sada puṇṇave-
13 y-andu.

[1] The date would be incorrect also for the current Śaka year 975.

[2] Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 18.

[3] Read *dushṭ-*.

[4] Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 115. The original is much worn and many *aksharas* are indistinct, but the figures of the Śaka date in line 9 are clear. The introduction (ll. 1-4) mentions Râjêndra's elder brother (*viz.* Râjâdhirâja), the planting of a pillar of victory at Kollâpuram, and the defeat of Âhavamalla at Koppam.

[5] Here two or three *aksharas* are lost.

"**In the twelfth year** (*of the reign*) **of king Râjakêsarivarman**[1] *alias* **the lord śrî-Râjêndradêva,** who was pleased to be seated on the throne of heroes,— during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Phâlguna in the . . . . year (*which was*) the Śaka year 984."

This date does not admit of verification. All that I can say about it, is, that if the Śaka year is Śaka-Saṁvat 984 expired, the date, which is stated to be of the twelfth year of the king's reign, will ordinarily correspond to the 15th February A.D. 1063. From No. 38, below, it will be seen that this day fell really in the eleventh year of the king's reign.

38.— In the Râjagôpâla-Perumâḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.[2]

13 . . . . kô=Ppara[k]êśari[panmar]=âna [u]ḍai[y]âr śrî-Râjêndradêvaṟ[ku] yâṇḍu nâlâva-

14 du [nâ*]ḷ 8[2] || . . . . ivv-âṭṭai Si[ṁ*]ha-nâyaṟṟu apara-paksha[t]tu ashṭamiyum Viyâḻa-kkiḻamaiyum

15 peṟṟa Rôja(hi)ṇi-nâḷ.

"**On the 8[2]nd day of the fourth year** (*of the reign*) **of king Parakêsarivarman** *alias* **the lord śrî-Râjêndradêva,**— on the day of **Rôhiṇî,** which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Siṁha** in this year."

Of the years indicated in a general way by the two preceding dates, the one which yields a correct (and a most satisfactory) result for this date, is Śaka-Saṁvat 977 expired. In that year the month of **Siṁha** lasted from the 27th July to the 26th August A.D. 1055; and during that time the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (which was the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amânta nija* Śrâvaṇa) *commenced* 14 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday,** the 17th August A.D. 1055, when the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî,** from sunrise (or, by the equal space system, from about midday) to the end of the day. Although the *tithi* commenced so late in the day, the result is correct, because the *tithi* with which we are concerned is the *Janm-âshṭamî* or *Kṛishṇ-âshṭamî,* a *tithi* which must be joined with that day of which the time of midnight is occupied by it, and which therefore, in the present instance, could have been joined only with the Thursday on which it commenced about four hours before midnight. The occasion was the more auspicious as the *nakshatra* at midnight was Rôhiṇî.[3]

The equivalent of this date, then, undoubtedly is **Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.** As this was the 82nd day of the fourth year of the king's reign, the first day of the fourth year was the 28th May A.D. 1055, and **Râjêndradêva's reign commenced (approximately) on the 28th May A.D. 1052.** The result shews that the equivalent of the date No. 36 (the 27th October A.D. 1057) fell in the sixth year of his reign, while the equivalent suggested for No. 37 (the 15th February A.D. 1063) fell in the eleventh, not in the twelfth year.

For convenience of reference **the commencement of the reigns of the seven Chôḷa kings** whose dates have been examined in the preceding, may now be given thus:—

1.—**Râjarâja:** between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.
2.—**Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.:** between the 26th November A.D. 1011, and the 7th July 1012.
3.—**Râjâdhirâja:** between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.
4.—**Râjêndradêva:** (approximately) the 28th May A.D. 1052.
5.—**Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.:** between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.
6.—**Vikrama-Chôḷa:** (most probably) the 18th July A.D. 1108.
7.—**Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III.:** between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178.

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[1] In all other published inscriptions the king bears the surname Parakêsarivarman.
[2] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 29, pp. 61 and 63.
[3] Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 182, *Śrâvaṇa-kṛishṇapaksha* VIII.

No. 4.—KONNUR SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.; SAKA-SAMVAT 782.

By F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Paramêśvara at Konnûr,[1] the 'Khonoor' of the map, a large village on the south bank of the Malparbhâ river, 23 miles in a north-easterly direction from Nawalgund, the chief town of the Nawalgund tâluka, Dhârwâr district; *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 41, long. 75° 34′ E., lat. 15° 51′ N. I edit the inscription from an excellent impression, kindly given to me by Dr. Fleet.[2]

The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 5′ 4½″ high by 2′ 10″ broad. Above the writing, in the arched top with which the stone ends, there are some **sculptures**, *viz.*, in the middle, a shrine holding a sitting Jaina Tîrthaṁkara, with a chowrie-bearer on either side of him; on the proper left of the shrine, a cow with a sucking calf and, above them, a sword and the sun; and on the right of the shrine, another chowrie-bearer and an elephant, with the new moon above them. The **writing** is well executed, and for the most part in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$″. The **characters** are Kanarese of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The **language** is Sanskṛit, excepting a verse in lines 62-64, and the prose passage at the end of the inscription, lines 70-72, which are in Kanarese. The greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of **orthography,** it will suffice to draw attention to the frequent use of the Dravidian *ḷ*, and of the sign of the *upadhmânîya* (also in the word *puḫpa* for *pushpa*, l. 40), and to the occasional employment of the sign of the *jihvâmûlîya* (in *dharmmaẖ=kêvalaṁ*, l. 14, *yaẖ=kâṁchanaṁ*, l. 54, and *kirttiẖ=kakubhâṁ*, l. 69).

The inscription divides itself into two parts. Lines 1 to (the word *sarvvaṁ* in) 59 record a grant, professedly made by the Râshṭrakûṭa king **Amôghavarsha [I.]** on a date which falls in A.D. 860. Lines 59 (from the word *mithyâbhâva*) to 72, on the other hand, after praises of the Jaina creed and the two sages **Mêghachandra-Traividya** and his son **Vîranandin,** inform us that, at the request of **Huliyamarasa,** the *Mahâprabhu* of **Koḷanûra,** and others, Vîranandin had a copper charter, which they had seen, rewritten here as a stone charter. According to this statement, lines 1-59 of the inscription were copied from a copper-plate inscription;[3] and from the dates which we possess for Vîranandin and his father Mêghachandra-Traividya, the time when this copy was made, and when the inscription, as we have it, was engraved, may approximately be determined to be **the middle of the twelfth century A.D.** From an inscription at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa (Roman text, p. 26, ll. 3-6) we know that Mêghachandra-Traividya died on Thursday, the 2nd December A.D. 1115;[4] and according to a notice published by Mr. Pathak,[5] Vîranandin finished the writing of his *Âchâra-sâra* on a date which I find to correspond to Monday, the 25th May A.D. 1153.

The principal part of the inscription (lines 1-59, the alleged copy of a copper-plate inscription) records, that—**at a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of the month Âśvayuja**

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[1] I am told by Dr. Fleet that a similar name in the Belgaum district is distinctly *Koṇṇûr*, from the old form *Koṇḍanûr*, as well as by actual verification of the present spelling. But the name with which we are here concerned is derived from *Koḷanûra*, which occurs in this record.

[2] The inscription is mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 406, note 4.

[3] That other stone inscriptions *have* been copied from copper-plates, there can be no doubt; and the fact is distinctly stated *e.g.* in the inscriptions in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 281, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 20.

[4] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 116, No. 17.

[5] See *ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 14. The date given by Mr. Pathak is 'Śaka 1076, the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of Jyaishṭha.' On the corresponding European date given above, the first *tithi* of the bright half of the second Jyaishṭha *commenced* 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

(or Âśvina) in the [Jovian] year Vikrama, Śaka-Saṁvat 782 expired or, as is expressly stated, **83 current** (ll. 43 and 44)—king **Amôghavarsha [I.]**, the successor of **Jagattuṅga** (ll. 15 and 16), residing at his capital of **Mânyakhêṭa**[1] (l. 34), at the request of his subordinate **Baṅkêśa (Baṅkêya)** and in recognition of important services rendered by him, granted the village of **Taleyûra** (l. 38) and some land in other villages (ll. 45-48), for the benefit of a Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkêya at **Koḷanûra**, to the sage Dêvêndra,[2] who had been appointed by Baṅkêya to the charge of the sanctuary, the disciple of Trikâlayôgîśa, of the Pustaka *gachchha* of the Dêśîya *gaṇa* of the Mûla *saṁgha* (ll. 35-38). The introductory part of the inscription—after two verses of which one invokes the blessing, at the same time, of the god Vishṇu (Jina) and the first Jaina prophet (Jinêndra), and the other[3] the protection of both Vishṇu (Nârâyaṇa) and the king Amôghavarsha himself, here, as in verse 34, called **Vîra-Nârâyaṇa**[4]—in verses 3-11 gives the genealogy of Amôghavarsha. Verses 17-34 contain a eulogistic account of the services rendered by Baṅkêśa (Baṅkêya). And the concluding lines 57-59 record the writer's name, Vatsarâja, and that of Baṅkêyarâja's chief adviser, the *Mahattara* Gaṇapati.

It may at once be stated here that **the date** given above undoubtedly **is correct.** The Jovian year Vikrama corresponds to Śaka-Saṁvat 782 expired, by both luni-solar systems;[5] and on the full-moon day of Âśvina of that year, corresponding to **the 3rd October A.D. 860,** there was **a total eclipse of the moon, fully visible in India** for more than three hours. But much as the correctness of a date, containing such particulars as are given here, would speak in favour of the genuineness of a record, there is at least one point in the preceding, which raises a doubt whether the stone inscription, even if it was based on a genuine copper-plate charter, is an authentic copy of it in every detail. Excepting the Kaḍaba grant of Prabhûtavarsha (Gôvinda III.) the form of which is altogether peculiar, the earlier Sanskrit copper-plate inscriptions of the Râshṭrakûṭas of the main line, from the Sâmâṅgaḍ plates of Dantidurga to the Nausârî plates of Indrarâja III. of Śaka-Saṁvat 836, all commence with the verse *Sa vô=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma*; and as that verse is found also in Amôghavarsha's own Śirûr inscription, I should have expected the present inscription also to begin with it, and might well fancy that the Jaina copyists substituted for it a verse referring to their own creed.

However this may be, it is certain that the genealogical account in verses 3-11 of this inscription, which we now have to consider, cannot possibly be admitted to be a true copy of a genuine copper-plate charter. To shew this, I place side by side here the line of succession as

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[1] According to the Dêôlî plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 862 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, l. 18 of the text) Mânyakhêṭa was founded by Amôghavarsha I. The earliest plates in which it is described as the residence of a king, are the Nausârî plates of Indrarâja III. of Śaka-Saṁvat 836 (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 257 and 261).

[2] This may be the Dêvêndra of Baṅkâpura, mentioned in *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Roman text, p. 49, l. 8.

[3] With this second verse may be compared the third verse of the Nausârî plates mentioned above, which eulogizes the king Indrarâja III. who issued the grants, by comparing him with, and ascribing to him actions which were performed by, the god Vishṇu.

[4] *I.e.* 'a Nârâyaṇa (or Vishṇu) in the shape of a hero,' or 'a hero who is like Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu).' Amôghavarsha I. is described as *Vîra-Nârâyaṇa* also in the Nausârî plates; and the same epithet is given to Amôghavarsha Kakkarâja II. in the Kardâ plates of that king (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 40 of the text). Similar epithets are *Kîrti-Nârâyaṇa*, 'a Nârâyaṇa (or Vishṇu) in fame,' applied to Gôvinda III. in the Śirûr inscription of Amôghavarsha I. (*ibid.* p. 218, l. 5 of the text), and to Indrarâja III. in his Nausârî plates; and *Vikrânta-Nârâyaṇa*, 'a Nârâyaṇa (or Vishṇu) in valour,' applied to Gôvinda IV. in his Sâṅglî plates (*ibid.* p. 251, l. 38 of the text).— In the case of the present inscription, what, in my opinion, must strike one as somewhat suspicious, is, that, in verse 34, the king in his own speech should have been made to represent himself as Vîra-Nârâyaṇa.

[5] Judging by other dates, the proper system for Śaka-Saṁvat 782 is the so-called northern luni-solar system; but by the strict mean-sign system also the day of the date would fall in the year Vikrama, which ended on the 14th October A.D. 860.

furnished by this inscription, and the genealogy of the Râshṭrakûṭa princes from Gôvindarâja I. to Amôghavarsha I., as we know it from their copper-plates.

From this inscription.	From the copper-plates.
1. In the **Yâdava** lineage, **Gôvinda**, son of **Prichchhakarâja**.	**Gôvindarâja I.**
2. **Karkara**, son of king **Indra**.	His son **Kakkarâja** or **Karkarâja**.
	His son **Indrarâja**.
3. His son **Dantidurga**.	His son **Dantidurga**.
4. **Śubhatuṅgavallabha-Akâlavarsha**.	**Śubhatuṅga-Akâlavarsha** (Kṛishṇaraja I., son of Kakkarâja).
	His son **Prabhûtavarsha**[1] (Gôvindarâja II.).
5. **Prabhûtavarsha**, son of **Dhârâvarsha**.	His younger brother (Dhruvarâja-Nirupama) **Dhârâvarsha**.
6. His son **Prabhûtavarsha-Jagattuṅga**.	His son **Prabhûtavarsha-Jagattuṅga** (Gôvindarâja III.).
7. **Amôghavarsha**.	His son **Amôghavarsha**.

From the above it will be seen that, excepting the strange name **Prichchhakarâja**[2] for which I cannot account, the same names, though not always written uniformly, are there on either side. But to the writer of this part of our inscription the mutual relationship of the princes whose names he knew, apparently was a riddle. He therefore either observed a discreet silence or perpetrated such blunders as to make Karkara the son of Indrarâja, whereas he was his father; or to put down Prabhûtavarsha as the son of Dhârâvarsha, to omit Dhârâvarsha altogether from the line of kings, and then to make Prabhûtavarsha-Jagattuṅga the son of Prabhûtavarsha. Moreover, the assignment of these kings to the **Yâdava** lineage,[3] and especially the occurrence of the name **Karkara**,[4] instead of Kakkarâja or Karkarâja, seem clearly to indicate that the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amôghavarsha I.

The person with whom our inscription is chiefly concerned, is **Baṅkêśa** or, as the name also is written, **Baṅkêya**, or **Baṅkêyarâja**, by Amôghavarsha's favour in the enjoyment of, or governing, thirty-thousand villages the most important of which was **Vanavâsi** (verse 21). As reported by Dr. Fleet,[5] an unpublished inscription at Nidagundi in the Dhârwâr district mentions, as a feudatory of Amôghavarsha I., **Baṅkeyarasa**, governor of the Banavâsi twelve-thousand, the Beḷgali three-hundred, the Kundarage seventy, the Kundûr five-hundred, and the Purigere three-hundred, who apparently is the same personage. According to our inscription, **Baṅkêśa** *alias* **Sella-kêtana** was the son of **Adhôra** (or **Âdhôra**), proprietor of **Koḷanûra**, and his wife **Vijayâṅkâ**, and grandson of **Eṛakôri**, of the **Mukuḷa** family (*kula*; vv. 17-19). The name Baṅkêśa (or Baṅkêya) together with the *biruda* Sellakêtana identify

[1] I take this name from the Kaḍaba plates.

[2] According to the fragmentary Ellôrâ Daśâvatâra cave temple inscription (*Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. V, p. 87) Gôvindarâja I. was the son of Indrarâja.

[3] In line 17 of the Waṇî plates of Gôvindarâja III. of Śaka-Saṁvat 730 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157) the Yâdava *vaṁśa* is mentioned by way of comparison; but the earliest plates in which the Râshṭrakûṭas are stated to belong to the *Yadûnâṁ vaṁśa*, are the Nausârî plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 836.

[4] The earlier inscriptions have only the names *Kakkarâja* and *Karkarâja*; the name *Kakkala* occurs in the Kardâ plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 894 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 264), in the Gunḍûr inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 896 (*ibid.* p. 271), and in later inscriptions; and *Karkara* I first meet with in the Kauṭhêṁ plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 930 (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41 of the text).

[5] See *Dynasties*, p. 403: Dr. Fleet has informed me that in the Niḍagundi inscription Baṅkêya is described as *Chellakêtana śrîmat Baṁkeyarasa*, but is also called simply *Baṅkeya*. See below.

him with the **Chellakêtana**, whose son Lôkâditya *alias* Chellapatâka (the younger brother of Chelladhvaja), of the Mukula *kula*, in A.D. 897 was governing the Vanavâsa country at **Bankapura**, so named by his father *after his own name* (Bankêśa);[1] and there can therefore be hardly any doubt that the date of our inscription (in A.D. 860) may give us a true date for the time of Bankêśa.— The exploits of Bankêśa are told in verses 22-31. As leader of the hereditary forces, he at the king's command invaded **Gaṅgavâḍi**[2] (the country of the Western Gaṅgas), took the fort of **Kêḍaḷa**, put to flight the ruler of **Talavanapura**, and after crossing the river **Kâvêrî**, conquered the enemy's country. Recalled then by Amôghavarsha on account of disturbances which had broken out at home, and in which, as appears from verse 31, the king's own son was concerned,[3] he quickly returned, and succeeded in quelling the insurrection and restoring his master's fortune.— The **Talavanapura** here mentioned is the well-known capital of the Western Gaṅgas, the modern Taḷakâḍ on the left bank of the river Kâvêrî;[4] and **Kêḍaḷa** may perhaps be the modern 'Kaidala' which, according to the map in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, is to the north-east of Kaḍaba.

As regards the places mentioned in connection with the actual grant, **Koḷanûra** has already been stated to be the village of Konnûr, where the inscription is. The village granted, **Taleyûra**, which was in the **Majjantiya**-seventy *bhukti*, has not been identified; nor have its boundaries, **Beṇḍanûru**,[5] **Sâsavevâ[du]**, **Paḍilageṟe**, and **Kilavâḍa**. In addition to the main grant, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted at **Koḷanûra** itself, and at each of the thirty villages which are enumerated in lines 45-48. Eleven of these may be identified[6] with modern villages at a reasonable distance from Konnûr, thus :—

Avaravâ[ḍ]i = 'Owruddee,' 'Aurwâdi;' 6 miles west by north from Konnûr;
Beṇḍanûru = 'Bennoor;' 1½ miles north of 'Owruddee;'
Suḷḷa = 'Soolah,' 'Sula;' 5 miles east by south from Konnûr;
Mâvinûru = 'Munnoor;' 8 miles east by south from Konnûr;
Mattikaṭṭe = 'Mutteekuttee,' 'Matikatti;' 12 miles north by east from Konnûr;
Nila[gun]dage = 'Neelgoondee;' 5½ miles north-east from Konnûr;
Tâḷikhêḍa = 'Tullakodda;' 'Tálakwád;' 2½ miles north-west from Konnûr;
B[e]ḷḷeṟu = 'Belleeree;' 2½ miles west-north-west from Konnûr;
Muttalageṟe = 'Mootulgeeree,' 'Mutalgeri;' 7½ miles east by north from Konnûr;
Kâkeyanûru = 'Kakanoor,' 'Káknur;' 7½ miles north-west from Konnûr;
Neṟi[la]ge = 'Neerlehgee,' 'Niralgi;' 9 miles north by west from Konnûr.

[1] See the passage from the Jaina *Uttarapurâṇa*, first published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 217, and afterwards, more correctly, in Prof. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 429; also Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks, *ibid.* p. 430 and pp. 120 and 121. Our inscription shews that in the Sanskrit text *Mukula*, and not *Padmâlaya*, must be taken to be the name of Lôkâditya's family.— The *biruda Chellakêtana* (or *Sellakêtana*) Mr. Pathak in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 223 has translated by 'cloth-bannered' (see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 403, note 2), but, so far as I can see, the Kanarese word for 'cloth' is *sele* = Sanskrit *chêla*. Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* gives *sêla* (from the *Kâdambarî*) and *sêlla* in the sense of 'a kind of weapon;' and Kittel's *Dictionary* has *śelle* = *śalle* = *śalya*, 'a dart, a javelin, a spear tipped with iron, a pike' *etc.*, and also *selleha* = *salleha* = *śalya*; I think that these are the words with which the first part of the *biruda* should be connected. In support of this view, I would state that I find *sella* as the first part of a proper name in *Sellavidyâdhara* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, line 29 of the text), and that in the verse in which the name occurs (where I would alter the corrupt *selullâlita-pâṇinâ* to *sella-lâlita-pâṇinâ*) the author too apparently has understood *sella* to denote some kind of weapon ('Sellavidyâdhara, whose hand is fondled by the javelin').— Compare also the *biruda Sellavidega* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 219, l. 51.

[2] The wars with the Gaṅgas are often spoken of in Râshṭrakûṭa records. In Sanskrit inscriptions the name of their country is ordinarily written *Gaṅgapâṭî*.

[3] Regarding Amôghavarsha's wars with rebellious members of his own family, see *e.g.* *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 53. I am not aware that elsewhere his own son is spoken of in this connection.

[4] See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 299.

[5] There is a 'Bennoor,' 2 miles north-west of Konnûr, and another village of the same name will be mentioned below.

[6] Most of these have been identified for me by Dr. Fleet.

The names of the other nineteen villages are **Mudugundi, Kittaivole, Mus[a], Da[dh]ere,**[1] **Saṁgama, Pirisiṅgi, Behuru,**[2] **Âlûgu, [Pârva]nagere, Hosañ[ja]la[lu], I[n]dugalu, Haganûru, Unalâru, Indagere, Munivalli, Kotta[s]e, Oddittage, Si[kimabri?],** and **Giri[pi]dalu.**

Stating distinctly what I have indicated above, I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter; at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document.

TEXT.[3]

1 [4]Śriyaḥ=priyas=saṁgata-viśvarûpas=sudarśana-chchhinna-parâvalêpaḥ [|*] diśyâd=anaṁtaḥ=praṇat-âmarêṁdraḥ śriyaṁ mam=âdyaḥ=paramâṁ **Jinêṁdraḥ** || [1*] [5]Ananta-bhô-

2 ga-sthitir=atra pâtu vaḥ pratâpaśîla-prabhav-ôdayâchalaḥ [|*] su-**Râ[sh]ṭrakûṭ**-ôrjjita-vaṁśa-pûrvvajas=sa **Vîra-Nârâyaṇa** êva yô vibhuḥ || [2*] Tadîya-bhûp-âya-

3 ta-**Yâdav**-ânvayê kramêṇa vârddhâv=iva ratna-saṁchayaḥ [|*] babhûva **Gôviṁda**-mahîpatir=bhbhu(bbhu)vaḥ prasâdhanô[6] **Prichchhakarâja**-nandanaḥ || [3*] **Iṁdr**-âvanîpâḷa-sutêna dhâriṇî prasâritâ

4 yêna Pṛithu-prabhâvinâ [|*] mah-aujasâ vairi-tamô nirâkṛitaṁ pratâpa-śîḷêna [sa] **Karkkara-prabhuḥ** || [4*] Tatô=bhavad=daṁti-ghaṭ-âbhimarddanô Himâchaḷâd=ûrjjita-sê-

5 tu-sîmna(ma)taḥ[7] [|*] khaḷîkṛit-ôdvṛitta-mahîpa-maṁḍaḷaḥ kuḷ-âgraṇîḥ[8] yô bhuvi **Dantidurgga-râṭ** || [5*] Svayaṁba(va)rîbhûta-raṇâṁgaṇê tatas=sa nirvvyapêkshaṁ **Śubhatuṁga-vallabhaḥ** [|*] chaka-

6 rsha **Châḷukya-kuḷa**-śriyaṁ baḷâd=vilôḷa-pâḷidhvaja-mâḷa-bhâriṇîṁ || [6*] Jay-ôchchasiṁhâsana-châmar-ôrjjitas=sit-âtapatrô[9] pratipaksha-râjya(ja)[10]-hâ [|*] **Akâlavarsh**-ôrjjita-bhû-

7 pa-nâmakô babhûva râjarshir=aśêsha-puṇyataḥ || [7*] [11]Tataḥ=**Prabhûtavarshô**-bhûd=[12]**Dhârâvarsha**-sutaś=śarair=ddhârâvarshâyitaṁ yêna saṁgrâma-bhuvi bhûbhujâ || [8*] Tasya sutaḥ ||

8 Yaj-janma-kâḷê dêvêṁdrair=âdishṭaṁ vṛishabhô bhuvaḥ [|*] bhôkt=êti Himavat-sêtu-paryyant-âṁbudhimêkhaḷ[â*]ṁ || [9*] Tataḥ=**Prabhûtavarshas**=san svayaṁ-pûrṇṇa-manôrathaḥ [|*] **Jagattuṁgas**=Sumê-

9 rur=vvâ bhûbhṛitâm=upari sthitaḥ || [10*] Bandhûnâṁ[13] bandhurâṇâm=uchita-nija-kuḷê pûrvvajâṇâṁ prajânâṁ jâtânâṁ **Vallabhânâṁ** bhuvana-bharita[14]-satkîrtti-mûrtti-sthitânâṁ [|*] trâtuṁ kîrttiṁ sa-lô-

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[1] Perhaps the modern 'Dâderkop,' 24 miles south-west from Konnûr.
[2] Perhaps the 'Beeoor' of the map, 15½ miles west from Konnûr.
[3] From Dr. Fleet's impression. [4] Metre: Upajâti. [5] Metre of verses 2-7: Vaṁśastha.
[6] Read °*dhanaḥ*; this correction may have been made already in the original.
[7] Before both ablatives the preposition *â* should have been used; compare *e.g.* above, Vol. III. p. 106, line 14 of the text.
[8] Read °*ṇîr*=. [9] Read °*patraḥ*.
[10] This correction may have been made already in the original.
[11] Metre of verses 8-10: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[12] Originally *bhârddhâ*° was engraved. [13] Metre: Sragdharâ.
[14] The word *bharita*, properly 'filled with,' is used wrongly here in the sense of 'filling'; compare *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, p. 108, l. 1.

10 kâṁ kali-kalusham=athô [1]hantam=antô ripûṇâṁ śrîmân=siṁhâsana-sthô [2]bhavanavanim=atô=**môghavarshaḥ** praśâsti || [11*] [3]Yasy=âjñâṁ para-chakriṇaḥ srajam=iv=âjasraṁ śirôbhir=vvahaṁ-

11 ty=â digdaṁti-ghaṭ-âvaḷî-mukha-paṭ[ê]ḥ[4] kîrtti-pratânas=sataḥ [|*] yatra-sthaḥ sva-kara-pratâpa-mahimâ kasy=âpy=adûra-sthitaḥ[5] têjaḥ-krâṁta-samasta-bhûbhṛid=ina êv=âsau na kasy=ôpari || [12*]

12 [6]Chatus-samudra-paryyaṁta[ṁ ?] svamudraṁ yat-prasâdhitaṁ [|*] bhagnâ samasta-bhûpâḷa-mudrâ Gâruḍa-mudrayâ || [13*] [7]Râjêṁdrâs=tê vaṁdanîyâs=tu pûrvvê yêshâṁ dharmma-

13 ḥ=pâḷanîyô=smad-âdyaiḥ [|*] dhvastâ dushṭâ varttamânâs=sadharmmâḥ prârtthyâ yê tê bhâvinaḥ=pârtthivêṁdrâḥ || [14*] Bhuktaṁ kaiśchid=vikramêṇ=âparêbhyô dattaṁ ch=ânyais=tyaktam=êv=âparair=yyat [|*]

14 k=âsth=ânityê tatra râjyê mahadbhiḥ kîrtyâ(rttyai?) dharmmaḥ=kêvaḷaṁ pâḷanîyaḥ || [15*] [8]Tên=êdam=aniḷa-vidyuch-chaṁchaḷam=avaḷôkya jîvitam=asâraṁ [|*] kshitidâna-paramapuṇyaḥ=pravarttitô

15 dêvadâyô=yaṁ || [16*] Sa êva paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-**Jagattuṁgadêva**-pâdânudhyâna(ta)-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâj[â]dhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-

16 pṛithvîvallabha-śrîmad-**Amôghavarsha**-śrî-Vallabhanarêṁdradêvaḥ sarvvân=êva yathâsaṁbaddhyamânakân=râshṭravishayapati-grâmakûṭ-âyuktaka-niyuktak-â-

17 dhikârika-mahattar-âdîn=samâdiśaty=astu vas=saṁviditaṁ yathâ || Vikrama-viḷâsa-niḷayô **Mukuḷa-kuḷê** pûrvva-bandhubhir=mmânyaiḥ [|*] **Eṛakôri**-nâmadhêya-

18 ḥ=pravikasitô=bhût=prasûna-samaḥ || [17*] [9]Âvir-âsît=prabhus=tasmât=prasûnât=phaḷa-sannibhaḥ [|*] nâmn=**Âdhôraḥ** kuḷ-âdhâraḥ **Koḷanûr**-âdhipas=svayaṁ || [18*] Su-

19 tô=sya **Vijayâṁkâyâm**=abhûd=bhuvana-mânitaḥ [|*] prachaṇḍa-maṇḍaḷ-âtaṁkô **Baṁkêśaḥ Sella-kêtanaḥ** || [19*] Madîyô vitata-jyôtir=ṇṇi(nni)śitô=sir=iv=âparaḥ [|*] u-

20 nmûḷita-dvishad-vṛiksha-mûḷô mauḷa-baḷa-prabhuḥ || [20*] Mat-prasâdêna saṁlabdha-[10] **Vanavâsi**-purassarân=grâmân[11]=triṁśat-sahasrâṇi bhunakty=avirat-ôdayaḥ || [21*]

21 Mahâ-pratâpâd=uchchhêdam[12]=udayachchhan=mad-ichchhayâ [|*] mûḷâd=uchchhêttum=uttuṁgâṁ **Gaṁgavâḍi**-vaṭâṭavîṁ || [22*] Tatr=ântarê=smat-sâmantair=mmâtsaryy-âbhi-

22 ta-mânasair=upêkshitô=pi kôp-ôdyat-sâhas-aika-sakhaḥ svayaṁ || [23*] [13]Dhvasta-ripu-nîti-mârggô raṇa-vikramam=êka-buddhim=abhinîya [|*] sa madîya-hṛidaya-saṁgatam=avandhya-

23 kôpatvam=âvahati || [24*] Yêna || Tat=**Kêdaḷ**-âbhidhânaṁ durggaṁ vapr-âggaḷ-âdi-durllaṁghyaṁ [|*] mauḷa-baḷ-âdhishṭhitam=api sadyaḥ prôllaṁghya hêḷay=âgrâhi || [25*] [14]Janapadam=adaḥ[15] kṛitvâ ha-

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[1] Originally *hra*° was engraved ; read *hantum*=.

[2] Read *bhuvanam=idam=atô*, or, perhaps, *bhuvanam=anamitô*.

[3] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[4] I am unable to explain this properly. Perhaps the word *paṭi* is used here in the sense of *paṭṭa*, 'the frontlet or fillet which is tied to the head of an elephant ;' see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, *s.v. paṭṭa*.

[5] Read *-sthitas=*.

[6] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh). With the first half of the verse compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, l. 11 of the text.

[7] Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Śâlinî.

[8] Metre of verses 16 and 17 : Âryâ.

[9] Metre of verses 18-23 : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[10] Read *saṁlabhya*.

[11] Read *grâmâṁs=*.

[12] Read *=duśchhêdâm=*(?).

[13] Metre of verses 24 and 25 : Âryâ.

[14] Metre : Hariṇî.

[15] Read *=amuṁ*.

24 stê vidhûya virôdhinaṁ **Talavanapur-adhîśaṁ** kṛitvâ [śruta]ṁ[1] raṇa-vikramaṁ [|*] mad-ari-vijayî bharttuḥ ślâghyas=samanvita-saṁgaraḥ samara-samayê vidviṭ-chakrai-

25 r=avakrita-vikramaḥ || [26*] **Kâvêriṁ**[2] guru-pûra-durggamatamâm=ullaṁghya siṁha-[kra]mât=pratyagra-sphurita-pratâpa-dahana-prôdyach-chhikhâ-śrêṇibhiḥ [|*] ni-

26 rddahy=aikapadêna saptapadakân=vidviḍ-van-ôchchhêdinâ yên=âkaṁpi jagat-prakaṁpana-paṭôr=vvairâjyam=apy=ûrjjitaṁ || [27*] [3]Tatr=ântarê mad-aṁtikam=antarbhbhê(rbbhê)dêna jâta-saṁkshôbhê [|*]

27 pratyâgantavyam=iti[4] tvay=êti mad-vachanamâtrêṇa || [28*] Aprâptê[5] **Vallabhêṁdrê(drô)** mayi jayati yadâ vidvishaḥ syân=tad=âhaṁ saṁnyast-âśêsha-saṁgô munir=atha

28 vidhinâ vidvishâṁ syâj=jaya-śrîḥ [|*] tatr=âpy=u[ddâ]ma-dhûmadhvaja-vitata-śikhâs=ûtpatâmi pratâpâd=ity=ârûḍha-pratijñaḥ katipaya-divasaiḥ=prâ-

29 pad=asmat-samîpaṁ || [29*] [6]Mâsa-trayasya madhyê yadi bhôjayituṁ na śakyatê svâmî [|*] kshîraṁ vijitya śatrûn=[7]tath=âpi vahniṁ viśâmy=êva || [30*] [8]Ity=uktv=âkrama-vikram-ô-

30 chchhikha-śikhi-jvâḷ-âvalîḍa(ḍha)-bra(vra)jê dhûma-śyâma[li]tê tirôhita-tanau prâyaḥ=para-prêshitê [|*] yâtê mat-tanayê sthit-ânya-nṛipatîn=nirjjitya yô jitvarô bandîkṛitya

31 ripûn=nihatya cha tadâ tîrṇṇa-pratijñô=bhavat || [31*] [9]Âvishkṛita-kôpa-śikhâ-nirddagdh-ârîndhanô vin=âpy=aniḷât [|*] ajvâḷitê(tô)=pi yasya pratâpa-vahnir=mmuhur=jvaḷati || [32*]

32 Yasya cha kṛipâṇa-[vâriṇi] rudhir-â[kuḷitâ] dvishâṁ mahâ-lakshmîḥ [|*] majjaty=unmajjati tu sv-âdhipatêḥ kuṁkum-âkt=êva || [33*] Hutvâ[10] yêna ripuṁ virôdhi-rudhira-prâjy-â-

33 jya-dhâr-âhuti-brâ(vrâ)ta-prasphuri[ta]-pratâpa-[daha]nê vidvishṭa-śântêś=śritaṁ [|*] viprêṇ=êva raṇ-âdhvarê suvihita-śrî-maṁtra-śakty=ârjjitaṁ kalpântasthira-vîra-śâsanam=idaṁ

34 mad=**Vîra-Nârâyaṇât || [34*]** Tên=aivaṁbhûtêna **Ba[ṁkêy-â]**bhidhânêna mad-ishṭa-bhṛityêna prârtthitas=san[11] tat-prârtthanayâ **Mânyakhêṭa**-râjadhânyâm=avasthitêna mayâ [mâ]-

35 tâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=ch=aihik-âmutrika-puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê **Koḷanûrê** tad-**Baṁkêya**-nirmmâpita-jinâyatana-paripâḷana-niyuktâya

36 [12]Śrî-Mûlasaṁgha-Dêśîyagaṇa-Pustakagachchhataḥ [|*] jâtas=Trikâlayôgîśaḥ kshîr-âbdhêr=iva kaustubhaḥ || [35*] Tach-châritra-vadhû-putraḥ śrî-Dêvêṁdra-munîśvaraḥ [|*]

37 saiddhântik-âgraṇîs=tasmai **Baṁkêyô** [yâm=adân=mu?]dâ[13] || [36*] Tad-vasati-saṁbandhi-navakarmm-ôttarabhâvikhaṇḍasphuṭita-sammârjjan-ôpalêpana-paripâḷan-âdi-dharmmôpa-

38 yôgi-karmma-karaṇa-nimittaṁ **Majjantiya**-sap[t]atigrâma-bhukty-aṁtarggataḥ[14] **Taleyûra**-nâma-grâmaḥ tasya ch=âghâṭâḥ tat-**Koḷanûrât**=pûrvvataḥ **Beṁḍanûru**

39 dakshiṇataḥ **Sâsavevâ[du]** tat-paśchimataḥ **Padilagere** uttarataḥ **Kilavâḍaḥ** êvam=ayaṁ chatur-âghâṭan-ôpalakshitaḥ s-ôdraṁgas=sa-pari-

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[1] The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost completely effaced.

[2] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[3] Metre: Âryâ.

[4] This *iti* is superfluous.

[5] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[6] Metre: Âryâ.

[7] Read *śatrûṁs=*.

[8] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[9] Metre of verses 32 and 33: Âryâ.

[10] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[11] Read *saṁs=*.

[12] Metre of verses 35 and 36: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[13] The *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely effaced and therefore doubtful.

[14] Here and in some places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

40 karaḥ sa-daṁḍa-daś-âparâdhas=saṁbhṛit-ôpâtta-pratyayas[1]=s-ôtpadyamâna-vishṭiti(ka)ḥ sa-dhânya-hiraṇy-âdêyaḥ dvâdaśa-puḥpavâṭaḥ [2]paṁchâśaduttara-śata-ha-

41 [sta]-vistâraḥ=paṁchaśata-hasta-pramâṇ-âyâmaḥ gṛihâṇâm=âghâṭas=samuditaḥ [3]pravêśyas=sarvva-râjakîy[â*]nâm=ahastaprakshêpaṇîyaḥ â-

42 [cha]ṁdr-ârkk-ârṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakâlînaḥ putra-pautr-ânvaya-kramêṇa pratipâlyaḥ pûrvapradatta-dêvabrahmadâya-rahitô=hya(bhya)-

43 [n]tarasi[d*]dhyâ bhûmichchhidra-nyâyêna ||[4] **Śakanṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu dvâ(dvya)śîty-adhikêshu tadabhyadhika-samanantara-pravarttamâna-tra-**[5]

44 **yôśîtitama-Vikrama-saṁvatsar-ântarggat-Âśvayuja-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ sarvvagrâsi-sômagrahaṇê mahâ-parvvaṇi** baḷi-paksha-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtr-âti-

45 thi-santarppaṇâd[6]=dhâr-ôdak-âtisarggêṇa pratipâditaḥ || Tath=âtr=aiva tat-**Koḷanûr[a]**[7] tad-[bh]ukti-madhya-vartty-**Avaravâ[d]i-** | **Beṇḍanûru-** | **Muduguṁḍi-** | **Kittaivo-**

46 **ḷe-** | **Suḷḷa-** | **Mus[a]-** | **Ḍa[dh]eṟe-** | **Mâvinûru-** | **Mattikaṭṭe-** | **Nîla[guṁ]dage-** | **Tâḷikhêḍa-** | **B[e]ḷḷeṟu-** | **Saṁgama-** | **Pirisiṁgi-** | **Muttalageṟe-** | **Kâkeyanûru-**[8] | **Behuru-** |

47 **Âlûgu-** | **[Pârvva]nageṟe-** | **Hosaṁ[ja]ḷa[lu]-** | **I[ṁ]dugalu-** | **Neṟi[la]ge-** | **Haganûru-** | **Unalâṟu-** | **Iṇḍageṟe-** | **Munivaḷḷi-** | **Koṭṭa[s]e-** | **Oḍḍiṭṭage-** | **Si[kimabri ?]-** |

48 **Giri[pi]ḍalu-** |. nâmadhêyêshv=êtêshu **Koḷanûr-âṭa**[9] tad-bhukti-varttishu tṛi(tri)ṁśatsv=api grâmêshv=êkaika-grâmê dvâdaśa nivarttanâni bhûmêḥ pratipâditâni [||*] Atô=sy=ô-

49 chitayâ [10]dêvadâyadâya-sthityâ bhuṁjatô bhôjayataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pratidiśatô vâ na kaiśchid=alp=âpi paripanthanâ kâryyâ tath=â-

50 gâmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyair=vvâ sâmânya[ṁ] bhûmi-dâna-phalam= avêtya vidyul-lôḷâny=aiśvaryyâṇi tṛiṇâgra-lagna-jalabindu-chaṁchaḷaṁ cha jî-

51 vitam=âkaḷayya svadâya-nirvviśêshô=smad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ pratipâḷayitabya(vya)ś= cha [|*] Yas=tv=ajñâna-timira-paṭaḷ-âvṛita-matir=[11]âchchhidyamânakaṁ

52 ch(v)=ânumôdêta sa paṁchabhir=mmahâpâtakais=sôpapâtakaiś=cha[12] saṁyuktaḥ syâd=ity=[13]uktaṁ bhagavatâ vêda-byâ(vyâ)sêna[14] || [15]Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishṭhati

53 bhûmidaḥ [|*] âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt || [37*] Viṁdhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-vâsishu(naḥ) [|*] kṛishṇasarppâ hi jâyaṁtê bhûmi-

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[1] The term intended apparently is *sabhûtôpâttapratyâyas*, which occurs in other inscriptions.

[2] Instead of the sentence commencing here and ending with *samuditaḥ*, a single compound should have been used, qualifying *grâmaḥ*.

[3] Here *achâṭabhaṭa-* has been omitted.

[4] This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

[5] Read *-tryaśîtitama-*.

[6] The passage commencing with *baḷi-* is quite out of place here, the object of the grant having already been stated correctly in lines 37 and 38. In inscriptions where a similar statement is properly made we find *charu* (instead of *paksha*) and *-saṁtarpaṇârtham*. For the following *dhâr-ôda°* of this inscription one would have expected *ady=ôda°*.

[7] Read *°nûrê* (?).

[8] Originally *Kâṁke°* was engraved.

[9] Read *-âghâṭê* (?).

[10] Read *dêvadâya-*.

[11] Read *-matir=âchchhindyâd=âchchhi°*.

[12] This *cha* should have been omitted.

[13] Read *iti* || *Uktaṁ cha bha°*.

[14] After this the word *Vyâsêna* has been omitted.

[15] Metre of verses 37 and 38 : Ślôka (Anushṭubh). Read *Shashṭiṁ va°*.

54 dânaṁ haranti yê || [38*] [1]Agnêr=apatya[ṁ] prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhûr=Vvaishṇavî sûryya-sutâś=cha gâvaḥ [|*] lôka-trayan=têna bhavêd=dhi dattaṁ yaḥ=kâṁchanaṁ gâṁ cha mahîṁ
55 cha dadyât || [39*] [2]Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phaḷaṁ || [40*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yatnâ-
56 d=rakshy[ê][3] narâdhipaḥ [|*] mahîṁ mahîmatâṁ[4] śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâḷanaṁ || [41*] Iti[5] kamaḷa-daḷ-âṁbubindu-lôḷâṁ śriyam=anuchiṁtya manushya-jîvitaṁ cha [|*] ativima-
57 ḷa-manôbhir=âmakair=[6]nna hi purushaiḥ=para-kîrttayô vilôpyâḥ || [42*] Likhitaṁ ch=aitad=Vâḷabha-kâyastha-vaṁśa-jâtêna dharmmâdhikaraṇa-s[th]êna bhôgika-Vatsarâjêna
58 Śrîharsha-sûnunâ grâmapa[tta]ḷâdhikṛita[7]-lêkhakaraṇahasti-Nâgavarmma-Pṛithvîrâma-bhṛityêna || [8]Baṁkêyarâja[9]-mukhyô Ganâ(ṇa)pati-nâmâ ma-
59 hattaraḥ=prâjñaḥ [|*] râjñas=samîpa-varttî tên=êdam=anushṭhitaṁ sarvvaṁ || [43*] ❁ [10]Mithyâbhâva-bhav-âtidarppa-para-tad-duśśâsan-ôchchhêdakaṁ prâjñ-âjñâ-vaśa-varttamâ-
60 na-janatâ-sat-saukhya-saṁpâdakaṁ [|*] nânârûpa-viśishṭa-vastu-parama-syâdvâda-lakshmî-padaṁ jêjîyâj=Jina-râjaśâsanam=idaṁ svâchâra-sâra-pradaṁ || [44*]
61 Siddhântâmṛita-vârddhi-târakapatis=tarkk-âṁbuj-âharppatiḥ śabd-ôdyânavan-âmṛit-aika-saraṇir=yyôgîṁdra-chûḍâmaṇiḥ [|*] Traividy-âpara-sârttha-
62 nâma-vibhavaḥ=prôddhûta-chêtôbhavaḥ[11] jîyâd=anyamat-âvanîbhṛid-aśaniḥ śrî-Mêghachaṁdrô muniḥ || [45*] Ide[12] haṁsî-bṛindam=îṁtal=bagedapudu
63 chakôrî-chayaṁ chaṁchuvindaṁ kardukal=sârddappud=Îśaṁ jaḍeyoḷ=irisal=end=irddapaṁ sejjeg=êṟal=padedappaṁ Kṛishṇan=emb=ant=esedu bisa-lasat-kandaḷî-kaṁ-
64 da-kântaṁ pudidatt=î Mêghachaṁdra-bra(vra)titiḷaka-jagadvartti-kîrtti prakâśaṁ || [46*] [13]Vaidagdhya-śrî-vadhûṭî-patir=akhiḷa-guṇ-âḷaṁkṛitir=Mmêghachaṁ-
65 dra-Traividyasy=âtmajâtô Madana-mahibhṛitô bhêdanê vajrapâtaḥ [|*] saiddhânta-byû(vyû)ha-chûḍâmaṇir=anupaḷa(ma)-chintâmaṇi-
66 r=bhbhû(bbhû)-janânâṁ yô=bhût=saujanya-ruṁdra-śriyam=avati mahau Vîranandî mun-îṁdraḥ || [47*] [14]Yaś=śabdajña-nabhasthaḷî-dinamaṇiḥ kâvyajña-chûḍâma-
67 ṇir=yyas=tarkkasthiti-kaumudî-himakaras=tûryyatray-âbj-âkaraḥ [|*] yas=siddhânta-vichâra-sâra-Dhishaṇô ratna-trayî-bhûshaṇaḥ sthê-
68 yâd=uddhata-vâdi-bhûbhṛid-aśaniḥ śrî-Vîranandî muniḥ || [48*] Yan-mûrttir=jjagatâṁ janasya nayanê karppûrapûrâyatê yad-vṛittir=vvidushân=ta-
69 têś=śravaṇayôr=mmâṇikyabhûshâyatê [|*] yat-kîrttiḥ=kakubhâṁ śriyaḥ kacha-bharê maḷḷîlatântâyatê jêjîyâd=bhuvi Vîranandi-munipas=sai-
70 ddhânta-chakr-âdhipaḥ ||[15] [49*] ❁ Śrî-Koṇḍakundânvay-âṁbara-dyumaṇi vidvajjana-śirômaṇi samast-ânavadya-vidyâ-viḷâsinî-viḷâsa-mûrtti śrî-Vîranandi-sai[ddhâ]-

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[1] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[2] Metre of verses 40 and 41: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[3] Read =raksha narâdhipa.
[4] Read mahîbhṛitâṁ.
[5] Metre: Pushpitâgrâ.
[6] Read âtmanînair=.
[7] The second t of the akshara in brackets may have been struck out in the original; read °paṭalâ°.
[8] Metre: Âryâ.
[9] Originally °râjya- was engraved.
[10] Metre of verses 44 and 45: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[11] Read °bhavô.
[12] Metre: Mahâsragdharâ. The same verse, with some slight various readings, is found in *Inscr. at Sravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, pp. 25 and 31.
[13] Metre: Sragdharâ. The same verse, with two various readings, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.
[14] Metre of verses 48 and 49: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[15] This verse, incomplete and with a various reading, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.

71 ntika-chakravarttigaḷu śrîman-mahâsthânaṁ **Koḷanûra** mahâprabhu **Huliyam-arasanuṁ** mûṟu-pura-paṁcha-maṭha-sthânaṁgaḷuṁ tâṁbra-śâsana[maṁ]

72 nôḍi bareyisim=enalk=â śâsanadoḷ=ent=irddud=ant=î śilâ-śâsanamaṁ bareyi[s]idaru [||*] Maṁgaḷa mahâ-śrî śrî śrî namô .[1] . . . . . [||*]

TRANSLATION.[2]

(Verse 1.) May the beloved of Fortune, with whom all forms are conjoined,[3] who with his discus destroys the conceit of adversaries, the infinite being before whom bow down the lords of the immortals, the primeval lord **Jina**, grant to me supreme bliss![4]

(V. 2.) May the lord **Vîra-Nârâyaṇa**[5] protect you here, he who rests on the body of (the serpent) Ananta, (*and*) is the mountain from which (like luminaries) rise men of valorous conduct, the progenitor of the mighty race of the excellent **Râshṭrakûṭas**!

(V. 3.) In the long **Yâdava** lineage of the princes of that (*race*) there was in the course of time, like a collection of jewels in the ocean, king **Gôvinda**, who subdued the earth, the son of **Prichchhakarâja.**

(V. 4.) The lord **Karkara,** the son of king **Indra,** it was by whom, mighty like Pṛithu, the earth was brought under subjection, (*and*) by whom, of great strength and full of valour, the enemies were scattered like darkness.

(V. 5.) From him sprang king **Dantidurga,** who defeated arrays of elephants from the Himâlaya to the confines of (Râma's) mighty bridge, (*and*) who, a leader of his family, crushed the circle of arrogant princes on the earth.

(V. 6.) After him **Śubhatuṅga-vallabha,** on the battle-field which became a *svayaṁvara*, fearlessly carried off by force the **Châlukya** family's Fortune, adorned with a garland of waving *pâlidhvaja* flags.[6]

(V. 7.) Grand with his victory, high throne and chowries, possessed of a white umbrella, a destroyer of opponent kings, called the mighty king **Akâlavarsha,** he was a royal saint through his infinite religious merit.

(V. 8.) Then came **Prabhûtavarsha,** the son of **Dhârâvarsha,** a king who on the field of battle acted with his arrows like a torrent of rain (*dhârâ-varsha*).[7]

His[8] son —

(Vs. 9 and 10.) At the time of whose birth the lords of the gods ordained that, as her master, he should rule the ocean-girded earth as far as the Himâlaya and (Râma's) bridge, afterwards, being (*called*) **Prabhûtavarsha** because he fulfilled desires of his own accord, as **Jagattuṅga** stood over (*all*) kings as the Sumêru does over the mountains.

[1] From here and up to the end of the line some *aksharas* (at the utmost six) are effaced.

[2] Of lines 34-57 of the text which, in the usual style and for the most part in well-known terms, record a grant, I consider it sufficient to give only an abstract of the contents.

[3] *I.e.* who assumes all forms, or exists in all forms.

[4] As translated here, the verse refers to the god Vishṇu (*Jina*), of whom *Viśvarûpa* (by itself) and *Ananta* also are epithets or names. But it also is intended to invoke the blessing of the first Jaina prophet, *Jinêndra*, and on this alternative the word *sudarśana*, above rendered by 'discus,' would mean 'excellent doctrine.'

[5] *I.e.* the god Vishṇu. But *Vîra-Nârâyaṇa* also is an epithet of the king Amôghavarsha (see below, verse 34) and, with reference to him, the verse also is intended to convey the meaning: 'May the king Vîra-Nârâyaṇa protect you here, he the continuance of whose rule is without end, who is the mountain from which rises the conduct of valour, (*and*) who has excellent ancestors of the mighty race of the Râshṭrakûṭas!'

[6] See above, Vol. III. p. 107, lines 22 and 34 of the text.

[7] This play on the word *dhârâvarsha* shews that the subject of the verse should be Dhârâvarsha, not Prabhûtavarsha, 'the son of Dhârâvarsha.'

[8] According to the context, Prabhûtavarsha's; really, Dhârâvarsha's.

(V. 11.) After him, to guard both the world and the fame of his charming relatives— of the ancestors in his righteous family who have become favourites[1] inasmuch as they are good fame, filling the earth, incarnate— and to destroy the wickedness of the Kali age, the glorious **Amôghavarsha,** the annihilator of his enemies, is ruling this earth, seated on the throne.

(V. 12.) The command of this excellent (*king*) other sovereigns perpetually carry on their heads like a garland. The creeping plant of his fame grows up to the fillets on the foreheads of the array of the elephants of the quarters. The mighty valour that dwells in his hand is far away from no one. He being the very sun which with its heat scorches all mountains,[2] who is the king above whom he does not rise?

(V. 13.) He with his own seal has stamped all (*land*) as far as the four oceans; the seals of all kings he has broken with his Garuḍa seal.

(V. 14.) Honour surely we must the great kings of the past whose acts of religion we are to preserve; destroyed are the wicked kings of the present; solicit[3] we must those future rulers who share our sense of religion.

(V. 15.) What imports that fleeting royalty which some have enjoyed by their bravery, some bestowed on others, and others again resigned even? Great men, to secure fame, must cherish religion only.

(V. 16.) Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he has devised this gift to the gods, most meritorious on account of a donation of land.

(Line 15.) He, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, the favourite of fortune and the earth, the glorious **Amôghavarsha,** the glorious *Vallabhanarêndradêva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Jagattuṅgadêva,** commands all *Râshṭrapatis, Vishayapatis, Grâmakûṭas, Âyuktakas, Niyuktakas, Âdhikârikas, Mahattaras* and others, as they may be concerned: Be it known to you:—

(V. 17.) In the **Mukuḷa**[4] **family** there blossomed like a flower, with ancestors worthy of honour, **Eṛakôri,** a home of the play of bravery.

(V. 18.) From that flower grew, as it were its fruit, a masterful man named **Adhôra,**[5] the stay of his family, who himself was lord of **Koḷanûra.**

(V. 19.) His son from **Vijayâṅkâ** was **Baṅkêśa** (*alias*) **Sella-kêtana,**[6] honoured in the world, a fierce fever to districts.

(V. 20.) Like another flashing sharp sword of mine, as commander of the hereditary forces he has uprooted, like trees, my adversaries.

(V. 21.) By my favour he has received and rules the thirty-thousand villages of which **Vanavâsi** is the foremost, never ceasing to prosper.

(V. 22.) At my desire, in his great valour he has striven to extirpate that lofty forest of fig-trees— **Gaṅgavâḍi,** difficult to be cut down.

(Vs. 23 and 24.) On that occasion, though abandoned by my jealously minded feudatories, by himself, solely aided by the daring which sprang from his anger, setting at nought the enemy's policy, displaying a bravery in war which had one aim only, he made the anger of my heart not barren.

He, by whom—

(V. 25.) That fort named **Kêḍaḷa,** difficult to be scaled on account of its ramparts, bars *etc.*, though held by hereditary forces, was at once ascended and easily taken.

[1] The word *vallabha* is purposely chosen in the original, because it is a common surname of Râshṭrakûṭa kings; compare below, verse 29.

[2] In the original the word for 'mountains' also means 'kings.'

[3] *Viz.* to preserve our acts of piety.

[4] *Mukuḷa* ordinarily is 'a bud.'

[5] Or *Âdhôra.*

[6] See above, p. 27 f.

(V. 26.) Having occupied that country, having driven away the hostile lord of **Talavanapura**, having shewn famous valour in war, defeating my enemies, for his master an object of praise, true to his promise, he at the time of battle did not let his bravery be baffled by the hosts of the enemy.

(V. 27.) With a lion's spring having crossed the **Kâvêrî**, most difficult to be passed on account of its heavy floods, by the lines of the ever freshly flashing flames of fire of his valour having at once consumed the allied,[1] extirpating the forest of adversaries, he shook the mighty dominion of him even who was able to shake the world.

(Vs. 28 and 29.) On that occasion, when through internal dissension a disturbance had arisen near me, then, at the mere word of me that he should return— having made a vow that if, before his arrival, I, **the Vallabha lord**, should defeat the enemies, he would as an ascetic completely resign the world, or if by chance the fortune of victory should fall to the enemies, he would enter into the flames of a roaring fire— he arrived near me after a few days.

(Vs. 30 and 31.) Having said that also he certainly would enter into fire if, within three months, by defeating the enemies he could not make his master drink milk[2] — after my son, whose hosts were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery, blackened by the smoke and thus hidden himself had escaped, perchance sent away by the rest— he completely defeated the princes who remained, and, victorious, made captive and slew the adversaries, and thus fulfilled his promise.

(V. 32.) The fire of his prowess, with the flames of wrath which it emits, consumes the enemies on which it feeds, even without wind; though unlit, it blazes forth again and again.

(V. 33.) Soiled with blood, the Fortune of the enemies dives into the water of his sword; but that of his master emerges from it, anointed as it were with saffron.[3]

(V. 34.) Like a Brâhmaṇ, having sacrificed the enemy at the sacrifice of battle, where the fire of his valour shone the brighter for the many oblations of streams of melted butter— the blood of his opponents, he has secured from me, **Vîra-Nârâyaṇa**,[4] this edict which to the world's end proclaims him a hero, resulting from his expiatory rite— the destruction of my foes, and acquired by the efficiency of his spell— the restoration of my fortune.

(Line 34.)[5] At the request of this my dear servant **Bankêya**, I, residing at the capital of **Mânyakhêṭa,— seven hundred and eighty-two years having passed since the time of the Śaka king, on the auspicious occasion of a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of Âśvayuja in the year Vikrama, the eighty-third current year**— have given the village of **Taleyûra**, in the *bhukti* of the seventy villages of **Majjantiya**, to him who has been appointed to take care of the Jina sanctuary founded by **Bankêya** at **Koḷanûra**— *viz.* (vv. 35 and 36) to **Dêvêndra**, the chief of ascetics (*muniśvara*) to whom **Bankêya** has given the temple, the disciple of **Trikâlayôgîśa**, born from the **Pustaka** *gachchha* of the **Dêśîya** *gaṇa* of the **Mûla** *saṁgha*—for any new work connected with the sanctuary, for future repairs, for the cleansing, plastering, maintaining of it, and for other acts of piety. The boundaries of the village are, on the east of the said **Koḷanûra**,[6] **Beṇḍanûru**, on the south, **Sâsavevâ[du]**, on the west of it, **Paḍilagere**, and on the north, **Kilavâḍa**.[7]

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[1] In the original the word is *saptapadaka*, which I cannot find elsewhere. Compare *sâptapadîna*.

[2] *Viz.* to allay his anger or mental distress. According to the writers on medicine, milk is a remedy not only for bodily disease, but also for mental disorder.

[3] Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 30 of the text.

[4] Compare above, verse 2.

[5] From here to line 57 only an abstract of the contents is given.

[6] Why the words *tat-Koḷanûrât*, 'of the said Koḷanûra,' have been added, it is difficult to explain. If correct, the words would indicate that the village granted was quite close to Koḷanûra.

[7] Among the usual phrases specifying the conditions of the grant, we have, in lines 40 and 41, the statement that the village contained twelve flower-gardens, and that the total extent of the houses was 150 *hastas* µ breadth and 500 *hastas* in length.

(L. 45.) I also have given twelve *nivartanas* of land at **Koḷanûra** itself, and at each of the following thirty villages within its *bhukti*,[1] *viz.* **Avaravâ[d]i, Beṇḍanûru, Muduguṇḍi, Kittaivoḷe, Suḷḷa, Mus[a], Ḍa[dh]eṟe, Mâvinûru, Mattikaṭṭe, Nila[gun]dage, Tâḷikhêḍa, B[e]ḷḷeṟu, Saṁgama, Pirisiṅgi, Muttalageṟe, Kâkeyanûru, Behuru, Âlûgu, [Pârva]nageṟe, Hosaû[ja]ḷa[lu], I[n]dugalu, Neṟi[la]ge, Haganûru, Unalâṟu, Iṇḍageṟe, Munivaḷḷi, Koṭṭa[s]e, Oḍḍiṭṭage, Si[kimabri ?],** and **Giri[pi]ḍalu.**

Lines 48-57 contain the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee and to preserve the grant, and quote six benedictive and imprecatory verses (37-42), ascribed to Vyâsa.

(L. 57.) This has been written by the *bhôgika* Vatsarâja, an official in the court of justice, born in the clan of the Vâḷabha Kâyasthas, the son of Śrîharsha[2] and servant of Nâgavarman Pṛithvîrâma, keeper of village records and war-elephant of writers.

(V. 43.) The chief (adviser) of **Baṅkêyarâja,** the wise *Mahattara* Gaṇapati, who is near the *Râjâ's* person, has executed all this.

(V. 44.) Ever victorious, like a royal edict,[3] be this doctrine of the Jinas, which destroys the false doctrines of people who are filled with an excessive pride arising from ignorance; which brings about the true happiness of all who act in obedience to the commands of the wise; which is the place of glory of the excellent *syâdvâda* by which things appear under manifold forms, and grants the quintessence of good conduct!

(V. 45.) Victorious be the holy sage **Mêghachandra,** who is the moon to the ocean of the nectar of established truths,[4] the sun to the lotus— reasoning, the one continuous stream of nectar to the garden— speech, the crest-jewel of the lords among contemplative saints; whose lofty second name of **Traividya** is truly appropriate; who has shaken off the god of love, and is a thunderbolt to the mountains— other creeds!

(V. 46.) Manifestly, the fame, pervading the world, of this **Mêghachandra,** the foremost of devotees, has shone forth and entered (*here*), glittering like the fibres of the waterlily (*and*) lovely like the bulbous root of the plantain tree, saying (*to itself*), "Lo! the flock of female *haṁsas* begin to think of drinking; the collection of female *chakôra* birds approach to peck with their beaks; Îśa gives orders for the decoration of his matted hair; (*and*) Kṛishṇa is eager to choose (*an occupant*) for his couch."[5]

(V. 47.) **Vîranandin,** the chief of sages, owns on earth the glory (*of being*) rich in benevolence, he who is the husband of the young woman— renown of cleverness, the ornament of every kind of excellence, the offspring of **Mêghachandra-Traividya,** a stroke of lightning to split the mountain Madana,[6] the crest-jewel of the crowd of those who know

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[1] Or, perhaps, 'within that *bhukti*' (of the Majjantiya seventy villages, mentioned before).

[2] Or 'of the illustrious Harsha.'

[3] The word for 'doctrine' in the original is *śâsana* which also means 'an edict;' and the author calls the doctrine of the Jinas a *râja-śâsana*, or 'royal edict.'

[4] Compare *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, p. 8, l. 15, *Jinêśvara-mata-kshîrâbdhi-târâpati*; p. 48, l. 4 from bottom, *siddhântâmṛita-vârddhi-varddhana-vidhu*; p. 49, last line, *Jinâgama-sudhârṇṇava-pûrṇṇachandra*; and other similar passages.

[5] For the exact meaning of the several words of this charming verse, which in the original is in Kanarese, I have consulted Dr. Fleet and the Rev. Mr. Kittel. Ordinarily, fame for its brightness is compared, among other objects, with milk, lotus fibres, the moon, and Śrî (the wife of Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa; compare *e.g. Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Roman text, p. 15, l. 4 ff.). Here, the fame of Mêghachandra is actually identified with all four, and is made to appear in the world, of its own accord, to fulfil the demand for them on the part of respectively the *haṁsa* and *chakôra* birds, and the gods Śiva and Kṛishṇa. The words translated by 'for the decoration of' literally mean 'to place in.' Concerning the *haṁsas*, I may remind the reader of the well-known line *haṁsair=yathâ kshîram=iv=âmbumadhyât.*

[6] *I.e.* the god of love.

the established truths, and an unrivalled jewel to yield the desires of the creatures of this world.

(V. 48.) May he abide (*here*), the holy sage **Vîranandin**, who is the sun of the firmament— those who know the science of words, the crest-jewel of those conversant with poetry, the moon to the moon-light— the science of reasoning, a pool of the lotuses— the triad of music, song and dance;[1] who is a Bṛihaspati for the quintessence of the investigation of established truths; who adorns the three jewels,[2] and is a thunderbolt to the mountains— conceited disputants!

(V. 49.) Ever victorious be in the world the chief of sages **Vîranandin**, the lord of the circle of those who know the established truths; he whose form is like a stream of camphor for the eyes of the creatures of the worlds, whose conduct like a jewel-ornament for the ears of the assemblage of the learned, and whose fame like the shoot of a jasmine creeper for the hair-tresses of the Fortune of the regions!

(Line 70.) [3]The universal sovereign of those who know the established truths, the holy **Vîranandin**, the sun in the sky of the glorious Koṇḍakunda-line, the crest-jewel of the learned, the embodiment of the sport of the courtesans— the several branches of faultless learning,— when **Huliyamarasa**, the *Mahâprabhu* of the sacred great place of **Koḷanûra**, and (*the authorities of*) the three towns and the five *maṭhas*,[4] having seen a copper charter, bade him cause it[5] to be written,— caused this stone charter to be written in accordance with what was in that (*copper*) charter.

Bliss! Great fortune, fortune, fortune! Adoration to[6] . . . . !

No. 5.— CHEBROLU INSCRIPTION OF JAYA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1157.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of the left one[7] of two pillars which are in front of the *gôpura* of the Nâgêśvara temple at **Chêbrôlu**, in the Bâpaṭla tâluka of the Kistna district. My account of it is based on an excellent inked estampage, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., and forwarded to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

The inscription contains 168 lines of carefully engraved writing, which, with the exception of a few letters, damaged or broken away at the commencement of lines 3-5 and 131-137, and at the end of lines 85-91, is in an excellent state of preservation. The **characters** are Telugu;[8] and the size of the letters is between $\frac{5}{8}''$ and $\frac{3}{4}''$. Excepting the greater part of line 158

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[1] Compare *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, p. 49, l. 4, *gîtê vâdyê cha nṛityê*; p. 52, l. 18, *gîta-vâdya-nṛitya-sûtradhâreyum*.

[2] See above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 3.

[3] For the interpretation of the following, which in the original is in Kanarese, I am indebted to Dr. Fleet.

[4] The exact meaning of this is not apparent. Compare *e.g. Mysore Inscr.* p. 158, l. 11; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 203, note.

[5] *Viz.* the stone charter, mentioned immediately afterwards.

[6] What may have followed is effaced in the original.

[7] The inscription which is on the pillar on the right has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

[8] With regard to the alphabet here used, I would only draw attention to the fact that *ḍh* (which occurs in the word *mâḍha* in line 136) is distinguished from *ḍ* by a semi-circle, open to the proper right, which is placed below, and attached to, the proper left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. In the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 88, Plate, line 110) a similar separate sign for *ḍh* is used, but there the distinguishing semi-circular line is not attached to, but intersects, the left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. An examination of the published photo-lithograph leads me to suspect that a sign for *ḍh*, similar to the one in the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription, is used already

and the whole of line 159, which are in Telugu, the **language** is Sanskṛit; and the text is all in verse, excepting the words *svasti śrîḥ* with which the inscription begins, and the Telugu passage already referred to.

This is another inscription of **Jâya** or **Jâyana,** the now well-known general of the **Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati.** Verses 1-43 (lines 1-141), which give the genealogies of Gaṇapati and Jâya, need not be published, because, except for some slight various readings, they are identical with the same verses (lines 1-114) of the **Gaṇapêśvaram** inscription edited and translated by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. III. p. 82 ff. All that it is necessary to state about them specifically, is, that the names *Mamttena-Gumḍa*, *Kroyyûru*, and *Bamḍuladêvî*, which occur in lines 15, 45 and 64 of the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription, in the present inscription (ll. 18, 54 and 78) are spelt *Mamthena-Gumḍa*, *Krôyûru*, and *Bhamḍuladêvî*.[1]

The short remaining part of the inscription, the text of which is given below, in verses 44-47 records that, **in the year of the Śaka king (or kings) numbered by the mountains (7), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1),** *i.e.* in Śaka-Saṁvat 1157, **on the tithi of Girijâ (Pârvatî)**[2] **in the bright half of the month Mâdhava (Vaiśâkha), on a Saturday,** the general **Jâya** set up at **Tâmrapura** an image, in the shape of a *liṅga* made of black stone, of the god **Chôḍêśvara,** so called after Jâya's father (Pinna-Chôḍi); that he built for this god a temple which the people called 'the ornament of **Ayya's**[3] family,' after Jâya himself; that in front of the temple he erected two rows of double-storied houses for sixteen female attendants;[4] and that for the requirements (*aṅga-raṅga-bhôga*) of the god he gave the village **Mrontukûru** in **Velanâṇḍu,** one of the villages that had been given to him by the king (Gaṇapati). A statement in Telugu (in lines 158 and 159) adds that the land within the four boundaries of the village amounted to 45 *kha* 6 *na*;[5] and that the land to the west of the Îrêru (river) amounted to 5 *kha* 18 *na*. After this, the inscription has four benedictive and imprecatory verses, nearly identical with the verses at the end of the other Chêbrôlu inscription of Jâya, above, Vol. V. p. 148.

The date of this inscription regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1157 expired, to **Saturday, the 21st April A.D. 1235,** when the third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha (as a *kshaya-tithi*) commenced 0 h. 51 m., and ended 22 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise. Of the **localities** mentioned, **Tâmrapura** (as has been stated already by Dr. Hultzsch) is **Chêbrôlu** itself; and Mrontukûru I take to be the 'Modukur' of the map, about six miles south-east of Chêbrôlu.

END OF THE TEXT.[6]

141 . . . . . . [7]Sô=yaṁ **Jâya-**
142 **chamûpatir=ggiri-śara-kshmâ-chaṁdra-saṁkhyêṁ**[8] **Śa-**

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in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 12, Plate), in the word *pârivṛiḍha* in line 17, although in the photo-lithograph the sign for *ḍha*, at first sight, does not seem here to differ at all from the sign for *ḍa*. Neither of the signs for *ḍh* here described is given in the palæographic Tables hitherto published.

[1] As regards other various readings, I may add that in this new inscription the Draviḍian *ḷ* is employed more frequently than in the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription; and that instead of *khaḍga-mu[kha]sya* in line 106 of the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription we here (in line 131) have *khaḍga-mukhêna*, and instead of *pratipaksham=êti* (in line 108) the better reading *bahulê [pra]yâti* (in line 133).— With reference to Dr. Hultzsch's translation and notes I would state, at his request, that *nîlôpalâḥ* in verse 8 means 'sapphires,' and that the word *bîjâkṛita* in verse 18 is accounted for by Pâṇini, V. 4, 58.

[2] *I.e.* the third *tithi*; (' *tṛitîyâ Giriputryâs=tu chaturthî Vighnahâriṇaḥ* '). The third *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha is the well-known *Akshaya-tṛitîyâ*.

[3] See above, Vol. III. p. 83.

[4] Literally, 'superior courtesans.'

[5] *Kha* is an abbreviation of *khaṇḍi* (see Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. V. p. 149, note 6); *na* may be an abbreviation of *nalvamu*, 'a furlong.'

[6] From an inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. Line 141 is the fourth line on the south face of the pillar.

[7] Metre of verses 44 and 45: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[8] Read *-saṁkhyê*.

143 kêṁdr-âbdê Mâdhava-mâsa-śudtha(ddha)-Girijâ-ti-
144 thyâṁ Śanêr=vvâsarê | śrîmat-Tâṁmrapurê[1] mu-
145 dâ janaya(yi)tur=ṇnâ(nnâ)mn=âtra Chôḍêśvaraṁ pratya-
146 shthâ(shṭhâ)payad=achchha-nîladṛishadâ [2]nishpaṁna-liṁg-â-
147 kṛitîṁ[3] || [44*] Dêvasy=âsya sa-śâtakuṁbha-kalaśaṁ
148 Kailâsaśail-ôpamaṁ [4]vistîrṇn-ôjvala-maṁṭapaṁ
149 suruchiraprâkâravad-gôpuraṁ | prâsâ-
150 daṁ niramâpayad=guṇa-nidhiḥ śrî-Jâya-
151 sênâdhipas=tan-nâmn=aiva yam=Ayyavaṁśa-tila-
152 kaṁ brûtê samastô janaḥ || [45*] [5]Puratô=sya shôḍa-
153 śânâṁ vara-gaṇikânâṁ dvibhûmika-gṛihâ-
154 ṇi | âli-dvayêna ramyâṇy=achîkaraj=Jâya-sai-
155 nyêśaḥ || [46*] [6]Nṛipa-dattêshu svêshu grâmêshv=asy=âṁgara-
156 ṁgabhôgârttham=ayaṁ | Jâya-chamûpaḥ prâ-
157 dâd=Velanâṁḍau Mroṁtukûru-nâma-grâ-
158 maṁ || [47*] Îy=ûra chatus-sîmamula naḍimi polamu
159 kha 45 na 6 | Îrêṭi paḍumaṭi polamu kha 5 na 18 ||
160 [7]Gâm=êkâṁ ratnikâm=êkâṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṁgula-
161 ṁ | haran=narakam=âpnôti yâvad-â-bhûta-saṁplavaṁ || [48*] Sva-
162 dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yatnâd=raksha Yudhishthi(shṭhi)ra | ma-
163 hîm=mahîbhṛitâṁ śrêshtha(shṭha) dânâch=chrêyô=nupâlanaṁ || [49*]
164 [8]Sva-sukṛita-paripâlanât=prabhûṇâṁ para-kṛita-pâlana-
165 m=êva lâḷanîyaṁ | Harir=api Kamalâsanasya sṛishṭiṁ sa-
166 tatam=avan[9] jagatâm=abhûd=upâsyaḥ || [50*] Idaṁ[10] rakshi-
167 shyatâṁ râjñâṁ yaśaś-chaṁdrikayâ saha | chiraṁ Jâya-
168 chamûpasya dharmma-chaṁdraḥ pravardhtha(rddha)tê || [51*]

No. 6.—THREE WESTERN GANGA RECORDS IN THE MYSORE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM AT BANGALORE.

BY J. F. FLEET, PH.D., C.I.E.

In Vol. V. of this Journal, pp. 151 to 180, I have contributed an article on the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II., with a first serious attempt to settle the real history and chronology of the family of the great Gaṅga princes of Mysore, to which he belonged. That article is correct in all its essential features. But, while it was still in proof, it came to my knowledge, from information that became available too late, that certain additions and modifications might be made, and certain corrections ought to be made, in it. The additions did not much matter; they could be attended to on any future occasion. The modifications and corrections were a more important matter; and it was mortifying not to be able to make them. The proofs, however, were in pages, with other articles already in page-proof after them. And it was, therefore, impossible to make the necessary alterations. In these circumstances, I had to leave my article just as it stood. And I now take the first convenient opportunity that I have had, of reverting to the subject of it.

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[1] Read *Tâmra*°.
[2] Read *nishpanna-*.
[3] Read *kṛitiṁ*.
[4] Read *vistîrṇ-ôjjvala-*.
[5] Metre : Âryâ.
[6] Metre : Âryâgîti.
[7] Metre of verses 48 and 49 : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[8] Metre : Pushpitâgrâ.
[9] Read *=avañ-*.
[10] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

DODDAHUNDI STONE.



E.F.H. Wiele, photo.

Photo-etching-Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, May 1898.

Before entering, however, on any general remarks, I now put forward **revised versions of three Western Gaṅga records,** final renderings of which have not as yet been arrived at.

A.— Doḍḍahuṇḍi Inscription of Nîtimârga and Satyavâkya.

This inscription was brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, when he edited it, with a lithograph, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 91. I give my rendering of it from an ink-impression, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Doḍḍahuṇḍi is a village somewhere in the Mûgûr hôbli of the Tirumakûḍlu-Narasîpur tâluka of the Mysore district. It should be shewn in sheet No. 60 or 61 of the Indian Atlas; but it is not to be found there.[1] The name means " large hamlet;" and it is probably an appellation of somewhat modern introduction, as the record does not appear to include any name answering to it, and gives the name of the village itself, or else of another village which gave the name to the circle to which this village then belonged, as **Guḷdapâḍi.** The inscription is on a stone, apparently about six feet high, which was found lying in a pond at Doḍḍahuṇḍi and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The upper part of the front of the stone is occupied by **sculptures** illustrating the scene that is referred to in the record, namely, the death of a prince who had the appellation of Nîtimârga. He is shewn lying on a couch, from the back of which there stand up two royal umbrellas. Near his head there stands his eldest son, Satyavâkya, with one similar umbrella behind him. And on the couch there is seated a follower of the prince, named Agarayya, who is represented as supporting across his knees the legs of the dying prince, and as holding with his right hand a dagger which he seems to be drawing out from the left side of the prince.— The **writing** commences below the sculptures. Lines 1 to 6, on the front of the stone, cover an area about 3′ 6″ broad by 1′ 9″ high. Below them there is a blank space, about one foot high, which was evidently left void in order to allow of the stone being set upright in the ground without hiding any part of the record. Lines 7 to 24 are short lines down the side of the stone, covering an area about 9″ broad by 3′ 5″ high, with a similar blank space below them. And a line runs across the stone between lines 15 and 16, to mark a division of the text there. The writing on the front of the stone is in a state of fairly good preservation. The writing down the side of the stone has suffered more damage; and for this reason, and also because it was not very convenient to introduce it in the Plate, this part of the record has not been reproduced.— The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them— (by which I mean, here and always, the height of such letters as *ga, cha, da, pa, etc.*, which are properly formed entirely between the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below)— ranges from about 1¼″ in the *ga* of *Agarayyaṁ*, line 4, to about 2¼″ in the *ṇ* of *Koṁguṇivarman*, line 1; the penultimate syllable *ḻgu* of line 6 is about 4¼″ high. The characters include final forms of *r* in line 3 and *n* in line 4, and also a final form of *ḷ* or else an *ḷ* with a *virâma* attached to it, in line 3. And they shew the lingual *ḍ*, distinguished from the dental *d* by a marked turning up and over of the right-hand end of the lower part of the letter; it can be recognised very clearly in *ẹṛiḍoḍe*, line 4. Two of the characters which furnish the best test for undated records of the period to which this record belongs, do not occur here; namely, the *b* and the guttural *ṅ*. In *vakhya*, by mistake for *vâkya*, line 6, we have a *kh* of the old square type,[2] which cannot be placed much after A.D. 860. On the other hand, the *l*, which we have in *Kovaḷâla*, line 2, and also in *kalnâḍu*, line 8, is of the later cursive type, which cannot be placed much before A.D. 800: we have it throughout the grant of Gôvinda III., of

[1] Mûgûr is in sheet No. 61 (1894), in lat. 12° 7′, long. 77°.

[2] I use the word " type " intentionally. Plenty of instances will be forthcoming, in which the old square " type " of the *kh* and other characters is followed, though the actual " forms " present hardly a straight line at all.

A.D. 804[1] (except in *modalol*, line 9, and *likhitah*, line 19), and perhaps in *vallabha*, line 1 (but not in *ballaha*, line 2, and *lôka*, line 3) of the Paṭṭadakal inscription of his father Dhruva;[2] but the Taḷakâḍ inscription of Śripurusha-Muttarasa[3] shews only the old square type of the *l*. The *j*, which occurs twice, in line 2, is of the old square type, which remained in use during the whole of the ninth century A.D., but, towards the end of it, in conjunction with also the later cursive type. In the *ja* of *râja*,— the fourth syllable in line 2,— we have an ordinary old square *j*, but of the open form; that is to say, with spaces at the place at which the top part of the letter and the lower part usually join to form an upright, and at which the centre stroke to the right starts from that upright. In the *jâ* at the beginning of line 2, we have a peculiar form of the old square type of the *j*, which I would propose to call the "back-to-back" *j*, because one more stroke in the centre of the left-hand (proper right) part of the character would have given us a double *j* back-to-back: here, the exact form of it is closed; in B., the Bêgûr inscription, we shall meet with it in its open form. In other genuine records, we have this back-to-back *j*, in the closed form, in the words *śrîrâjya* and *yuvarâja*, line 3, and several other words, in the Kyâtanahaḷḷi inscription of Bûtuga I. of the period A.D. 870-71 to about 908,[4] and in the word *Bijêsvarada* in a short inscription at Paṭṭadakal, in the Beḷgaum district,[5] which may be referred to the same period or may be placed somewhat later. And we may note that in spurious records we find it all through the Merkara grant, of the Western Gaṅga series,[6] the lithographs of which shew it in both the open and the closed forms, and which includes also the corresponding form of the guttural *ṅ* which we shall meet with in B., the Bêgûr inscription; and we find it, again, in the same class of records, in the Chicacole grant of Dêvêndravarman, of the Eastern Gaṅga series,[7] in the closed form in *vijayavata*, line 1, *Vâjasanêya*, line 13, *Nâgarâja*, line 23, and other words, and in the open form in *nija*, line 7. The forms of the *j* in this Doḍḍahuṇḍi record do not guide us much. But the *kh* and the *l* indicate that we may place it in the period A.D. 800 to 860, even if they do not actually compel us to do so. There are, indeed, in the forms of *j* and *ṅ* which occur in B., the Bêgûr inscription, plain indications that the development of the alphabet of Western India was slower in Mysore than in the more northern parts. But it does not seem likely that the old square type of *kh* can have lingered on long enough, even there, to justify us in referring this record to A.D. 938 or thereabouts, as we should have to do if, instead of accepting my proposed identification of the princes who are mentioned in it, we identify the Nîtimârga, whose death is recorded, with the next admissible prince who had that appellation.— The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record includes two words, *mane-magattin* in line 4 and *kil-gunthe* in line 5, for which only conjectural meanings can be proposed.[8] And, as indicated to me by the Revd. Mr. Kittel,[9] in *śrîmar*, for *śrîmat*, line 3, the composer seems to have formed a plural which is not justifiable.— As regards **orthography**, the only actual peculiarity is the use of *s* for *ś* in *ésvara*, line 2. But we may note also that we have the short *i* for the long *î* twice, in lines 1 and 5, and the long *î* for the short *i* once, in line 1; this latter feature, however, may be treated as a mistake in writing, quite as much as a mistake or peculiarity in spelling.[10]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, and Plate.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 124, and Plate. A more faithful reproduction of this record will be issued before long.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 1, and Plate.

[4] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147, and Plate.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 170, and Plate at p. 167.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 363, and Plate, and *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 1, and Plate.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273, and Plate. On its occurrence in this record, see some remarks by Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V. p. 122, note 4.

[8] See page 44 below, notes 4 and 6.

[9] I consulted Mr. Kittel about the meaning of *mane-magattin* and *kil-gunthe* in this record, and about some expressions in the Bêgûr and Âtakûr inscriptions, sending him, of course, my full readings of the texts, and translations. And I am much indebted to him for various suggestions, which I mention in the footnotes.

[10] It is rather a curious thing that, whereas in the oldest records the difference between *i* and *î*, as attached to consonants, is nearly always marked, less and less attention was paid to this detail, in the

The inscription records, in the first place, **the death of a Western Gaṅga prince,** who is mentioned in it by the appellation of **Nîtimârga,** without his proper name being disclosed. We are told, however, that he left a son who had the appellation of **Satyavâkya.** We know that Satyavâkya was the appellation of a prince Râjamalla, for whom we have the date of A.D. 870-71. We know also that Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, who is to be placed about A.D. 765 to 805, had a son named Raṇavikrama, and that the latter had a son named Râjamalla. And consequently, since the characters place the record justifiably, if not of absolute necessity, in the period A.D. 800 to 860, we naturally identify this **Satyavâkya** with the **Râjamalla** of A.D. 870-71, and this **Nîtimârga** with **Raṇavikrama;** and, till we learn anything more definite as to the actual year of Raṇavikrama's death, we place the record roughly **about A.D. 840.** In the second place, the inscription registers the fact that Satyavâkya-(Râjamalla) granted to a follower of his father, named **Agarayya,** a *kalnâḍu* or allotment of uncultivated land[1] known by the name of **Guḷdapâḍi,** the components of which were evidently specified in lines 16 to 22.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôm[3] Svasti **Ni(nî)timârgga-Komguṇi(ṇi)varmma-dharmmamahârâ-**
2 jâdhirâja **Kovaḷâla-purapar-êsvara**[4] **Nanda-**
3 giri-nâtha śrîmar(t) **Permmanaḍigaḷ** svarggam[5]=êṟida[ṁ][6] [|*]
4 Êṟidoḍe **Pemmânaḍigaḷa** mane-magattin **Aga-**
5 **rayyaṁ** **Ni(nî)timârgga-Permmanaḍige** kiḷ-guṇṭhey=âda[ṁ] [|*] **Permma-**
6 **naḍigaḷ**-agga-putraṁ[7] **Satyavakhya**[8]**-Peṁ[m]ânaḍigaḷ-Guḷda-**

Down the side of the stone.

7 [pâ]ḍiya[ṁ]
8 kalnâḍu

Kanarese characters, as time went on, until at length the distinction practically disappeared altogether, and it remained for modern invention,—on the part, I believe, of the early Jesuit missionaries,—to devise the mark by which the long *î* is now distinguished from the short *i*, and also the long *ê* and *ô* from the short *e* and *o*. The ancient alphabet does not seem to have ever marked the difference between the long and the short forms of *e* and *o*; we read the signs as *e* or *ê* and *o* or *ô*, just as is required. As regards the *i* and *î*, it is a question, in publishing critical texts, how far it is necessary to complicate the texts by, for instance, shewing the short *i* when it actually occurs in an original by mistake for a long *î*, and then making a correction in brackets or in a footnote. But probably, while attending to the detail in the case of the earlier records, we may ignore the point in records dating from about A.D. 1000 onwards, and may give the short *i* or the long *î* as is actually required, irrespective of the exact form in the original.—Dr. Burnell has traced back the present Kanarese method of marking the long *î*, *ê*, and *ô*, as attached to consonants, to the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. (*South-Ind. Palæo.* p. 30).

[1] The word *kal-nâḍu* may be translated literally by "stoney tract." Mr. Rice has pointed out,—quite correctly, I think,—that, as used in inscriptions, "it seems to designate what is now known as Government "waste, that is, land that has not been taken up for cultivation or that having been cultivated has been "abandoned" (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8).

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] Represented by a plain symbol. So, also, in line 15, where, however, the symbol is turned the other way.

[4] Read *puravar-êśvara*.

[5] We have here a rather pointed instance, to which my attention was specially drawn by Mr. Kittel, of the use of the nominative instead of the accusative, which is mentioned by Kêśirâja in his *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa*, sûtra 136. In other records, we often find in this expression the dative, *svarggakke*, instead of the accusative; this usage is mentioned in sûtra 135.

[6] Read *êṟidar*, more correctly, in agreement with the honorific plural *Permmanaḍigaḷ*.

[7] Mr. Rice's text gives *Pemmanaḍigaḷa su-putra*. The real reading is quite certain, though the *gga* is somewhat damaged.

[8] Read *Satyavâkya*.

9 [ko]ṭṭadu[1] ga(?)-
10 chcha[ṁ] mâḍi
11 parih[â]ra[ṁ] [||*]
12 Idan=aḷi-
13 do[ṁ] Vâraṇ[â]-
14 siyan=aḷi-
15 do[ṁ] || Ôm ||
16 Idakke Kamma-
17 . . . . gaya-
18 lli(?)kummaḷna(?)-
19 ga(?)tagesiko(?)-
20 ṭṭastaḷu(?ṛu)ga-
21 ḷavedi(?)ma(?)-
22 ṇḍu(?ṇṭu)[||*] Idan=a-
23 ḷido[ṁ] mâ-pâ-
24 tagan=a[kkuṁ ||]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! The *Dharmamahârâjâdhirâja*[2] **Nîtimârga-Koṅguṇivarman,** the lord of **Kovaḷâla the best of towns,**[3] the lord of **the mountain Nandagiri,** the illustrious **Permanaḍi,** ascended to heaven (*i.e.* died). When he was ascending,— by right of being a son of the house (?)[4] of **Pemmânaḍi,**[5] **Agarayya** became, to **Nîtimârga-Permanaḍi,** the attendant who drew out (*the weapon that caused his death*) (?)[6] (*In recognition of that*), **Satyavâkya-**

[1] Read *koṭṭudu,* for which *koṭṭadu* is a vulgarism, as remarked by Mr. Kittel.

[2] See above, Vol. V. p. 163, note 2.

[3] Kovaḷâla is the modern Kôlâr, the chief town of the Kôlâr district, Mysore. In Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, the modern name is given with the Drâviḍian ṛ,— Kôlâṛa. It is, however, doubtful whether there is any authority for this.

[4] *Mane-magattin.* Mr. Rice would translate this by "*major-domo*" (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd p. 4), — taking, I understand, *magattin* as a Tamiḷ form of *mahattin,* which would, however, make it the instrumental singular of *mahattu,* a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *mahat,* 'great, large, *etc.*' To this there are the objections that, being an instrumental case, it cannot be in apposition with the nominative *Ayarayyaṁ,* and that, as the Chôḷa occupation of Mysore did not commence till about A.D. 1000, there is no apparent reason why the Kanarese language should be in any way influenced by Tamiḷ at the period of the present record; moreover, such a hybrid compound as *mane-mahattu* could hardly be admitted under any circumstances. Mr. Kittel is of opinion that, if we might correct the text into *maggattina,* we might explain it by *magga* as the genitive of *maggu,* 'subjection, submission,' and *attina* as another form of *attaṇa,* 'of that side,' and might translate "Agarayya of the side of house-subjection, *i.e.* Agarayya who was in subjection to, or held the position of a dependent in, the house of Pemmânaḍi." *Magattu* may perhaps be connected in some way with *ogatana,* 'the management of household affairs.' But I think, on the whole, that we must find in it some derivative from *maga,* 'a son.' And the idea that the expression conveys to me, is, that Agarayya was the son of a concubine of one of the princes of the Western Gaṅga family.— The records appear to give another similar word, which, also, Mr. Rice would translate by "*major-domo*" (*loc. cit.* p. 7) or "retainer" (p. 34), in the forms of *mane-vagati,* My. 41, 44, and Nj. 158, *mane-yagati,* My. 42, and *mane-magati,* My. 43. In Nj. 158, *mane-vagati* may qualify the woman Nîlabbe, quite as readily as her son Râchamma, and therefore may quite possibly mean 'concubine' there. In the other cases, however, there does not seem to be any female name that the word could qualify.

[5] Or "of the Pemmânaḍis." We have to note the use of the form Pemmânaḍi here, and in line 6, whereas in lines 3 and 5 we have the more customary Permanaḍi.

[6] *Kiḷ-guṇṭhe.* Mr. Rice's translation proposes "became ? lame under Nîtimârgga-Permmanaḍi,"— which, however, does not seem very appropriate. *Guṇṭhe,* in which the aspirated *ṭh* is rather peculiar, being so unusual in Kanarese, must, I think, be connected with the Telugu *gunḍa,* 'a servant, a warrior, a soldier, an armed attendant,' which appears in Malayâḷam as *kuṇḍe,* 'a slave;' and Mr. Kittel is inclined to agree with me he considers, indeed, the termination *e* to be rather puzzling; but he instances the same termination in *taṇḍe,* 'a father,' which is said to be a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *tâta.* As regards the first part of the

Pemmâṇaḍi, the eldest son of **(Nîtimârga)-Permanaḍi**, gave (*to Agarayya*) **Guḷdapâḍi**,[1] (*as an allotment of*) uncultivated waste land,— having laved (*his sword*)(?),[2] — (*with*) relinquishment (*of all taxes*). He who destroys this, is (*like*) one who destroys Vâraṇâsi! Ôm!

[(L. 16 ff.)—This part of the record evidently gives the names of the villages which made up the allotment. But the reading is very uncertain in some places. And no names can be found in the maps, helping to elucidate the reading and to divide the words. The record ends] :— He who destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the great sins![3]

B.— Bêgûr Inscription of Eṛeyappa.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, Madras Infantry, in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and copper from various places in the Mysore territory; and a print from his negative has been given in my *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 247,[4] issued in 1878. In 1879, Mr. Rice gave a reading of the text, and a translation, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 209, with a lithograph of the entire stone (*id.* Frontispiece). And a rendering of the record by myself, partly from Col. Dixon's photograph and partly from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch, was published in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 346. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Bêgûr is a village in the Bangalore tâluka of the Bangalore district, Mysore. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), in lat. 12° 52′, long. 77° 41′, about seven miles S.S.E. from Bangalore. It is evidently the ancient **Bempûr (Bempûr)** or **Bempûru** of the record; though, why the *ṁp* or *mp* should have changed into *g*, is not apparent.[5] And the record shews that it was the chief village of a circle known as **the Bempûr twelve.** The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 6′ 6″ broad by 6′ 8″ high, which was found at this village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

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compound, we have the word *kiḻ, kîḻ, kîḻu*, 'the state of being low, below, beneath, under, down, base, degraded or mean,' which occurs in such expressions as *kiḻ-kabbiga*, 'an inferior, base poet,' *kîḻ-âḷ*, 'a low man,' and *kîḻu-manneya*, 'a petty chieftain;' and in epigraphic records we meet with *kiḻ-keṟe* or *kîḻ-keṟe*, evidently meaning 'a lower tank' (*Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 24), and *kiḻ-kalnâḍu*, meaning apparently 'a lower or smaller portion of uncultivated waste' (an inscription at Hirî-Bidanûr, for the text of which I am indebted to Mr. Rice). And Mr. Kittel, taking the whole word in connection with his proposal of *mane-maggattina*, would interpret the text as meaning that "Agarayya, who held a (*mere*) servile position in the house of Pemmâṇaḍi, became a (*real, though*) subordinate servant, or armed attendant, to Nîtimârga-Permanaḍi." But we have also the verb *kiḻ, kîḻ, kîḻu*, 'to draw or pull out, *etc.*' And I think that the indication afforded by the sculptures on the stone, suggests for *kiḻ-gunṭhe* the meaning that I propose in my translation.

[1] Mr. Rice's translation gives "Permmanaḍi's good son Satya-vâkya survived to Permmanaḍi." This requires us to analyse, at the end of line 6, *Pemmânaḍigaḷge uḻdaṁ*. And I adopted that analysis, in taking the record to mean that "Agarayya survived to (*render service to*) Satyavâkya" (above, Vol. V. p. 168). But I consider now that such an analysis is wrong. The past tense of *uḻi*, 'to remain alive, to remain behind,' would be *uḻidaṁ*, not *uḻdaṁ*; the line across the stone between lines 15 and 16 of the text, marks that place as the first division in the text; and the *Satyavakhya-Pemmânaḍigaḷ* in line 6 must be taken as the agent of the verbal form *koṭṭadu* (for *koṭṭudu*) in line 9.

[2] In line 9-10, where Mr. Rice's text gives *Kappahaḷḷi*, we have in all probability *gachchaṁ mâḍi*. And *gachchaṁ* must stand for *kachchaṁ*, the accusative of *kachchu*, 'washing.' The expression *kâlaṁ kachchu, karchu, kaḻchu*, 'to wash, or lave the feet,' is a very well known one, in the case of grants given or entrusted to priests. And we have also the nouns *kâl-gachchu*, 'feet-washing,' and *bâḷ-gachchu*, 'sword-washing' (see page 52 below, note 4). A prince would lave an attendant's sword,—not his feet.

[3] The *pañchamahâpâtaka* or five great sins are, killing a Brâhmaṇ, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and associating with any one guilty of those offences.

[4] The correct name of the village was not then known, and is there given as 'Beygoor,' mistakenly.

[5] The first component of the name, however, may possibly be another variant of *bêhu, bêgu*, 'spying;' in which case, the name would mean "spying-town" or "watch-town."

The chief part of the writing is in six lines, covering an area about 6′ 6″ broad by 1′ 5″ high, which run right across the upper part of the stone; and, in a somewhat exceptional manner, each of these six lines is separated from the next by a line cut in the stone from end to end. There are also six short lines running on in continuation down the proper right side, the same number on the proper left side, and the name of a village (treated as line 13) near the centre below line 6. Except in some places along the top of line 1, the inscription is mostly very well preserved; and it is legible throughout, in the ink-impression, without any doubt, except in respect of the village-name in line 13.—The rest of the stone is occupied by sculptures. The principal division of them represents a battle-scene. The troops on the proper right side must be those of the Vîramahêndra of the record. They are led by a man on horseback, waving a sword: that he is a person of very high rank, is indicated by umbrellas, one of which is apparently a triple one; and he seems, therefore, to be Vîramahêndra himself. Behind him there are two followers on horseback. In front of him, there is a man on foot, blowing a horn of the long straight kind. And, above the latter, there is another horseman. The troops on the proper left side are the Nâgattara army of the record. They are led by a man on an elephant, wielding a spear, who is evidently the hero whose death is recorded in the inscription; and the fierceness of the attack upon him is indicated by the arrows sticking in the forehead of the elephant. He is attended by an archer in the *hauda*, and by a follower on horseback shewn below the elephant. The centre and the foreground shew the fight between the two parties. Above all this, there is another scene, the central figure of which is a man, seated on a low stool, with his feet resting either on a man kneeling on all fours or on a footstool devised in that form. He may possibly be Ereyappa. But the absence of umbrellas is rather against that view; and it seems more likely that we have here another representation of the leader of the Nâgattara army who was killed in the battle. He is attended by two female *chauri*-bearers. Behind the *chauri*-bearer at his back, there stands another woman, who seems to be trying to entice into a cage a bird which is perched on his uplifted left hand. And behind her, again, there is another woman, standing under a flag-staff. Beyond the *chauri*-bearer in front of the central seated figure, there stands another woman. And beyond her there is a man, standing, and holding across his right knee what seems to be either a quiver or the scabbard of a sword: that he, also, is of some rank, is shewn by the head-dress, which figures similarly on the heads of the other three principal figures, and seems to include a kind of plume standing up from the *paṭṭa* or frontlet or fillet of dignity and authority; and he is probably the Irnga of the record, who was appointed to the command of the Nâgattaras in consequence of their original leader being killed in the battle.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ⅞″ in the *ḻ* of *vêḻdoḍe*, line 4, to about 2¼″ in the *va* of *Tovagûrû*, line 6: the *śrî* of *śrîmad*, line 2, is 3⅛″ high; and the *śrî* at the end of line 19 is 3¾″ high. The characters include a final form of *r* at the end of line 2, and either a final *l*, or else an *l* with a form of the *virâma* attached to it, in *Kûḍal*, line 15. They include the distinct form of the lingual *ḍ*, which can be seen very clearly in *mâḍi* and *Gaṅgavâḍi*, line 3, and in *kalnâḍ*, line 6: but the distinction was not made throughout; for instance, it was not observed in *endoḍe*, line 6. We have, in this record, all the leading test-letters. The *kh*, *b*, and *l* present only the later cursive forms: the *kh* occurs once, in *mêkhaḷâ*, line 1; the *b* may be seen very clearly in *badhdhaṁ* and *Bempûru*, line 6; and the *l*, in *lakshmi*, line 2, and *pola*, line 15. In *Gaḷaṁjavâgilû*, line 11-12, we have the later cursive *j*: but the old square type is presented in *jaḷadhi-jaḷa*, line 1: here, in both cases, we have the back-to-back *j*, in its open form, that is to say, with a small space at the top and also at the bottom of the central upright stroke; it is particularly clear in the second instance. The guttural *ṅ* follows the types and forms of the *j*, as, for some reason or other not yet explained, it nearly always does: in *Irugaṅge*, line 5, *maṅgala*, line 6, *Komaraṅgundu*, line 7-8, *Nâgaraṅge*,

BEGUR STONE.



E.F.H. Wiele, photo. Photo-etching - Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, May 1898.

line 18-19, and *maṅgaḷa*, line 19, it is the later cursive *ṅ*, differing from the corresponding *j* in only the absence of the right-hand stroke which, in the *j*, starts and turns up from the centre of the letter; on the other hand, in *Gaṅga*, line 1, *Gaṅgavâḍi*, line 3, and *dêvaṅge*, line 4, we have an *ṅ* of the old square type, answering to the back-to-back *j*, from which it differs, as may be seen best in line 3, essentially in the absence of the centre stroke to the right, and, as found in this particular record, by the projections to the left being turned in to meet the central upright stroke. —The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 18, we have a curious word, *śavuchara*, which seems to stand for *sahachara*, 'a companion, a follower.'—In respect of **orthography** we may notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *âḷaṁkrity*, line 1-2, though the *ṛi* is given correctly in *śvayaṁvṛita*, line 2; (2) the use of *dhdh* for *ddh* in *badhdhaṁ*, line 6; (3) the use of *b* for *v* in *Bira*, line 3; (4) the use of *ś* for *s* in *śvayaṁvṛita*, line 2; and (5) the use of the Drâviḍian *ḷ* in all the Sanskṛit words, except, of course, as an initial in *lakshmi*, line 2, and except in *maṅgala*, line 6. The last-mentioned word occurs spelt both ways. In line 19, where it is the ordinary Sanskṛit word, used in its customary sense, it is written with the Drâviḍian *ḷ*. In line 6, it is part of a village-name;[1] and there it is written with the ordinary *l*, as seems to be always the case, even in Tamiḷ records, when it is used in that way.

The **inscription**, which is partly a *vîrgal* or monumental record of a hero who was killed in battle and partly an ordinary *śâsana* or charter, refers itself to the period of the rule of **the Western Gaṅga prince Eṛeyappa**, *i.e.* to **between about A.D. 908 and 938.** It tells us that **Eṛeyappa** lent to **Ayyapadêva**, for the purpose of fighting against **Vîramahêndra**, a force which was collected and commanded by **the leader of the Nâgattaras.** The commander of the force was killed in a battle that was fought at **Tumbepâḍi.** And Eṛeyappa appointed **Iruga** to succeed to the leadership of the Nâgattaras, and also, in recognition of the bravery that had been displayed by his predecessor, granted to Iruga the circle of villages that was known as **the Bempûr twelve.**

As has been pointed out by Mr. Rice[2] since the time when the contents of this record were first discussed, **Ayyapadêva** was doubtless a Noḷamba, and is to be identified with the **Noḷambâdhirâja-Ayyapadêva,** "of the Pallava lineage," one **of the Noḷambas of the Noḷambavâḍi province** on the north of the Gaṅgavâḍi province, who is mentioned in an inscription at Hirî-Bidanûr.[3] The identity of **Vîramahêndra** is not so certain. But there is, at any rate, no good reason now for proposing to identify him with the Noḷamba Mahêndrâdhirâja who is mentioned, in inscriptions at Baragûr and Hêmâvati,[4] as a son of a Noḷambâdhirâja who was a brother-in-law of Nîtimârga son of the Gaṅga prince Râjamalla. And it seems probable that he was **an Eastern Chalukya king.** In that dynasty, we meet, not only with Râjamahêndra as a *biruda* both of Amma I. (A.D. 918 to 925) and of Amma II. (A.D. 945 to 970),[5] but also with **Gaṇḍamahêndra** as a *biruda* of **Châlukya-Bhîma II.** (A.D. 934 to 945).[6] The name Vîramahêndra, "a very Mahêndra (Indra) among brave men," is exactly synonymous with Gaṇḍamahêndra, "a very Mahêndra among heroes." The Eastern Chalukyas were constantly at war with the Râshṭrakûṭa kings and the Western Gaṅga princes. The name of "the very terrible **Ayyapa**" is actually mentioned among the names of certain enemies of Châlukya-Bhîma II.,[7] whom he is said to have slain. The dates fit in satisfactorily. Thus, in all probability the **Vîramahêndra** of this record is **Châlukya-Bhîma II.,** who, we must then understand, had invaded Mysore and was met by a combined force of Gaṅgas and Noḷambas. And the event has

[1] [At the end of village-names, *maṅgala* seems to be an abbreviation of the frequent, but inconveniently long term *chaturvêdi-maṅgala*, 'a Brâhmaṇ settlement.'—E.H.]

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, note 3.

[3] For this record, see, provisionally, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, note 2.

[4] See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 266, 270.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 269.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 270.

to be placed towards the end of the rule of Eṟeyappa, between about A.D. 934 and 938. Against this, it might be urged, in the first place, that the statement in this record, that Eṟeyappa was governing the Gaṅgavâḍi province as an united whole after having deprived all his enemies of their power, is suggestive of an early period in his rule, and, in the second place, that an early period is suggested by also the fact that the record includes an *ṅ* and a *j* of the old type, which seems to have entirely disappeared in the Râshṭrakûṭa territory by about A.D. 900. But the Âtakûr inscription, C. below, of A.D. 949-50, similarly describes Bûtuga II. as then governing the province after having fought and killed Râchamalla I.,— regardless of the fact that that event occurred about ten years before that date. While, as regards the palæographic point, the record can at any rate not be placed before A.D. 906-907, which date we have for Eṟeyappa's predecessor Bûtuga I. There seems, therefore, no objection, from this point of view, to placing it even some thirty years later. And we thus gather from this record, in respect of palæography, that the development of the alphabet in Mysore was perceptibly slower than in the Râshṭrakûṭa territory more to the north.

Of the **places** mentioned in the record in addition to **Bempûr-Bêgûr,** we may doubtless safely identify **Tumbepâḍi,** where the battle was fought, with the modern '**Tumbadi**' of the Madras Postal Directory and of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, N.E. (1895), in the Maddagiri tâluka of the Tumkûr district: the place is in lat. 13° 34′, long. 77° 17′, about fifty-four miles N.N.W.½W. from Bêgûr; and this identification locates the scene of the battle near enough to the Noḷambavâḍi province— (if not actually in it)— to account for Ayyapadêva being concerned in the matter. **Iggalûr** still exists under the same name, eight miles to the south-east from Bêgûr. **Tovagûru** is probably the '**D. Togur**' of the map, two-and-a-half miles on the south-east of Bêgûr. **Pûvina-Pullimaṅgala** is doubtless the modern '**Hulimangala,**' three-and-a-half miles on the south of Bêgûr.[1] And **Kûḍal** may be '**Kudlu,**' three miles N.E. by E. from Bêgûr.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôm[3] Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vinûta-**Gaṅga-kuḷa**-gagana-ni[r*]mmaḷa-târâpati-jaḷadhi-jaḷa-vipuḷa-vaḷaya-mêkhaḷ[â]-kaḷ[â]p-âḷaṁ-

2 kri(kṛi)ty-aiḷâdhipatya-lakshmi-śvayaṁvṛita-patitâdvâdy[4]-agaṇita-guṇa-gaṇa-vibhû s hâ ṇ a-vibhûshita-vibhûti śrîmad-**Eṟeyapp-arasar**

3 pagevar=ellaman=ni[h*]kshatram-mâḍi **Gaṅgavâḍi**-tombhattaṟu-sâsiramuman[5]=êka-chhatra[6]-chchhâyeyoḷ=âḷuttam-iḷdu **Bi(vi)rama**-

4 **hêndranoḷ**=kâdal=endu **Ayyapadêvaṅge** sâmanta-sahitaṁ **Nâgattaranaṁ** daṇḍu vêḷdoḍe **Tumbepâḍiyoḷ**=kâdi kâḷegam=imb=a-

5 ḷidoḍe âneyoḷ=ânt=iṟidu sattoḍ=adaṁ kêḷd=**Eṟeyapaṁ**[7] mechchi **Irugaṅge Nâgat-tara-vaṭṭaṁ-gaṭṭi Bempû**-ppanniraḍu-

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1 The old map, sheet 60, of 1828, which I was using in 1892, does not shew 'Hulimangala.' The new map, sheet No. 60, N.E., of 1895, does not shew the 'Woolmungle,' about twenty miles towards the E.N.E. from Bêgûr, which I selected in 1893 from the old map; nor can I find in it the 'Nelloorputnam' and 'Chicka-Nalloor' which, on the authority of the old map, I then put forward as possible representatives of Kûtanidu-Nallûru and Nallûru-Komaraṅgundu, but which now seem, under any circumstances, too distant to belong to the Bempûr twelve.

2 From the ink-impression.

3 Represented by a plain symbol.

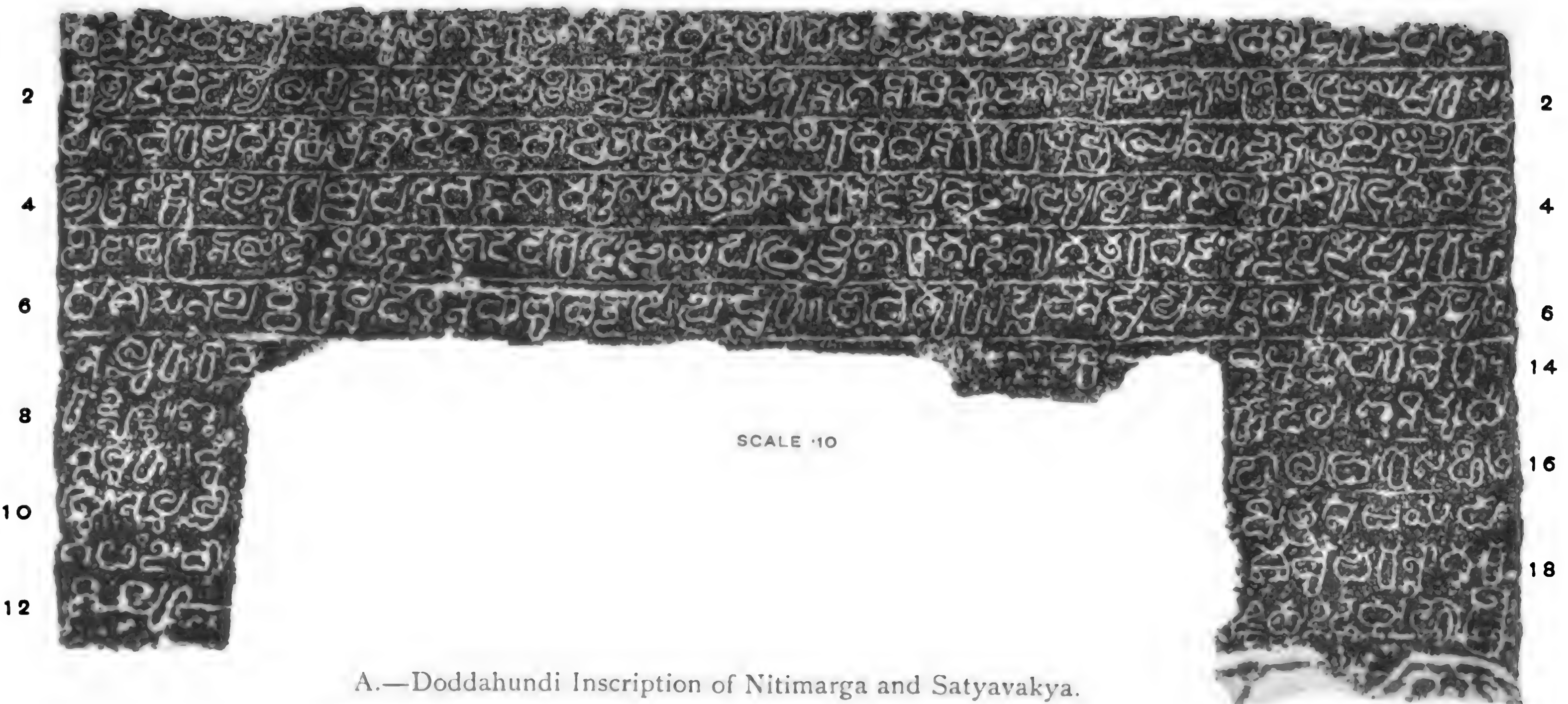
4 Read *lakshmî-svayaṁvṛita-patitv-âdy*. The *iva* of *patitva* is also understood after *târâpati* in line 1.

5 Read *sâsiraman*. The copulative ending is not wanted, as only one province is mentioned.

6 Read *chchhattra*.

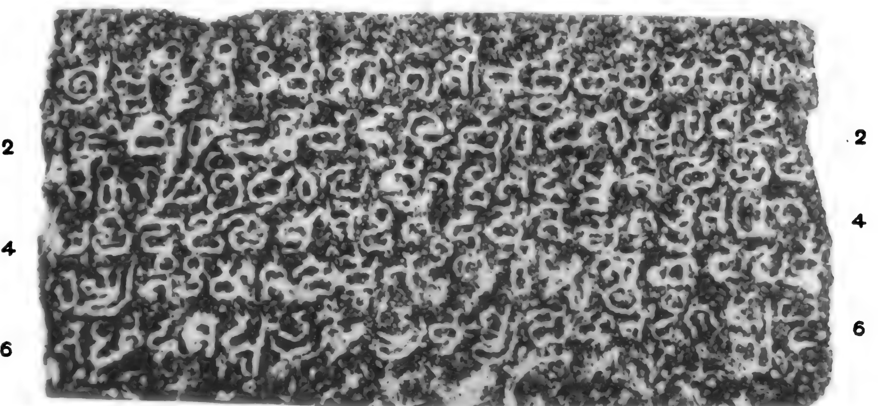
7 This name would have been written more correctly with the double *pp* in the fourth syllable, as in line 2. It occurs again with the single *p* in line 17 below, and in line 20 of C., the Âtakûr inscription.

B.—Begur Inscription of Ereyappa.



SCALE ·10

A.—Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimarga and Satyavakya.



J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

SCALE ·10

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. HULTZSCH.

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6 maṁ[1] śâsana-badhdha(ddha)ṁ kalnâḍ=ittan=Av=âvuv=endoḍe || **Bempûru** ||[2] **Tovagûrû Pûvina-Pullimaṅgala Kûtanidu-Nallûru** ||
7 **Nallûru-Koma-**
8 **raṅgundu** || **I-**
9 **ggalûru** || **Du-**
10 **gmonelmalli**
11 **Gaḷaṁjavâ-**
12 **gilû** ||
13 **Sâṟa[ṁ]vu(?)** ||
14 **Eḷkuppe Paravûru**
15 **Kûḍal** | initumа[ṁ]
16 pola-mêre sahita-
17 m=ittan=**Eṟeyapa[ṁ]**
18 śavucharan=**Nâgara-**
19 **ṅge**[3] [||*] Maṅgaḷa-mahâ-śrî ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! When the illustrious **Eṟeyapparasa,**— whose dignity was adorned with the decoration of an uncounted number of good qualities, such as being a spotless moon in the sky which is **the family of the Gaṅgas** praised throughout the whole world, and such as being the lord, chosen by herself, of the goddess of sovereignty over the earth, who has for an ornament round her waist a zone which is the great circle of the waters of the oceans,— having deprived all his enemies of their power, was governing **the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand** as an united whole,[4] he ordered[5] **the Nâgattara,** together with (*his*) tributary chiefs, (*to supply*) an army to **Ayyapadêva** for the purpose of fighting against **Vîramahêndra;** and thereupon he **(the Nâgattara)** fought at **Tumbepâḍi,** and, when the press of battle became great,[6] leaned upon the elephant, and was pierced and died.

(L. 5)— Thereupon, having heard that, **Eṟeyapa** was pleased, and appointed **Iruga** to the leadership of **the Nâgattaras,**[7] and gave him, secured by a charter, **the Bempûr twelve,** (*as an allotment of*) uncultivated waste land.

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[1] Read *Bempûr-ppannaraḍumaṁ.*

[2] The punctuation in this part of the record seems, at first sight, rather capricious. But it probably marks some subordinate groupings of the villages. And the copulative long *û* in *Tovagûrû* and *Gaḷaṁjavâgilû* points in the same direction, though, in that case, there ought to have been a more systematic use of copulative endings all through lines 6 to 15.

[3] Read *sahacharan=Nâgattaraṅge.*— As regards the latter word, see the next note but one.— As regards the former word, the *śavucharan* of the original might stand for *śaucharan, saucharan,* or even (see Kittel's Dictionary, under *au*) *śaṁcharan,* or *saṁcharan.* But none of these words gives a suitable meaning, unless we can accept *saucharan,* and, taking it as equivalent to *sucharitan,* render it by 'well-conducted, well-behaved.'

[4] *Êka-chchhattra-chchhâyeyoḷ*; *lit.* "in the shade of one umbrella." See the explanation given above, Vol. V. p. 164, note 6.

[5] *Vêḻdoḍe* might stand for *bêḻdoḍe,* from *bêḻu,* = *bêḍu,* 'to wish, solicit, ask.' But, as indicated to me by Mr. Kittel, it is, no doubt, better taken here as standing for *pêḻdoḍe,* from *pêḻu,* 'to utter, say, narrate, tell, command, order.'— With the infinitive in *kâdal=endu,* compare *geyyal=endu* and *sâdhisal=endu* (above, Vol. V. p. 223, note 6, and p. 225, note 2).— As regards "the Nâgattara," from a comparison of the text in lines 4, 5, and 18-19, it seems that we have in line 4 the accusative singular, and in line 18-19 the dative singular (with a careless omission of the third syllable, *tta*), of a base *Nâgattara,* as the proper name of a family or clan rather than of an individual.

[6] *Kâḷegam-imb=aḻidoḍe*; *lit.* "when the battle space-failed."— I was inclined to take *kâḷegam* as the dative singular of a proper name, Kâḷe, and to translate "when space failed to even Kâḷe, *i.e.* when the press of battle became too great even for him,"—thus finding here the actual name, which otherwise is not mentioned (see the preceding note), of the hero who was killed on this occasion. Mr. Kittel, however, considers that *kâḷe* is not very probable as the name of a man, and that it is better to take *kâḷegam* in the way in which it most naturally presents itself, namely, as the nominative singular of *kâḷega, kâḷaga,* 'fight, battle, war.'

[7] *Lit.* "having tied to (*the forehead of*) Iruga the fillet of authority of the Nâgattaras." *Vaṭṭaṁ* is for *paṭṭaṁ*; and *gaṭṭi* for *kaṭṭi.* *Paṭṭaṁ kaṭṭu* or *gaṭṭu,* 'to tie the frontlet or fillet of dignity or authority,' is an expression of constant occurrence in respect of the crowning of kings and princes. In respect of its use in the case of lower appointments, we have instances, analogous to the present one, in the Permaḍi-*paṭṭa* which, the Kôtûr inscription tells us, the Satyavâkya of that record conferred on the son of a *Gâmuṇḍa* or village-headman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 103, No. III., and *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 6), and in the Mâdivarma-*paṭṭa* which belonged to a certain Mâchiga, a follower of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 110). The last mentioned record

(L. 6)— Those (villages) are as follows:—**Bempûru**; **Tovagûru, Pûvina-Pullimaṅgala,** and **Kûtanidu-Nallûru**; **Nallûru-Komaraṅgundu**; **Iggalûru**; **Dugmonelmalli** and **Gaḷañjavâgilu**; **Sâṛaṁvu** (?); **Eḷkuppe, Paravûru,** and **Kûḍal**. This much, with (*a specification of*) the boundaries of the fields, gave **Eṛeyapa** to his follower, the **Nâgattara**. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

C.— Âtakûr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. and Bûtuga II.— A.D. 949-50.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, Introd. p. 19, note 10, and p. 21. A rendering of it by myself, from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch, was issued in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 167. And a rendering of it by Mr. Rice, with a lithograph, was published in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Md. 41. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself; owing to the bad light in which the stone stands, it fails to shew much of the writing, though it presents the sculptures clearly enough.

Âtakûr,— or, perhaps, according to a more recent custom, Âtagûr,— is a village about fifteen miles to the N. E. by E. from Maṇḍya, the head-quarters of the Maṇḍya tâluka of the Mysore district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), as 'Atgur,' in lat. 12° 39′, long. 77° 7′; and it is shewn as 'Atagur' in the map that accompanies the revised edition of Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. II.: in the old sheet No. 60 (1828), however, it is shewn as 'Atcoor,' which answers to the spelling given in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., and to what is probably still the more usual form of the name. With the slight difference of *u* for *a* in the second syllable, the record mentions it as **Âtukûr**. And the record shews also that it was the chief village of a circle known as **the Âtukûr twelve**. The inscription is on a stone tablet, measuring about 5′ 1″ broad towards the bottom by about 6′ 8″ high, which was found set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challêśaliṅga,— the Challêśvara of the record itself,— about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The chief part of the **writing** consists of nineteen lines, covering an area about 5′ 1″ broad (in line 19) by 4′ 0″ high, which run right across the lower part of the stone. But there is a subsidiary record, lines 20 to 24, on the upper part of the stone, in the margins that were left above and on each side of the sculptures belonging to the principal part of the record: lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin, along the top, and down the proper left margin; line 22 is a short line on the proper right margin, below the beginning of line 21; and lines 23 and 24 are short lines on the proper left margin, commencing below, respectively, the *nna* of *Kannara* and the *ṅge* of *Bûtugaṅge* of line 21. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation throughout; and the whole of the record can be read with certainty, with the exception of the *akshara* before *Tri[ṇê]tran*, line 3, and perhaps of the word *âpa[ghâ]ta* in line 7.— The **sculptures** on the stone cover an area about 3′ 2″ broad by 1′ 6″ high. They represent a hound and a boar fighting; and they refer to an incident mentioned in lines 10 and 11 of the record.— The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about 1″ in the *ḷa* of *Chôḷanṁ*, line 16, to about $1\frac{1}{8}$″ in the *ma* of *â·maṇṇan*, line 13: the *mba* of *emba*, line 19, is $2\frac{3}{4}$″ high; and the *ka* of *Sûdrakaṁ*, in the same line, is $2\frac{1}{8}$″ high vertically and 3″ on the slant. The

illustrates also its higher application, in giving the date as the seventh year of the tying of the fillet of Satyavâkya-(Mârasiṁha II.). And in this application it was synonymous with *râjyâbhishêkaṁ-geyu*, 'to anoint to the sovereignty or rule,' which is the expression used in giving the regnal date of the Biḷiûr inscription of Satyavâkya-(Bûtuga I.) of A.D. 888 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. II., and *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 5).— Judging from the head-dresses of the four principal figures in the sculptures on the stone, the *paṭṭa* seems to have included a kind of plume standing straight up above the head, in addition to a fillet passing round the head.

ATAKUR STONE.



E. F. H. Wiele, photo

Photo-etching - Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, May 1898.

characters include final forms, or forms with the *virâma* attached, of *t* in lines 3, 6, and 9, of *l* in line 13, and of *ḷ* in lines 6, 9, 11, and 12. The lingual *ḍ* can be recognised in *nâḍa*, line 10, *viṭṭoḍe* and *oḍa*, line 11, and *eḍeg*, line 15. The palæography does not present anything calling for special comment, as the *kh* does not occur, and the other test-letters, *ṅ*, *j*, *b*, and *l*, present, naturally enough, only the later cursive forms.— The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type; and there are verses in lines 15 to 19. In line 11 we have *moraḍi* as a variant of *moraḍi*, 'a hill, a hillock;' and in line 12 we have *aṅgaḷoḷ*, the locative singular of *aṅgaḷ* or *aṅgaḷu* as a variant of *aṅgaḷa*, = *aṅgaṇa*, in the sense of 'an open space, an area.' And we may note the use of *v*, instead of the more customary *m*, in *eṟpatturaṁ*, line 21.— In respect of **orthography** we may note (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *nripa*, line 1, *prithuvî*, line 2, and *Krishṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in *bijayaṁ*, line 4, and *bîra*, lines 16 and 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, for instance, in *Saka*, line 1, and *Sûdrakaṁ*, lines 9 and 19; and (4) the use of *ś* for *s*, once, in *Śômyam*, for *Saumyam*, line 1.

The **principal part of the inscription** is **dated**, without full details, in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 872 (current),[1] = **A.D. 949-50.** And it refers itself to the time of **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kannaradêva-Kṛishṇa III.**,[2] and of **the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavâkya-Bûtuga II.**[3] It tells us, in the first place, that **Kṛishṇa III.** had fought and killed **the Chôḷa king Râjâditya,** otherwise called **Mûvaḍi-Chôḷa,**[4] at a place named **Takkôla,** and was going in triumph, or, in other words, was making a state progress through his dominions.[5]

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[1] The *saṁvatsara* agrees with the given Śaka year only according to the southern luni-solar system of the cycle,— which, however, is the proper one for the period and the part of the country with which we are concerned,— and only by applying the Śaka year as a current year; see Prof. Kielhorn's references to this date, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 187, No. 79, and Vol. XXV. p. 267, note 5.

[2] The following *birudas* of Kṛishṇa III. are mentioned in this record,— Aṅkatriṇêtra, Ânevedeṅga, Vanagajamalla, and Kachchega; see page 53 below, note 7, the Postscript on page 83, and page 55, notes 7, 8, 9.

[3] His proper name occurs in line 9, in the *biruda* "the champion of Bûtuga," which is applied to Maṇalera. — The following *birudas* of Bûtuga II. himself are mentioned in this record,— Nanniyagaṅga, Jayaduttaraṁga, Gaṅgagâṅgêya, and Gaṅganârâyaṇa.

[4] The word *mûvaḍi* means 'three folds, three times,' from *mû*, = *mûṟu*, 'three,' and *maḍi*, 'bending, folding, doubling; fold, times.' Another form of it is *mummaḍi*. In the Tamiḻ records, the *biruda* appears sometimes as Mummaḍi-Chôḷa, and sometimes as Mummuḍi-Chôḷa: and Dr. Hultzsch has rendered it by "the Chôḷa king (who wears) three crowns, *viz.* those of the Chôḷa, Pâṇḍya and Chêra kingdoms" (*e.g.*, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 29), finding an indication that that is its purport in a verse at the end of the Raṅganâtha inscription which describes Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva as building "three golden domes, by which (*the temple of*) Śrîraṅga glitters as he (*the king*) by the (*three*) crowns worn at (*his*) coronation" (above, Vol. III. p. 17); and so also Mr. V. Venkayya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 65, and see p. 60, note 14), where he quotes facts which would indicate, or at least justify, the existence of a similar *biruda* among the Pâṇḍyas, on the same view. There is a Tamiḻ word *muḍi*, meaning 'a crown.' Nevertheless, my opinion is that Mummuḍi-Chôḷa is simply a variant of Mummaḍi-Chôḷa, and that in either form the *biruda* means literally "a three-times Chôḷa." And I think, now, that the expressions Immaḍi-Noḷambâdhirâja, Mummaḍi-Chôḷa, and Nûrmaḍi-Tailа mean, not "the second Noḷambâdhirâja, the third Chôḷa, the hundredth Taila," but "the Noḷambâdhirâja who was twice as great and powerful, or twice as famous, as any Noḷambâdhirâja who ever preceded him," and so on. An inscription of A.D. 1168 at Baḷagâmi (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 185, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 111) describes the temple of Dakshiṇa-Kêdârêśvara as (line 30 f.)—*Vârâṇâsigaṁv=irmmaḍi Kêdârakkaṁ nûrmmaḍi Śrîparvvatakkaṁ sâsirmmaḍi,*—" twice (*as sacred*) as even Vâràṇâsi, a hundred times (*more sacred*) than even Kêdâra, a thousand times (*more sacred*) than even Śrîparvata." So, also, Rêvakanimmaḍi (see page 71 below, note 5) probably stands for Immaḍi-Rêvaka and means "a Rêvaka twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rêvaka."

[5] *Bijayaṁ-geyyutt-iḷdu.* From Kittel's Dictionary, it would appear that the word *bijaya*, as used in this combination, is treated by the Native grammarians as another form of *bija*, *biya*, and as coming from the Sanskṛit *vî*, *vyay*, 'to go, to move, to go apart or in different directions,' and that *bijayaṁ-gey* and *biyaṁ-gey* are explained by them as meaning simply 'to walk, to go, to come.' But, as used in the inscriptions, the expression has plainly a more extended meaning than that; namely, it implies the idea of 'going in state, going in triumph. It is evidently a shorter form of *dig-vijayaṁ-gey*, for an instance of which see above, Vol. V. p. 223, note 6. And, in view of that longer form, I think that the word *bijaya* is to be more correctly treated as simply a *tadbhava*

It then mentions **Bûtuga II.** as governing,— the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand province being understood. It then introduces a follower of Bûtuga II. named **Maṇalera,**[1] who belonged to the Sagaravaṁśa or **race of the Sagaras** and had the hereditary title of "lord of **Valabhi** the best of towns," and whose prowess in battle is described in the verses in lines 15 to 19. Bûtuga II., it tells us, being pleased with the prowess displayed by Maṇalera, gave him his favourite hound **Kâḷi.** The hound was pitted against a great boar at the village of Beḷatûr, in the Keḷale district.[2] And the hound and the boar killed each other. And, in commemoration of that, the stone was set up in front of the temple of the god **Challêśvara** at **Âtukûr,** and a grant of land was made to the temple.

The **subsidiary record** round the top of the stone belongs also to the time of **Bûtuga II.,** who, it says, was governing the ninety-six-thousand province after killing **Râchamalla,** the son of **Eṟeyappa.** It discloses the fact that it was Bûtuga II. himself who actually killed **the Chôḷa king Râjâditya,** whom, it says, without mincing matters, he slew treacherously. And in return for this service, it tells us, **Kṛishṇa III.** gave to Bûtuga II. the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province, and the districts known as the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Purigeṟe three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ seventy.[3] It further tells us that, in recognition of the valour displayed in battle by **Maṇalera,** Bûtuga II. gave to Maṇalera the circle of villages known as the Âtukûr twelve and also a village named Kâdiyûr or Kâḍiyûr in the Beḷvola district. This last grant is called in the record a *bâḷgachchu* or "sword-washing" grant, meaning, no doubt, that it was accompanied by the ceremony of laving Maṇalera's sword.[4]

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of the Sanskṛit *vijaya*, 'victory,' and that *bija* and *biya* are to be treated as corruptions of it. I would render the full expression *dig-vijayaṁ-gey*, not by "to conquer the regions, to make the subjugation of various countries in all directions, to make universal conquest," but by "to go in triumph, to make a state progress, through the dominions."—[In modern Tamiḻ, *vijayañ=jey*, if applied to princes and high officials, means "to visit" a locality.— E. H.]

[1] The same Maṇalera is probably mentioned again in the Kûlagere inscription of Nîtimârga-(Eṟeyappa) of A.D. 909-910 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30; the text in Roman characters gives Maṇaleyâra, and the text in Kanarese characters gives Maṇaluyâra). An earlier person of the same name seems to be mentioned in the Taggalûru inscription of Śrîpurusha-(Muttarasa) (*id.* Vol. IV., Gu. 87; the texts here both give Maṇaleyara). And an Irmaḍi-Vîra-Maṇalera appears to be mentioned in an inscription of uncertain date at Hebbaḷu (*id.* Vol. III., Md. 45; here, the Roman text gives Maṇalera, and the Kanarese text gives Manâlera).— The Sagaravaṁśa is mentioned again in the Jinnahaḷḷi inscription of the time of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. (*id.* Vol. IV., Hg. 110) — The title *Vaḷabhîpuravarêśvara*, "lord of Vaḷabhî the best of towns," occurs again in a fragmentary inscription of uncertain date at Muttatti (*id.* Vol. III., TN. 102).

[2] In a similar manner to the present record, an inscription of the sixteenth century A.D. at Têkal or Tyâkal in Mysore (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 228, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 208) mentions a fight between a hound and a tiger, and the fight is represented on the stone. The name of the hound in that case is perhaps given as Sampage; but the word may possibly mean only a *champaka*-tree.

[3] The necessity for granting the Beḷvola, Purigeṟe, Kisukâḍ, and Bâgenâḍ districts to Bûtuga II. on this occasion, is not altogether apparent; because we know from the Hebbâḷ inscription that they had already been given to him by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, the father of Kṛishṇa III., as the dowry of Rêvakanimmaḍi (see above, Vol. IV. p. 354). But it would seem that Bûtuga II. must have been deprived of them,—together, probably with the rightful succession to the leadership of the Western Gaṅgas,— by Eṟeyappa and Râchamalla.

[4] *Bâḷgachchu* is from *bâḷ*, *bâḷu*, 'a knife, a sword,' and *kachchu*, *karchu*, *kalchu*, 'washing; to wash.'— The expression, in line 22-23, is *bâḷgachchu-goṭṭaṁ*, "he gave (as) a *bâḷgachchu*." Originally,— the word *bâḷgachchu* not being then known,— I read *bâḷga*[*ṁ*] [*me*]*chchu-goṭṭaṁ*, which, as Reeve and Sanderson's Canarese Dictionary does not shew the difference between *bâḷ*, 'sword,' and *bâḻ*, 'living, life, subsisting, livelihood, *etc.*,' I rendered by "gave, in token of approbation, for subsistence." But, in giving that reading and rendering, I had to remark that I could not find the syllable *me* in the original, and that it seemed to have been omitted altogether. By a curious coincidence, Mr. Rice's text gives the reading as *bâḷge mechchu goṭṭa*; and his translation renders this by "gave for his sword:" and not only so, but his lithograph actually introduces the required syllable *me*, as if it really stood in the original,— making room for it chiefly by cramping the *ge* of the *Bûtugaṅge* of line 21. The syllable *me*, however, does not stand, and never did stand, in the original at all. And it is not wanted, from any point of view. The true reading, *bâḷgachchu-goṭṭaṁ*, is quite unmistakable, and is, now, quite intelligible. The

As regards the places, in addition to **Âtukûr-Âtakûr**, mentioned in this record,— **Takkôla**, where the battle was fought between Kṛishṇa III. and Râjâditya, still exists, under the same name, in the Wâlâjâpêṭ tâluka of the North Arcot district, Madras; the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 78, N.E. (1893), shews it as '**Takkolam**,' six miles S.E. from Arkônam junction, in lat. 13° 1', long. 79° 48', on the Corteliaur river.[1] **Beḷatûr**, where the hound was matched against the boar, still exists under the same name, five miles W. S. W. ½ S. from Âtakûr. **Kâdiyûr or Kâḍiyûr**, of the Beḷvola district, ought to be somewhere near Hûli in Beḷgaum, or Aṇṇigere in Dhârwâr, or Kukkanûr in the Nizam's Dominions; but the maps do not seem to include any name answering to it. The **Banavase province, and the Beḷvola, Purigeṟe, and Kisukâḍ districts**, are already very well known. The **Bâgenâḍ seventy** was,— as I shewed when I originally edited this record,— **the country round Bâgalkôṭ**, the ancient Bâgaḍage and Bâgaḍige, the head-quarters of the Bâgalkôṭ tâluka of the Bijâpur district.

TEXT.[2]

1 Svasti[3] **Sa(śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kâl-âtîta-sa[ṁ]vatsara-sa(śa)taṅgaḷ-eṇṭu-nûṟ-[e]ḷpatt-[e]raḍaneya Śô(sau)myam-emba**

2 **sa[ṁ]vatsaraṁ pravarttise**[4] **[|*]** Svasti **Amôghavarisha**[5]**dêva**-śrîprithuvî-[6] vallabha-paramêśvara-parama-

3 bhaṭṭ[â]raka-pâdapaṅkaja-bhramaran=a[ṅka][7]-Tri[ṇê]tran=âne-veḍeṅgaṁ vana-gaja-mallaṁ kachchegaṁ **Kri(kṛi)shṇarâjaṁ** śrîmat

expression *kâlaṁ kachchu, karchu, or kaḻchu*, 'to lave the feet (at the time of making a donation),' is well known from many records. And for the noun *bâḷ-gachchu*, 'sword-washing,' we have the analogy of the noun *kâl-garchu*, 'foot-washing,' in lines 40 and 47 of an inscription of A.D. 1112 at Baḷagâmi (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 172, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 85).

[1] The word *takkôla* means 'the tree Pimenta acris,' and 'a particular fragrant drug.' The Madras Postal Directory gives also a 'Takkol' about a hundred miles more to the north, in the Siddhavaṭṭam tâluka of the Cuddapah district. But we need not hesitate about accepting Takkôlam in the North Arcot district, as decided by Dr. Hultzsch (see above, Vol. V. p. 167, note 1). It is the more important place of the two; it contains, among other records, an inscription of Kṛishṇa III.; and it is only about thirteen miles distant, to the north, from Conjeeveram, which city, together with Tanjore, was reduced by Kṛishṇa III.,— doubtless during the same campaign in which the Chôḷa king was killed at Takkôla.

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] This record does not seem to begin with the customary *Ôm* before the *Svasti*. We have the *Ôm* at the end of lines 14 and 19, represented by symbols respectively plain and slightly ornate. And we perhaps have it at certain other places; see the next note.

[4] After this word, and after *Kannaradêva*[*ṁ*], line 4, and after *iḻdu*, line 4, and after *śrî*, line 24, and before the *svasti* at the beginning of lines 5, 7, and 20, there are certain marks which are perhaps intended for symbols representing the word *Ôm*, which would be appropriate enough at each place, except after *Kannaradêva*[*ṁ*] in line 4. But it cannot be said for certain that they actually are such symbols.

[5] Read *varsha*. *Varisha* is a well established *tadbhava* of *varsha*. But it is hardly admissible in such a combination as the one that we have here.

[6] Read *pṛithivî*. Here, again, in *prithuvî* we have a well established *tadbhava*, which, however, is hardly admissible in such a combination.

[7] My original reading,— *a*[*ri*]*pa-Tri*[*ṇê*]*tran*, "a very Triṇêtra among kings,"— cannot be upheld. The *Tri*[*ṇê*]*tran* is practically certain. But I cannot satisfy myself as to what the word before it is. We should expect either *Raṭṭa*,— giving the meaning of "a very Triṇêtra among the Raṭṭas,"— on the analogy of Sagaratriṇêtra in lines 8 and 17 below and of Chôḷatriṇêtra (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 139), or some word meaning 'king,' on the analogy of Nṛipatitriṇêtra as a *biruda* of Gôvinda IV. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, text line 38), Râjatriṇêtra as a *biruda* of Kakka II. (*ibid.* p. 266, text line 41), and Maṇḍalikatriṇêtra as a *biruda* of Noḷambântaka-Mârasimha II. (above, Vol. V. p. 177, text line 91); and we might, of course, read *bhramara*[*ṁ*], and take the *n* as the initial of some such word. I cannot, however, think of any such word, which the doubtful *akshara* will suit. The spurious Gañjâm grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160) gives Lôkatriṇêtra, "a very Triṇêtra among mankind," as an alleged *biruda* of Mârasiṅga-Ereyappa, the alleged son of Śivamâra II.; but *lôka*, again, is not admissible here. Provisionally, I accept the reading which is given in Mr. Rice's text, and is of course shewn in his lithograph, namely, *aṅka-Triṇêtran*, "a very Triṇêtra in fight or war;" because I find that a Baḷagâmi inscription of A.D. 1181 (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 192, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 117)

4 **Kannaradêva[ṁ]** **Mûvaḍi**[1]**-Chôḻa-Râjâdityana** mêle [ba]ndu **Takkôladoḷ-kâdi** kondu bijayaṁ-geyyutt-iḻdu[2] [|*]

5 Svasti[3] **Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmma-dharm[m]amahârâjâdhirâja[ṁ]** **Kôḻâla-puravar-êśvaraṁ** **Nandagiri-nâthaṁ**

6 śrîmat **Permmânaḍigaḷ** nanniya-**Gaṅga[ṁ]** jaya[d=u]ttaraṅgaṁ **Gaṅga-G[âṅgê]ya[ṁ]** **Gaṅga-Nârâyaṇa**n=âtan=âḻu[tt-i]ḻ[d]u[4]

7 Svasti[5] sakaḷa-lôka-paritâp-âpa[ghâ]ta-[pra]bhâv-âvatâri[ta]-Gaṅg[â*]-pravâh-ôdâra-**Sagara-vaṁśa[ṁ*]** **Va-**

8 **ḷabhi(bhî)**-puravar-êśvaran=udâra-Bhagîrathan=iṟiva-bedeṅgaṁ **Sag[ara]**-Triṇêtraṁ seṇase-mûg-arivoṁ

9 kadan-aika-Su(śû)drakaṁ **Bûtugan**-aṅkakâṟaṁ śrîmat **Maṇal[e]raṅg[e]**[6] anuvaradoḷ mechchi bêḍi-koḷḷ=endo-

10 ḍe dayeya meṟe-voḷḷ=emba Kâḷiyaṁ daye-geyy=endu koṇḍan=Â nâya[ṁ] **Keḻale-nâḍa** **Beḷatûra** padu-

11 vaṇa deseya moṟaḍiyoḷ piri[duṁ pa]ndige viṭṭoḍe pandiyuṁ nâyum=oḍa-sattuv=adarkke-

12 y=**Âtukûroḷ** Challêśvarada munde kallan=naḍisi piriya keṟeya keḷage maḷti-kâl=aṅgaḷoḷ=ir-kkaṇḍuga-

13 maṇṇa[ṁ] koṭṭar=Â maṇṇan=okkal nâḍan=âḷvoṁn[7]=ûran=âḷvor=î maṇṇan=aḻidon=â nâya geyda pâpamaṁ koṇḍo-

14 n=â sthânaman=âḷva goravan=â kallaṁ pûjisad=uṇṭar=appoḍe n[â]ya geyda pâpamaṁ koṇḍa[ṁ] [||*] Ôm[8] [||*]

15 Uṟad[9]=idir-ânta **Chôḻa**-chaturaṅga-balaṅgalan=aṭṭi muṭṭi taḷt=iṟiv=edeg=orvvar=appoḍam=idi[r]chchuva

16 gaṇḍaran=âmpev=endu poṭṭaḷisuva[10] bîraraṁ neṟeye kâṇeme **Chôḻane**[11] sakkiy=âge taḷt=iṟidudan=âme ka-

17 ṇdev=ene mechchador=âr=**Ssagara-Triṇêtranaṁ** ‖ Narapati bennoḷ=iḻdon=idir-ântudu vairi-samûham=illi

18 machcharisuvar=ellaruṁ seraguv=âḷdapor=inn=iren=endu siṅgad=ant-ire Hari bîra-Lakshmi nerav=âg-ire **Chô-**

19 **ḷa[ṇa]**-kôṭey=emba sindhurada śir-âgramaṁ biriye p[o]yidaṁ[12] **kadan-aika-Su(śû)drakaṁ** [||*] Ôm [||*]

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describes the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Kêsimayya, in line 28, as *kadana-Triṇêtra*, "a very Triṇêtra in destruction, killing, slaughter, or war." But the *akshara* before the *tri* does not seem identical with the *ṅka* of *paṅkaja* in the same line and elsewhere, but appears rather to include an *m*; and also the compound itself, *aṅka-Triṇêtra*, seems, somehow, not a satisfactory one.—Regarding this *biruda*, now see the Postscript on page 83 below.

[1] Mr. Rice's text gives *aḻkôvade*, which is rendered in the translation by "without fear,"— being imagined, I suppose, to be a compound of *aḻku* (which, however, should be *aḷku*), 'fear,' and *ôvade*, the negative participle of *ôvu*, 'to take care of, to guard, protect, cherish.'—The real reading, *Mûvaḍi*, is quite certain. For some marks which stand before this word, and after *Kannaradêvaṁ*, see note 4 on page 53 above.

[2] Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

[3] Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

[4] The *ḻ* and the *u* are quite recognisable in the ink-impression, though not in the collotype.

[5] Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

[6] Originally, I read *Maṇalarata[ṅg=o]nuvaradoḷ*. Mr. Rice's text gives *Manḍlaraṅge anuvaradoḷ*. The real name, Maṇalera, is quite distinct, in the present ink-impression, in line 21 below.

[7] Read *âḷvon*. [8] Represented by a plain symbol.

[9] Metre, Champakamâlâ; and in the following verse.

[10] Read *pochchaṟisuva*, as suggested to me by Mr. Kittel. The *poṭṭaḷisuva* of the original not only violates the *prâsa* or alliteration of the second syllable of the *pâda*, by giving *ḷ* instead of *ṟ*, but also presents a word for which no authority can be found.

[11] The *ne* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

[12] The metre is faulty here; we have ◡ ◡ —, instead of — ◡ ◡ —.

C.—Atakur Inscription of Krishna III. and Butuga II.—A.D. 949-50.



J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

SCALE ·11

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. HULTZSCH.

The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

20 Svasti Śrî-**Eṟeyapana** magaṁ **Râchamallanaṁ** **Bûtugaṁ** kâdi kondu **tombhattaṟu-sâsiramumaṁ**[1] âḷutt-ire [|*] **Kannaradêvaṁ** **Chôḷanaṁ** kâḍuv-andu **Bûtugaṁ** **Râjâdityanaṁ** bisu-geye kaḷḷan=âgi surig=iṟidu
21 kâdi kondu **Banavase-pannirchchâsiramum** **Beḷvola-mûnûṟum** **Purigeṟe** **mûmnûṟum**[2] **Kisukâḍ-eṟpa(ḷpa)ttuṁ** **Bâgenâḍ-eṟpa(ḷpa)ttuvaṁ** **Bûtugaṅge** **Kannaradêvaṁ** mechchu-gottaṁ [||*] **Bûtuganuṁ**[3] **Maṇaleraṁ** ta-
22 nna munde nind=iṟidudarkke mechchi **Âtuk[û]r-ppa-**
23 nneraḍuṁ **Beḷvolada** **Kâdiyûrumaṁ**[4] bâḷ-ga-
24 chchu-goṭṭaṁ [||*] Maṅgaḷa-mahâ-śrî[5] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! **While the saṁvatsara named Saumya, the eight hundred and seventy-second (in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, was current :—**

(Line 2)—Hail! When **Kṛishṇarâja (III.)**, the glorious **Kannaradêva,**—a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, **Amôghavarshadêva-(Vaddiga)**; a very Triṇêtra (Śiva) in battle;[6] a marvel with elephants;[7] a wrestler against forest-elephants;[8] he who wears the girdle (*of prowess*),[9]—having attacked the **Mûvaḍi-Chôḷa**[10] **Râjâditya**, and having fought and killed him at **Takkôla**, was going in triumph :[11]—

(L. 5)—Hail! The *Dharmamahârâjâdhirâja* **Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarman,** the lord of **Kôḷâla the best of towns,** the lord of the **mountain Nandagiri,** the glorious **Permânaḍi,** the

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[1] Read *sâsiramaṁ*, or *sâsiraman*; compare page 48 above, note 5.

[2] Read *mûnûṟuṁ*.

[3] Read *Bûtugaṁ*; the copulative ending is not required.

[4] I read originally *Kôṭeyûrumaṁ*. The present ink-impression, however, shews clearly *Kâḍiyûrumaṁ*, as given in Mr. Rice's text,—or, of course, optionally *Kâḍiyûrumaṁ*.

[5] Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

[6] See note 7 on page 53 above, and the Postscript on page 83 below.

[7] Ânevedeṅga. This *biruda* occurs in also line 1 of the Soraṭûr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. of A.D. 851 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257).—I have previously translated it by "a very marvel of refuge," and "a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance)," taking *âne* as the infinitive, in *e*, of *ânu*, to which Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives the active meanings of 'to stay, prop, support; to oppose, resist.' I now, however, follow Mr. Rice's translation; partly because Mr. Kittel considers that more suitable, since in his opinion *ânalke* would have been used if the meaning had been such as I then thought, and partly because I have elsewhere met with the *biruda* Turagavedeṅga, which can only be rendered by "a marvel with horses."

[8] Vanagajamalla. This *biruda* of Kṛishṇa III. is used in line 8 of the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. (above, Vol. V. p. 176). In a slightly different form,—Madagajamalla, "a wrestler against rutting elephants,"—it occurs in also line 2 of the Soraṭûr inscription (see the preceding note).—For the recognition of Gaṇḍamârtaṇḍa as a formal *biruda*, and as denoting Kṛishṇa III., in line 9 of the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph, I was indebted to Mr. V. Venkayya, who detected it from the passage in line 56 ff. of the Karbâḍ grant of A.D. 958 (above, Vol. IV. p. 285), which describes Kṛishṇa III. as founding temples of Kâlapriyêśvara, Gaṇḍamârtaṇḍêśvara, and Kṛishṇêśvara. I was not able to introduce an acknowledgment of this into the proofs of my paper on the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph.

[9] Kachchega. Finding *kachche* given in Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary in the sense of 'quarrel, dispute, fighting,' I have previously rendered this *biruda* by "a (*real*) fighter (or disputant)," and a somewhat similar *biruda*, Kachcheya-Gaṅga, by "the quarrelsome or fighting Gaṅga" (above, Vol. III. p. 183, note 4). Mr. Rice's translation renders it by "warlike." I owe the present rendering of it to Mr. Kittel, who, in support of it, has referred me to *bîra-gachche*, 'a *kachche* fit for warriors or brave men.' *Kachche* is a *tadbhava* of *kaksha*, 'a girdle, a string or zone for fastening a cloth round the waist.' Kachcheya-Gaṅga may be rendered by "the girdled Gaṅga."

[10] See page 51 above, note 4.

[11] See page 51 above, note 5.

truthful **Gaṅga**, the lintel of victory, the **Gâṅgêya among the Gaṅgas**, the **Nârâyaṇa among the Gaṅgas**,— he, when governing,—

(L. 7)— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with the illustrious **Maṇalera**,— who is of the noble **race of the Sagaras**, which by its power brought down the stream of the river Gaṅgâ in order to ward off the affliction of all mankind; (*who has the hereditary title of*) lord of **Vaḷabhi the best of towns**; who is a very Bhagîratha among noble men; who is a marvel among those who pierce; who is a very Triṇêtra among **the Sagaras**; who cuts off noses when he is angry; who is the sole Śûdraka in war; who is the champion[1] of **Bûtuga (II.)**,— said "Make thy request!" Thereupon, he said— "Be gracious enough to give me thy favourite[2] (hound) Kâḷi, which is called the one that bays loudly;" [3] and he obtained it.

(L. 10)— On their loosing that hound at a mighty boar on the hill in the western quarter of **the village of Beḷatûr of the Keḷale district**, the boar and the hound killed each other.[4] And, to (*commemorate*) that, they set up (*this*) stone in front of the temple of the god Challêśvara[5] at **Âtukûr**; and they gave land (*yielding*) two *kaṇḍugas* (*of grain*) in the open space of the channel, called the channel of the *maḷti*-trees, below the large tank.

(L. 13)— Any cultivator who destroys that land, and any governor of the district or any governors of the village who destroy this land, shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by that hound ![6] If the *Gorava* who manages the estate[7] should fail to do worship to that stone, he shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by the hound! Ôm!

(L. 15)— At the place where,— having followed and come up with the four-fold forces[8] of **the Chôḷa**, which stood to confront us without wavering,— we were to come to close quarters and pierce them, we certainly saw not any (*others among our*) valiant men who strode forward[9] saying "We will meet the heroes that oppose us;" but we did see how,— **the Chôḷa** himself being the witness,— he **(Maṇalera)** came to close quarters and pierced: who, then, could fail to be pleased with him, **the Triṇêtra among the Sagaras**? The king was at his back; a multitude of enemies faced him in front; and all those here (*on our side*), who jealously sought to excel him, met with disaster :[10] then, saying "I can stand back no longer," he, **the sole Śûdraka in war**, with the help of the god Hari (Vishṇu) and the brave Lakshmî struck, like a lion, the forehead of the elephant that was called the fortress of **the Chôḷa**, so that it burst open. Ôm!

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[1] In *aṅkakâṟa*, we take *aṅka* in the sense of 'fight, war.' *Kâṟa* is said to be a *tadbhava* of the Sanskṛit *kâra*, 'making, doing, causing; a maker, a doer.'— Kittel's Dictionary gives to *aṅkakâṟa* the meanings of 'an influential or a chief servant; a leading hero.' But, in such combinations as the present one, the rendering 'champion,' which I fixed some time ago, seems more appropriate; especially as I find the following in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, Vol. III. p. 34, under the word *ankam*:— "Challenge. In Malabar, a duel, "formerly frequent among the Nayar race. These combats arose from private feuds. A preparation and "training for twelve years preceded the actual fight in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons. "They were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel, generally their champions. These undertook to defend the "cause they had taken up till they were killed. Source of revenue to the local rajah, each combatant paying for "the privilege of fighting [maryaday]."— The last sentence, however, seems rather dubious; so, also, the twelve years' training.

[2] *Dayeya*; *lit.* "of (*thy*) favour or affection."

[3] *Meṟe-voḷḷu*; *lit.* "the ostentatious barker," from *meṟe*, 'shine, lustre; ostentation,' and *boḷḷu*, = *bagaḷu*, *baguḷu*, *bogaḷu*, *boguḷu*, 'barking; crying out.'

[4] *Oḍa-sattuvu*; *lit.* "died together."

[5] The genitive is used of *Challêśvara* as a neuter, to indicate the temple. There are many other instances of this in the ancient records.

[6] This seems rather a severe reflection upon the hound, after it had behaved so courageously. It must be justified on the understanding that all killing is sinful, no matter what the circumstances may be.

[7] *Sthâna*; the temple and the property, including the present grant, belonging to it.

[8] *Chaturaṅga-bala* is "an entire or complete army, comprising elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry."

[9] *Pochchaṟisuva*; *lit.* "who were (breaking forth), starting into view, becoming evident or manifest, appearing; shining."

[10] *Seraguv=âḷdapor*; *lit.* "sank into calamity, evil, mischief."

The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

(L. 20)—Hail! While **Bûtuga (II.),** having fought and killed **Râchamalla,** the son of the illustrious **Ereyapa,** was governing **the ninety-six thousand:—**

(L. 20)— At the time when **Kannaradêva** was fighting against the **Chôḷa, Bûtuga (II.),** while embracing[1] **Râjâditya,** treacherously[2] stabbed him with a dagger, and thus fought and killed him; and **Kannaradêva** gave to **Bûtuga,** in token of approbation, **the Banavase twelve-thousand, the Beḷvola three-hundred, the Purigere three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ seventy.**

(L. 21)— Being pleased with the manner in which **Maṇalera** stood out in front of him and pierced (*his foes*), **Bûtuga** gave (*to him*), as a *bâḷgachchu*-grant,[3] **the Âtukûr twelve** and **the village of Kâdiyûr**[4] **of (the) Beḷvola (district).** May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

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Further Remarks on the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakâḍ.

I have spoken, on page 40 above, of certain additions, modifications, and corrections, which I should have liked to be able to make in my article in Vol. V. above, pp. 151 to 180, before it was published, but which, for the reason given, it was impracticable to introduce into it. I enter on that subject now. And, to accompany my remarks, I give, on page 59 below, **a revised table of the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakâḍ,**[5] including the necessary alterations up to date.

In the way of **additions,** it is only necessary, at present, to state that an inscription at Kûragallu[6] gives us the name of **Paramabbe** (or Saramabbe) **as the wife of Bûtuga I.,** and that an inscription at Elkûru[7] gives us **a Gaṅga prince subsequent to Râchamalla II.:** the record does not disclose his proper name; but he was **a Nîtimârga,** with the *birudas* of Jayadaṅkakâra, "the champion of victory,"[8] and probably Komaravedeṅga, "a marvel among princes;"[9] and the record furnishes for him the date of the Vikârin *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 921 (expired), **=A.D. 999-1000,** without any specification of the month.[10]

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[1] *Bisu-geye.* We have to find here the opportunity for stabbing Râjâditya treacherously. Mr. Rice's translation gives "making Râjâditya angry;" but there is no point in such a rendering. I originally translated "while they were taking the air together," on the authority of Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary giving *bisuge* in the sense of 'going abroad, taking an airing;' but it seems that *bisuge* does not really occur in that meaning. Mr. Kittel says that he has no hesitation in translating "when he made close connection (*with him*), *i.e.*, probably, when he embraced him,"— connecting the first part of the compound with, I suppose, *bisu*, 3, 'to unite firmly, to solder; to join, to be united,' and this at once suggests a suitable meaning, namely, that pretended overtures of peace were made, and that Râjâditya was stabbed at a meeting that took place between him and Bûtuga.

[2] *Kaḷḷan=âgi*; *lit.* "having become a thief; as a thief."

[3] See page 52 above, and note 4.

[4] Or Kâḍiyûr.

[5] The numbers before some of the names indicate the members of the family who actually ruled, or probably ruled, over the Gaṅgavâḍi province, and the order in which the succession went. When the exact relationship between two consecutive individuals is not established, dots are used instead of lines.

[6] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92; and see page 60 below, note 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, Ch. 10.

[8] This *biruda* is rather exceptional and peculiar; because *aṅkakâra* is usually, and most naturally, preceded by a proper name, and *jayada*, or any word of that sort, is usually followed by *uttaraṁga*. But we have an analogy for it, in the case of Tapadaṅkakâra, "the champion of penance or asceticism," which occurs as a *biruda* or epithet of a Śaiva priest named Varêśvara in line 38 of a Baḷagâmi inscription of A.D. 1096 (my *P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 166; and see Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 172, where, however, it is rendered, together with the following word *amaḷaṁ*, by "with a body purified by penance"). See also the Postscript on page 83 below.

[9] This *biruda* is given as Komaravedeṅga in the text in Roman characters, but as Kôviravedaṅga in the text in Kanarese characters. Kôviravedaṅga is unintelligible. Komaravedeṅga is likely to be correct; in the spurious Sûḍi grant, it is attributed to the alleged Ereganga, who is placed next after Bûtuga I. (above, Vol. V. p. 183).

[10] An inscription at Bêlûru, in the Maṇḍya tâluka, Mysore district (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 78), purports to give us a still later Gaṅga prince,— a Gaṅga-Permanaḍi, who, it says, was governing the Karṇâṭa in

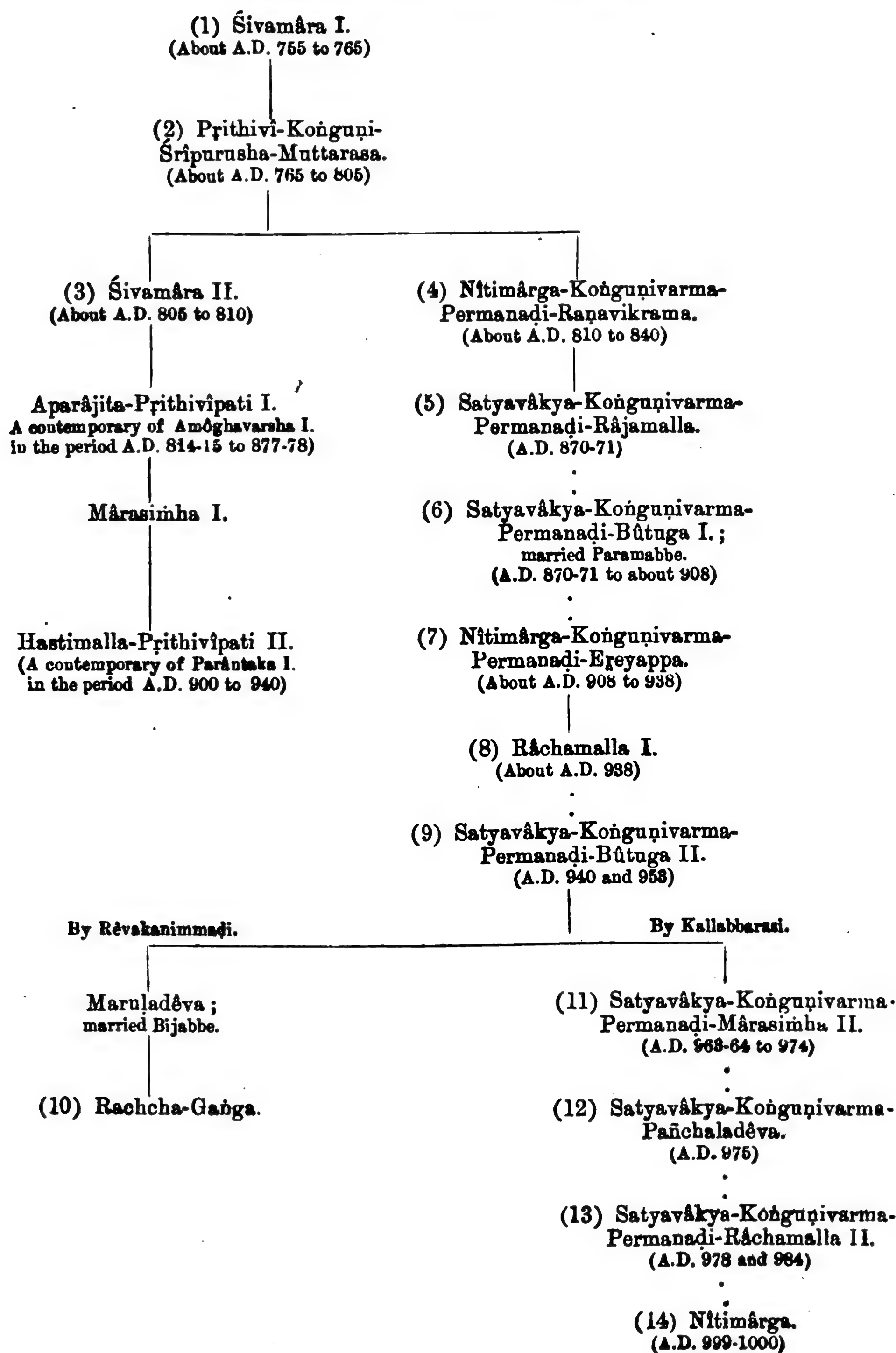
In respect of modifications and corrections, I have first to say that everything in my article that was based, directly or indirectly, on the spurious Suradhênupura grant, must be expunged. This document appears to have been first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 3, where it was put forward as furnishing a date in the Sarvajit *saṁvatsara*, corresponding to Śaka-Saṁvat 729 (expired),=A.D. 807-808, falling in the third year of Śivamâra II., and as fixing the commencement of his rule in A.D. 804. It is, however, not even an ancient forgery. In February, 1899, I received from Mr. Rice, with a copy of the text, a statement of facts which shew that it has been fabricated within the last thirty years or so, and with just the same object as that with which the ancient spurious grants were fabricated, namely, to establish an actual right or an asserted claim to property. And, with Mr. Rice's permission, I quote, in full explanation of the matter, what he wrote to me about this document, in his letter dated the 19th January, 1899, as follows :—"The "Suradhênupura plates are of no use. The story of them is this. They are in the usual form "of the Vijayanagara grants, engraved in the same Nâgarî characters generally employed in such "grants, signed as usual in big Kannaḍa characters *śrî-Virûpâksha*, and the seal on the ring "is a boar. But on reading I found that, though the first words were *śrî-Gaṇêśâya namaḥ*, it "went on to nearly the end of the second side with the epithets and genealogy of the Gaṅgas, "as contained in the various plates that have been discovered. This was certainly puzzling, as "at the time the grant was entered in my list no one except myself and the old Munshi who "helped me with the Mercara and Nâgamangala plates was acquainted with this string of epithets "and names. On inquiry, however, I found that this Munshi (then dead) was one of the "principal shareholders in the village, which was shortly expecting the Inâm inquiry. This "explained everything, as he was a man with a screw loose, though a good scholar, and would "often have misled me if I had not found out that he was not to be trusted. It seems evident "that the village had a Vijayanagara grant and that he must have got two plates engraved with "the knowledge he had acquired, and substituted them, having the whole put on a ring "together. Still, I thought that he had really perhaps had access to a Gaṅga grant, from which "he had taken the particulars and date. But I am now convinced that the whole thing was a "hoax. The date is an impossible one, and the changes in the names of kings (Bhûri Vikrama, "Nava *Chokka*, Purushô*ttama*) are concoctions of his own, as well as the final Narasimha-"dharma-varma (note the order) which he gives as another name of Śivamâra." In the face of this explanation, it is not necessary to pay any further attention to this document, or to make any further comments on it, beyond remarking that what this Munshi did is precisely what was done right and left in Mysore about seven centuries ago, and somewhat later in a neighbouring part of the country, where, Mr. G. R. Subramiah Pantulu has told us,[1] forged grants of the Vijayanagara series are probably nearly as plentiful as the genuine grants, which are themselves extremely numerous; and the liberties that he took with some of the names that were available to him, illustrate exactly the liberties that the persons who fabricated ancient forgeries would take, sometimes in misrepresenting real names and sometimes in inventing imaginary names, in putting together pedigrees to serve their purposes.[2]

the month Phâlguna, falling in A.D. 1023 (if we accept the Śaka date), Śaka-Saṁvat 944 (expired). But, with this Śaka year it wrongly couples the Durmukhin *saṁvatsara*, which would be either A.D. 996-97 or A.D. 1056-57. And, with so great a discrepancy,— to say nothing of the fact that the details of the date are not correct, either for the given Śaka year (current or expired), or for A.D. 996-97 or 1056-57,— it is impossible to attach any value to the date or to the record itself. Moreover, the expression "governing the Karṇâṭa" is foreign to the phraseology of the Gaṅga records, and suggests a much later period.

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII. p. 277.

[2] It may be added, incidentally, that Mr. Rice speaks of the matter rather kindly, in calling the document simply a hoax. If any attempt was actually made to produce it before the Inâm Commission, a criminal offence was committed, for which, on exposition of the real nature of the document, a substantial sentence of rigorous imprisonment would have been passed.

The Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakâḍ.



The other corrections affect that part of the succession that lies between Satyavâkya-Râjamalla, the grandson of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, and Satyavâkya-Bûtuga II., the father of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II.; that is to say, the period between A.D. 870-71 and A.D. 940, which latter is the earliest fixed date for Bûtuga II.

To understand the matter fully and settle this period finally, we must first consider exactly the way in which Mr. Rice has dealt with this period, and the steps by which he has led up to it. We will start with Śivamâra I., the founder of that branch of the Western Gaṅga stock with which we are dealing; for, we must at any rate go back to Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, and so, while we are about it, we may as well run through the whole list of authentic names. It is not necessary to waste any time on the alleged names before Śivamâra I.; because they are all fictitious.

Mr. Rice has taken the spurious grants, and the dates put forward by them, as his guide, and has adapted the genuine records to them. And, from the two sources taken together in this way, he has arrived at the following succession and dates,[1] starting with **Śivamâra I.**, to whom he has assigned the period "A.D. 679 to 713+."[2] Here, the initial date is based on the spurious Haḷḷegere grant,[3] which purports to give a date in the month Jyêshṭha, Śaka-Saṁvat 635 expired, falling in A.D. 713, as being in the thirty-fourth year of Śivamâra I.

Differing from the Sûḍi grant, the spurious records from Mysore itself describe Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa as the grandson of Śivamâra I., and omit to mention his father's name. With this unnamed son of Śivamâra I., Mr. Rice apparently proposed to identify a certain **Mârasiṁha**, who was at that time supposed to be indicated as a son of Śivamâra I. by the Udayêndiram grant of Hastimalla-Pṛithivîpati II.; at any rate, he has proposed to place the Mârasiṁha of the Udayêndiram grant, whom he has specified as "the predecessor of Śrîpurusha,"[4] next after Śivamâra I., and he has assigned to him the period from some date after A.D. 713 "to A.D. 726,"[5]— the final date being fixed by the initial date which he has accepted for the next in succession. But the existence of this Mârasiṁha is based on nothing but the imperfect original rendering of the Udayêndiram grant.[6] The revised rendering of that record[7] has shewn us that the Mârasiṁha there mentioned must be placed at least a century after A.D. 726. And the Vaḷḷimalai inscription[8] has shewn us that Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa was in reality the son of Śivamâra I.

Next after this Mârasiṁha, Mr. Rice has placed **Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa.** To him, he originally assigned the period "A.D. 727 to 777,"[9]— the initial date being taken from the assertion in the spurious Dêvarhaḷḷi grant[10]— (formerly known as the Nâgamaṅgala grant)— that the fiftieth year of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa was Śaka-Saṁvat 698 expired, =A.D. 776-77. The final date was afterwards extended to "A.D. 804,"[11] which was supposed to be the initial date

[1] See, chiefly, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 2 to 6, the Table on pp. 7, 8, and the Classified List of the Inscriptions after p. 36, and Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 5, 8 to 12, and the Classified List after p. 38; also, for a few points, *Coorg Inscrs.* Introd. pp. 3 to 5.

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, with a lithograph.

[4] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 3.

[5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

[6] By Mr. Foulkes, in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 369.

[7] By Dr. Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 375.

[8] Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

[9] *Coorg Inscrs.* Introd. p. 4.

[10] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ng. 85, with a lithograph.— For a facsimile of two sides of this grant, see above, Vol. IV. p. 164, in my article on the spurious Sûḍi grant.

[11] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.— The natural inference is that the spurious Suradhênupura document was brought to Mr. Rice's notice after 1886 (the date of the publication of, his *Coorg Inscrs.*) and before 1894 (the date of the publication of his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III.). In order to deal with the spurious grants in the final manner in which they should some day be disposed of, we ought to know the exact order, and the years, in which each of them came to notice. Our information on this point is at present very scanty.

established for the next in succession by the spurious Suradhênupura document. And it must be taken to be now cut down to A.D. 797, or earlier, by the subsequent assignment of this date to the next in succession.

Next after Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, Mr. Rice has placed his son, or alleged son, **Śivamâra II.** He originally put him at some indefinite time between A.D. 813 and 869,[1] placing him after the **Châkirâja** for whom the Kaḍaba grant[2] purports to put forward a date in A.D. 813. He then allotted to him the date of "A.D. 804," as his initial date,—leaving the final date uncertain,—from the spurious Suradhênupura document.[3] And he has now apparently carried him back to A.D. 797, if not earlier,[4] from the spurious Maṇṇe grant, which mentions Lôkatriṇêtra-Mârasiṁha as a son of Śivamâra II., describes him as administering the whole of the Gaṅga province as *Yuvarâja*, and gives a date in the month Âshâḍha, Śaka-Saṁvat 719 (expired), falling in A.D. 797. Mr. Rice's suggestion[5] is that Śivamâra II. was perhaps then a prisoner in the hands of the Râshṭrakûṭas, and that that is why this Mârasiṁha is described as *Yuvarâja* in command of the whole Gaṅga country. With the additional name of Eṟeyappa,—Lôkatriṇêtra-Mârasiṅga-Eṟeyappa,—this person is mentioned, again as *Yuvarâja*, in also another spurious grant, from Gañjâm in the Seriṅgapatam tâluka;[6] this record does not put forward any date.

Next after Śivamâra II., Mr. Rice has placed his alleged younger brother **Vijayâditya**, with any date up "to A.D. 869,"[7]—this final date being necessitated by the initial date which he has proposed for the next ruler.

Next after Vijayâditya, he has placed Vijayâditya's alleged son **Satyavâkya-Râjamalla**, with the proposed period "A.D. 869 to ? 893."[8] Here, the initial date is based[9] on the Biliûr inscription,[10] which specifies the month Phâlguna, Śaka-Saṁvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, as being in the eighteenth year of a Satyavâkya, whose proper name, however, it does not disclose; and the final date is the initial date proposed for the next in succession. And to this Satyavâkya-Râjamalla he has referred, in addition to the Biliûr record of A.D. 888, the inscription at Husukûru,[11] which mentions the ruling prince both as Satyavâkya and as Râjamalla, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Saṁvat 792 (expired),= A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, *etc.* This Husukûru inscription mentions also Bûtarasa-(Bûtuga I.), who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaḷnâḍ and Pûnâḍ provinces as *Yuvarâja*. And Bûtarasa is mentioned again in a fragmentary inscription at Chik-Kâṭi,[12] which also refers itself to the rule of a Satyavâkya, naturally identified by Mr. Rice with Râjamalla.

Next after Satyavâkya-Râjamalla, Mr. Rice in 1894 placed a Nîtimârga, whose proper name he did not then indicate, with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915,"[13] to whom we shall revert directly. Since then, however, he has introduced the name of **Raṇavikramayya**,—an alleged son of Râjamalla the alleged son of Vijayâditya,—with the proposed date of "about A.D. 890," and with the suggestion that this Raṇavikramayya may be the Bûtarasa-(Bûtuga I.) of the Husukûru and Chik-Kâṭi inscriptions, or may be someone else.[14] The name of this

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[1] *Coorg Inscrs.* Introd. p. 4. [2] Above, Vol. IV. p. 332. [3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 3, 7.

[4] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 9.—This Maṇṇe grant has not been published yet. But I am able to quote it from photographs which Mr. Rice was kind enough to send me.

[5] *Loc. cit.* in note 4. [6] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160. [7] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

[8] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8. [9] See *Coorg Inscrs.* Introd. p. 4.

[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. 2 (Mr. Kittel's rendering), with a lithograph, and *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 5 (Mr. Rice's rendering).

[11] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.—I am dealing now, as on the previous occasion, with only the really important and useful records,—mostly those which include personal names or dates, or which can by any other means be applied in a specific manner.

[12] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 94. [13] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

[14] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11, and the Classified List after p. 38.

Raṇavikramayya is taken from the Gaḷigêkere grant.[1] This is another obviously spurious record. It does not include any date, Śaka or regnal; and, so, the proposed date of "about A.D. 890" is purely conjectural.

We revert to Mr. Rice's **Nîtimârga,** with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915." Here, the initial date is based on an inscription at Honnâyakanhaḷḷi, which was understood to give "reason to suppose his reign began in Śaka 815 (A.D. 893);"[2] and the final date is based on an inscription at Iggali,[3] which, however, is dated in the twenty-second year, not of a Nîtimârga, but of a Satyavâkya, and therefore does not apply to the case at all. The suggestion has been thrown out, that this Nîtimârga may be either Raṇavikramayya or Bûtarasa-(Bûtuga I.), or both of them.[4] And to this Nîtimârga Mr. Rice has referred, in addition to the Iggali inscription (in reality, a record of a Satyavâkya), an inscription at Gaṭṭavâḍi[5] (again, in reality, a record of a Satyavâkya, and not of a Nîtimârga), dated in the fifth regnal year, erroneously supposed, in consequence of confusing the appellations, to be A.D. 898,— another inscription at the same place,[6] a record of really a Nîtimârga, and dated in his fifth year, and therefore referred to A.D. 898,— and an inscription at Kûlagere,[7] also a record of really a Nîtimârga, dated Śaka-Saṁvat 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any mention of the regnal year.

Next after this Nîtimârga Mr. Rice has placed a **Satyavâkya,** whom he has identified with **Eṛeyappa**;[8] and to him he has assigned an inscription at Malligere,[9] which refers itself to the rule of a Satyavâkya, without disclosing his proper name, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Saṁvat 828 (expired),= A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, *etc.*, or of the regnal year. For this Satyavâkya-Eṛeyappa, he has proposed various other dates ranging from "about A.D. 900" to "about A.D. 925."[10] These are based on records which do not include any Śaka dates, and, mostly, not even regnal dates; so that the proposed dates A.D. are purely conjectural. And we need notice only one of those records here. It is an inscription at Jinnahaḷḷi,[11] which refers itself to the seventh year of a Satyavâkya, whose proper name it does not disclose: Mr. Rice has identified this Satyavâkya with Eṛeyappa, and has consequently placed this record "A.D. ? 900:" but the record mentions this Satyavâkya by also the *biruda* of Guttiyagaṅga; Guttiyagaṅga was Satyavâkya-Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II.;[12] and the true date of this record is, therefore, A.D. 969-70.

Next after Eṛeyappa, we have the name of his son **Râchamalla I.,** who was killed by Bûtuga II. in or before A.D. 940. In respect of Râchamalla, Mr. Rice has said[13] that "we "must apparently understand that on the death of Eṛeyappa, Râchamalla and Bûtuga were "rival claimants to the throne, and that the former did not actually reign, or if he did, only for "a short time." The only record, as yet brought to notice, referable actually to the life-time of this Râchamalla, is an inscription at Hiranandi.[14] It does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But Mr. Rice has proposed to place it "about A.D. 930." And he has suggested[15] that, by this record, "we seem to be let into the plot by which Bûtuga endeavoured to get Râchamalla "into his power. He sent an officer to invite him to come to Maṇṇe, the royal residence, that "they might make a division of the country and the treasury. But Bûtuga, as we know, was "not to be trusted. His envoy was therefore met by five feudal chiefs and the headmen with the

[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yd. 60, with a lithograph.
[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.
[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139; for the attribution of this record to Nîtimârga, see Introd. p. 4, as well as the Classified List after p. 36.
[4] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.
[5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 97.
[6] *Ibid.* Nj. 98.
[7] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.
[8] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.
[9] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.
[10] *Ibid.* the Classified List.
[11] *Ibid.* Hg. 110.
[12] See above, Vol. V. pp. 168, 180.
[13] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 5.
[14] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116.
[15] *Ibid.* Introd. p. 12; see also the translation of the record.

"blunt answer — We do not wish any other than Râchamalla to rule over the kingdom of "Bayal-nâḍ." This, however, hardly does justice to the original, which is in much more plain and forcible terms; and I will give my own rendering of it further on.

And finally, next after Râchamalla I. Mr. Rice has placed **Satyavâkya-Bûtuga II.**, with, apparently, the period from about A.D. 930 to A.D. 963. The initial date follows from his opinion that the Hiranandi inscription, which he has placed "about A.D. 930," "brings us "to the death of Eṟeyappa and the beginning of Bûtuga's reign;"[1] and the final date is the initial date of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II., whom he has placed immediately after Bûtuga II.[2]

In these arrangements, Mr. Rice has found himself more than once confronted with a difficulty in the shape of **overlapping dates**; and, in particular, he has found[3] that the period A.D. 893 to 915, which he has "provisionally" assigned to Nîtimârga, "seems to trench upon "the date Śaka 828 (A.D. 906) given in Kp. 38,"— (the Malligere inscription)— "for his son, "whose distinctive name was Eṟeyappa." He has proposed to remove any difficulty of this kind by the suggestion[4] that "from instances like this"— (namely, an inscription at Kyâtanahaḷḷi,[5] which has been supposed to mention Eṟeyappa as *Yuvarâja*, and has been placed "about A.D. 916"),— "and similar ones among the Hoysaḷa and other dynasties, it is evident that the heir-"apparent to the throne, when of age, was often associated with the king in the government, "and represented as himself performing all the functions of royalty. It is necessary to bear this "in mind in order to account for the frequent overlapping of dates in the reckoning of the "end of the father's reign and the beginning of his son's." We need not, however, consider what may or may not have been the custom among any other families. The overlapping of dates results only from pushing on Satyavâkya-Râjamalla to too late a period, and from wrongly identifying Eṟeyappa as a Satyavâkya instead of a Nîtimârga. If the Gaṅga records are handled properly, there is no instance, as yet, of any overlapping dates at all; and we have no reason to expect to meet with any such dates.

I take the matter differently, and follow the genuine records. I have, indeed, allowed myself, in my previous article, to enter into certain speculations based on the possibility that, as the spurious grants unquestionably include most of the real historic names mixed up with the fictitious names of their own invention, they may also have preserved a few other germs of historical and chronological truth, more or less correct, or more or less distorted and in anachronistic sequence. But it seems very questionable, whether it is safe to allow them even so much credit as that. It appears more likely that we ought to set them aside as simply epigraphic curiosities, in respect of which we may consider hereafter, if it is thought worth while, how much or how little of the true history was known to the persons who fabricated them, but which we must not use in attempting to construct any of the true history. And on the present occasion, at any rate, I shall not make any use of them, except in connection with the name of Śivamâra II.

The first four generations of the family are enumerated in the Vaḷḷimalai inscription,[6] which tells us that the son of Śivamâra (I.) was Śrîpurusha-(Muttarasa), Śrîpurusha's son was Raṇavikrama, and Raṇavikrama's son was Râjamalla. This record is not dated; and it, therefore, does not help in that way. Its great value consists in its disposing finally of the imaginary generation which the spurious grants from Mysore would set up between Śivamâra I. and Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, and in its giving us the true name of the person, Raṇavikrama, whom the spurious grants call Vijayâditya, or in whose place, ignoring him altogether, they substitute a Vijayâditya.

[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12.
[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.
[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.
[4] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.
[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., Sr. 147; and see page 68 below, note 6.
[6] Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

Of **Sivamâra I.** we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. But historical considerations require us to place him about A.D. 760. And the palæographic indications of certain genuine records which are fairly attributable to him, are fully in accordance with that view. I have proposed for him the period **about A.D. 755 to 765.** I may hereafter place him a very few years earlier or later. But, for the present, the period that I have proposed is a sufficiently close approximation to the truth.

Of **Srîpurusha-Muttarasa,** again, we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. On palæographic and historical grounds, I have allotted to him the period **about A.D. 765 to 805.** It may be necessary hereafter to place him ten years or so earlier, or even later; and also to allow him a somewhat longer period, because there seems to be a record at Mêlâgâni or at Bissênhaḷḷi,[1] overlooked by me, which quotes his forty-second year. But here again, for the present, the proposed period is close enough to the truth.

Next after Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, I have placed **Śivamâra II.,** with the period **about A.D. 805 to 810.** How far this entry can be upheld, must be a matter for future consideration, for the following reasons. In the first place, we have no genuine records fairly referable to him as a ruling prince. In the second place, we have no absolute statement anywhere, save in the spurious grants, that Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa had a son named Śivamâra. In the third place, in selecting A.D. 805 as his initial date, I allowed myself to be guided by the Suradhênupura forgery,— (not having any reason to suspect that it was so very modern and feeble a fraud),— on the chance that that document, though spurious, preserved a genuine date which, not only was not an impossible one,[2] but was a very possible one, and one that would fit in exactly with the fact that the paramount sovereign, the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., was actually in the Kanarese country, on the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and apparently in Mysore itself, in A.D. 804,[3] which

[1] See *Coorg Inscrs.* Introd. p. 4.

[2] It became "impossible" only on the discovery of the spurious Maṇṇe grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 797, which would establish in connection with Śivamâra II. a date, when he either was ruling or else had ruled and passed away, eight years before the commencement of his rule according to the Suradhênupura forgery.

[3] See the record of that year, mentioned in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* Vol. I. Part II.), p. 379. Mr. Rice (*Mysore,* revised edition, Vol. I. p. 325) has identified the Râmêśvara *tîrtha,*— where, the record says, Gôvinda III. was then encamped,—with an island in the Tuṅgabhadrâ, five miles south of Honnâḷi in the Shimoga district, Mysore.— I take this opportunity of referring to passages in my *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 396, 403, where I have suggested that a certain place,— in respect of which the "lord of Veṅgî," *i.e.* the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayâditya II., is said to have assisted Gôvinda III. in fortifying it, by constructing an outer wall round it,— was Mânyakhêṭa, the modern Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizâm's Dominions, and that, subsequently, Amôghavarsha I. completed the fortification of the city and made it the capital of his dynasty. The place is referred to in verse 19 of the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71). The preceding verse tells us that Gôvinda III. had, in the course of previous events, marched with his army to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and there "had drawn to himself the wealth of the Pallavas," or, in other words, had levied tribute or fines from them; and, with the help of the record from the Kanarese country (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125), we may place that about the beginning of A.D. 804. And the use of the word *yatra,* "where," in verse 19, locates the place, round which the *vâhy-âli-vṛiti* or "external circumvallation" was built for him by "the lord of Veṅgî," on, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of, the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The reference may be only to a fortification of some large encampment actually on the Tuṅgabhadrâ; and, in that case, we may locate that encampment, because of the mention of the Pallavas and the lord of Veṅgî, as far to the east as possible,— somewhere in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Tuṅgabhadrâ and the Kṛishṇâ. But Mâlkhêḍ is only some eighty-five or ninety miles away, on the north, from the Tuṅgabhadrâ. It probably already existed, as a place of some importance. The usefulness of it, if fortified, with a view to resisting attacks from the east, would be evident. And it is very likely that Gôvinda III. then decided on making it the capital, and caused the external fortifications of it to be built for him by the king of Veṅgî. In that case, the passage in verse 12 of the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, text lines 18, 19),— which Dr. Bhandarkar has interpreted as shewing that Mâlkhêḍ was founded by Amôghavarsha I., — may be translated so as to mean that Amôghavarsha I. merely further embellished a city which had been selected as the capital, and had been fortified, by Gôvinda III.; just as, among the Western Chalukyas, Pulakêśin I. acquired Bâdâmi (page 8 above, verse 7), but his son and successor Kîrtivarman I., in whose time, we know, the large Vaishṇava cave at least was made there, is called "the first maker or creator" of it, *i.e.* the person who began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings (above, Vol. III. p. 52, and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 345).

would give him the convenient opportunity of doing what the spurious Maṇṇe grant asserts that he did, namely, of joining in the coronation of Śivamâra II. And in the fourth place, it is not unlikely that we shall find, hereafter, that the Gaṅga prince who was imprisoned by Dhruva, was released from long captivity and sent back to his own country by Gôvinda III., and then after no long time was imprisoned again by the latter king, was, not Śivamâra II., but Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa,— the fresh act of pride and opposition, which led to the second captivity, being the assumption by him of the paramount titles some time after his twenty-ninth year; and, if so, Śivamâra II. would have to be placed somewhat later than the period that I have proposed for him. On the other hand, some evidence in support of the existence of a Śivamâra who may be taken as a son of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, is furnished by an inscription at Sivarpaṭṇa,[1] which mentions a Śivamâra who was governing the village of Kadabûr, Kaḍabûr, or possibly Kadambûr or Kaḍambûr, under Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa and in perhaps his twenty-ninth year,— (this record, however, does not assert any relationship),— and by a spurious inscription, or a record into which a spurious date has been introduced in putting it on the stone, at Kalbhâvi in the Beḷgaum District,[2] which mentions a Gaṅga prince named Saigoṭṭa-Śivamâra, and preserves also the name of Kambharasa, as another variant of the name of the Raṇâvalôka-Kambayya of one of the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa records[3] and other documents, who was contemporaneous with Gôvinda III. And also, though for the line of descent from Śivamâra II. we are as yet dependent on only the Udayêndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa prince Hastimalla-Pṛithivîpati II., of A.D. 915 or thereabouts,[4] — a record the value of which has still to be examined critically,— still, items of information, tending to corroborate that line of descent, are beginning to come to light: a Tamiḷ inscription at Tiruvallam mentions a Śivamahârâja-Perumâṇaḍigaḷ and his son Pratipati-Araiyar,[5] whom Dr. Hultzsch has very reasonably proposed to identify with the Śivamâra and his son Pṛithivîpati I. who are mentioned in the grant of A.D. 915; and the Hirî-Bidanûr inscription[6] mentions, as a contemporary of Vîra-Noḷamba son of Ayyapadêva, — (who would come about A.D. 940 to 950), — a certain Nanniya-Gaṅga son of a Gaṅga prince Piḷduvipati (which name also is evidently a form of Pṛithivîpati, as pointed out by Mr. Rice), and the synchronisms justify us in finding in this Piḷduvipati the Hastimalla-Pṛithivîpati II. of A.D. 909 and 915. Accordingly, this entry also,— Śivamâra II., about A.D. 805 to 810,— may be allowed to stand for the present as it is.

The son, or another son, of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa was **Raṇavikrama**; and Raṇavikrama's son was **Râjamalla.** We learn this from the Vaḷḷimalai inscription,[7] which may have omitted to mention Śivamâra II., either because there was really no such person, or because he did not rule, or because it sought to give only the actual lineal descent from father to son. **Râjamalla** may be safely identified with the ruling prince who is mentioned in the Husukûru inscription[8] by the proper name of Râjamalla, as well as the appellation of **Satyavâkya,** and with the date of Śaka-Saṁvat 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, *etc.* He can be carried on, without objection, to that date. But he cannot be placed any later, if only for the reason that the Biḷiûr inscription shews that a rule— of a Satyavâkya (proper name

[1] See above, Vol. V. p. 161, and p. 155, note 7.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 309. It is obvious, now, that in line 26 we should read *Kaṁbharasar*, instead of the *Kaṁcharasar* then given by me. The passage is somewhat damaged; and, when that is the case, it is always easy to introduce confusion between the Kanarese *ch* and *bh* of the period of that record.

[3] Mr. Rice's *Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 24; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 397, note 1.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 375. I find reason to think that in this grant, as it stands, we have, not a record that was actually written in that year, but a reproduction of some such record, made at an appreciably later time, into which some additions were introduced. This would account for the appearance in this record,— in rather a fragmentary shape,— of the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree, of which there is no hint at all in the other record of Pṛithivîpati II., the Sholinghur inscription of A.D. 909 (above, Vol. IV. p. 221).

[5] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 98.

[6] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, and note 2.

[7] Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

[8] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.

not disclosed in it)— began in that same year, and, if we were to identify Satyavâkya-Râjamalla, as Mr. Rice has done, with that Satyavâkya, thus making the year A.D. 870-71 his initial date, then we should have to allow a rule of sixty years by his father Raṇavikrama,[1] which is not admissible after so long a rule as that of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa immediately before or almost so. And there is also another reason. Mr. Rice has brought to notice[2] inscriptions at Baragûr and Hêmâvati which mention an intermarriage of the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas during this period. The Baragûr inscriptions tell us that Satyavâkya-Râjamalla had a son Nîtimârga, whose younger sister Jâyabbe[3] was married to Noḷambâdhirâja son of Pallavâdhirâja, and that Nolambâdhirâja and Jâyabbe had a son Mahêndrâdhirâja, who was ruling (the Noḷambavâḍi province) at the time when these records were written. One of these Baragûr inscriptions is dated Ś.-S. 800 (expired), = A.D. 878-79. This date is obviously the date of Mahêndrâdhirâja. And it follows that Satyavâkya-Râjamalla must have come very appreciably before A.D. 878-79, for him to have a grandson who was then ruling (the Noḷambavâḍi province), even if he was only an infant ruling it nominally. The date of A.D. 870-71, which is coupled with the name of Satyavâkya-Râjamalla in the Husukûru inscription, can, therefore, be only taken as his final date. And, pending the discovery of dated records which may fix anything more definite, we may divide the preceding interval into the periods of A.D. 810 to 840 for Raṇavikrama and A.D. 840 to 870-71 for Satyavâkya-Râjamalla. I identify Satyavâkya-Râjamalla with the Satyavâkya— (proper name not disclosed)— of the Doḍḍahuṇḍi inscription,[4] and, consequently, his father Raṇavikrama with the Nîtimârga— (proper name not disclosed)— who is named in that same record as the father of that Satyavâkya. No chronological question is involved in this; because that record does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But the record can only be placed in the period A.D. 800 (or thereabouts) to 860; and it falls quite naturally into its proper place anywhere about A.D. 840. In connection with the records of Satyavâkya-Râjamalla, we need only note further the fact that the Husukûru inscription mentions, as his *Yuvarâja* or chosen successor, Bûtarasa, who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaḷnâḍ and Pûnâḍ provinces. The Koṅgaḷnâḍ was an *eṇchâsira* or eight-thousand province,— see, for instance, an inscription at Kûragallu,[5] which mentions it as such,— *i.e.* a province that included, according to fact or tradition or conventional acceptation, eight thousand cities, towns, and villages.[6] And the Pûnâḍ or Punnâḍ was an *aṛusâsira* or six-thousand province; see, for instance, an inscription at Dêbûr.[7] The two provinces were

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[1] Unless, of course, we place Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa appreciably later than even the period that I have proposed for him. In favour of doing that, it might be urged that there is the Saragûru grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 4, with a lithograph), purporting to be of his time, the characters of which prove one or other of two things,— either that the grant is spurious, or that it must be placed much nearer A.D. 870 than 805. But I do not think that Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa can be carried on any later than A.D. 814-15 at the utmost.

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11. I am quoting the Baragûr inscriptions from readings for which I am indebted to Mr. Rice.

[3] Or perhaps Jâlabbe, or something else; the final reading of the name seems to have not been fixed yet.

[4] See page 43 above. [5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92.

[6] On the question of these numerical components of the names of territorial divisions, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 298, and note 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX. p. 277, note 18.

[7] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 26.— The Pûnâḍ province figures, unfortunately, as a ten-thousand province throughout Mr. Rice's writings and maps (see, notably, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 4, and the maps in *Mysore*, Vol. I. pp. 300, 314). But it is correctly mentioned as a six-thousand in even line 18 of the spurious Merkâra grant, on which is based the erroneous assertion that it was a ten-thousand. The mistake is traceable back to Dr. Burnell, who wrote when the science of epigraphy was in its infancy, and who arrived at the conclusion that the *akshara* before the word *sahasra*, 'thousand,' in the passage in question, is a slight variation of the cave numerical symbol for 'ten' (*South-Ind. Palæo.* p. 67). I pointed out, some years ago (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 363), that, according to the lithograph in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 362 (see also *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 4),— which undoubtedly represents the original much more correctly than does the representation of the *akshara* given in Dr. Burnell's book,— the *akshara* is distinctly the syllable *chhâ*. I did not venture then to decide what it might mean. But, with the Dêbûr inscription as our guide, we know now that it is a Prâkṛit word meaning 'six,' and that the passage speaks of "the village

evidently contiguous. The Pûnâḍ province has been identified by Mr. Rice with the southern part of the Mysore district, below the Lakshmaṇtîrtha and the Kâvêri.[1] The Kûragallu inscription seems to tacitly place in the Koṅgaḷnâḍ province Kûragallu itself, which is in the Huṇsûr tâluka of the Mysore district; and, if it does so, then that province was immediately on the north-west of Pûnaḍ.

We come now to **the period between A.D. 870-71 and 940,** which is the leading subject of the present inquiry. We have to deal with a Satyavâkya and a Nîtimârga, whose proper names are, perhaps, not so obviously fixed, as they might have been, by any records as yet brought to notice, and with an Eṟeyappa, for whom, under that name, the records do not as yet furnish any specific date. And here I have, as a preliminary, to draw attention to **two important corrections.**

In the first place, for the initial date of **Nîtimarga-Eṟeyappa,** I adopted A.D. 893-94, which Mr. Rice deduced,[2] from the Honnâyakanhaḷḷi inscription, as the initial date of the Nîtimârga of this period. But he has now withdrawn that date. He has told us[3] that he thought there was a clue in the Honnâyakanhaḷḷi inscription to Śaka-Saṁvat 815 (expired), = A.D. 893-94, but that this does not now seem to be the case. And **we are thus free from any necessity of placing the commencement of a rule in A.D. 893-94.**

In the second place, **the date of an inscription at Râmpura[4] has been misread.** This record is rightly referred by Mr. Rice to the period with which we are dealing. And it really is a record of a **Satyavâkya,** whose proper name is not disclosed in it. Whereas, however, the published version represents it as dated in his fourth year, I find, from an ink-impression that has reached me, that **it is really dated in his thirty-fourth year.**[5] And there is nothing in this to surprise us; for, not only have we an inscription at Iggali dated in his twenty-second year,[6] but also Mr. Rice has told us[7] that there is an inscription at Sâtanûr dated in his twenty-ninth year, and the Malligere inscription, noticed just below, gives a Śaka date for him three years later still.

Next after Satyavâkya-Râjamalla, then, we have to locate **a Satyavâkya and a Nîtimârga.** And the order in which they came, namely **the Satyavâkya first and then the**

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named Badaṇeguppe in the Eḍenâḍu seventy of the Pûnâḍu *chhâsahasra* or six-thousand." The passage is mostly in very bad Sanskṛit; but it contains also the Prâkṛit form *saptari*, for *saptati*, 'seventy.' The *chhâ* that is used in it for 'six,' figures also in Marâṭhî, in *chhattis*, 'thirty-six,' and *chhappann*, 'fifty-six,' in both of which words the following consonant is doubled, instead of lengthening the *a* of *chha*. We have *chha* for 'six' in Pâli also, with the short *a* sometimes lengthened in composition, for instance *chhâ-rattaṁ*, 'a period of six nights' (see Childers' Pâli Dictionary). And the spurious Bangalore grant which purports to be dated A.D. 445, gives us the long *â* even with a doubling of the following consonant, in the word *chhânnavati*, 'ninety-six' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 95, text line 2-3 from the top, and Plate).

[1] See the maps in his *Mysore*, Vol. I. pp. 300, 314, and, more clearly on this point, in his *Mysore Inscrs.* Introd. p. 84.

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11, note 4.

[4] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 148, with a lithograph.—The published text gives *Satyavâkhya-Permmanaḍigaḷ âḷutta nâlkaneya varshada*, rendered in the translation by "the fourth year of the reign of Satyavâkya-Permanaḍi." And the lithograph shews what is virtually the same thing, namely *Satyavâkhya-Permmânaḍigaḷ-âḷutta nâlkaneya varshada*. This, however, in the lithograph, is only the result of manipulation, either of an impression or in the course of lithography. The ink-impression shews distinctly that the real reading of the original is *Satyavâkhya-Permmânaḍigaḷa mû[va]tta-nâlkaneya varshada*, "of the thirty-fourth year of Satyavâkya-Permânaḍi." The *akshara va* is damaged and illegible, at the end of line 2. In the preceding *akshara*, the stroke on the right (proper left) side of the *m* is also damaged, and perhaps the stroke that makes the difference between a subscript *u* and *û*; or, quite possibly, *u* was written by mistake for *û*; or, even the form *muvvatta* may have been used, instead of *mûvatta*, which, however, is not so likely, But it is absolutely certain that this record is dated in the thirty-fourth year of a Satyavâkya.

[5] See, fully, in the preceding note. [6] See page 68 below.

[7] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11. I assume that this is really a record of a Satyavâkya, as implied.

Nîtimârga, is proved by the Śaka dates given in the Biḷiûr, Malligere, and Kûlagere inscriptions. The Biḷiûr inscription[1] gives us the **Satyavâkya**— (proper name not disclosed),— with a date in the month Phâlguna, Śaka-Saṁvat 809 (expired), falling in **A.D. 888,** in his eighteenth year. The Malligere inscription[2] gives us, again, the **Satyavâkya** — (proper name not disclosed),— with the date of Ś.-S. 828 (expired),=**A.D. 906-907,** without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year. And the Kûlagere inscription[3] gives us the **Nîtimârga**—(proper name not disclosed),— with the date of Ś.-S. 831 (expired),= **A.D. 909-910,** without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year.

We may safely identify the **Satyavâkya** with the **Bûtarasa** who is mentioned in the Husukûru inscription, of A.D. 870-71, as then governing the Koṅgaḷnâd and Pûnâḍ provinces as *Yuvarâja* under Râjamalla. There is every reason to believe that, being the *Yuvarâja* or chosen successor of Râjamalla, Bûtarasa was also his actual successor; and there is, at any rate, no hint anywhere, as yet, that he died without succeeding. And we shall probably find hereafter that he was the eldest son of Râjamalla. Making this identification,— then, for the period of Bûtarasa's own rule, we have, in the first place the Biḷiûr inscription,[4] which mentions him simply as Satyavâkya, and which gives a Śaka date with details falling in February or March, **A.D. 888,** in his eighteenth year, and thus fixes **the commencement of his rule in A.D. 870 or 871.** We may place next the Iggali inscription,[5] dated, without any details of the month, *etc.*, in his twenty-second year, = **A.D. 891-92:** this record mentions a certain **Râcheya-Gaṅga,** who, it tells us, then died fighting against the Noḷamma or Noḷamba; and it introduces the first certain mention of Eṟeyappa, whom it describes as convened with Satyavâkya-(Bûtarasa) when the grant registered in it was settled. To somewhere about the same time, because it mentions Eṟeyappa in exactly the same way, we may refer the Kyâtanahaḷḷi inscription:[6] this record is not dated in any way; and it is noteworthy chiefly because it shews that certain epithets applied to Eṟeyappa in the Bêgûr inscription and supposed[7] to belong exclusively to him, had been already used by his predecessor: it specifically applies those epithets to the Satyavâkya-Permânaḍi whom it mentions, not as Eṟeyappa, but along with Eṟeyappa, from whom it most distinctly separates him. The Râmpura inscription,[8] dated in the month Mârgaśira of his thirty-fourth year, belongs to A.D. 903 or 904 according to the actual commencement of his rule. And the Malligere inscription,[9] dated Śaka-Saṁvat 828 (expired), without any details of the regnal year, month, *etc.*, carries him on to **A.D. 906-907.** There are also two other records of his time, requiring to be noticed here.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. 2, with a lithograph (Mr. Kittel's rendering), and *Coorg. Inscrs.* p. 5 (Mr. Rice's rendering).

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

[4] See note 1 above.

[5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139.

[6] *Ibid.*, Sr. 147.— It seems to be the treatment of this record that led Mr. Rice into wrongly stamping Eṟeyappa as a Satyavâkya, through the translation of it giving "Satyavâkya . . . Permanadi, Eṟeyapparasa," instead of "Satyavâkya . . . Permânaḍi and Eṟeyapparasa." The translator ignored the copulative endings in *Permmânaḍigaḷuṁ Eṟeyapparasarum=iḻdu*, line 11. The two persons are distinctly separated by those copulative endings.—The following word, *iḻdu*, does not mean "halting," as rendered in the translation here, and in the case of Nj. 139 and 192 in the same volume, and of Hg. 103 in Vol. IV. It is equivalent to the more specific *oḍan=iḻdu* of Hg. 103, which means "being together, being in the company of each other, being convened."— It may also be noted that the Kyâtanahaḷḷi inscription, Sr. 147, has been wrongly interpreted as describing Eṟeyappa as "*Yuvarâja* of the entire Śrîrâjya." The words occur as part of one of the adjectives qualifying the saints Bhadrabâhu and Chandragupta. And they can only mean something like "[reverenced] by all *Yuvarâjas* of the Śrîrâjya."

[7] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

[8] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 148; as regards the date, see page 67 above, note 4.

[9] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

One is an inscription at Kûragallu :[1] it mentions him, as the ruling prince, under the appellation of Permanaḍi; but it goes on to give his name in the form of **Bûtuga;** and it further mentions his wife Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as "governing" the village of Kurgal, and Eṟeyappa as "governing" the Koṅgaḷnâḍ eight-thousand. And the other is an inscription at Kaṭṭemanuganahaḷḷi,[2] which mentions Nîtimârga-Eṟeyapparasa as "governing" the Nugunâḍ and Navalenâḍ provinces or districts, of which the former appears to be the country on the banks of the Nugu or Nûgu river, a tributary of the Kabbani, in the Heggaḍadêvankôṭe and Nañjangûḍ tâlukas of the Mysore district. These two records do not contain any dates, Śaka or regnal. But they may be placed somewhere towards the end of the rule of Bûtuga I., because of the advance that they shew in the status of Eṟeyappa, as compared with the Iggali and Kyâtanahalli records.[3] Next, then, after Satyavâkya-Râjamalla, we have **Satyavâkya-Bûtarasa-Bûtuga I.,** with fixed dates ranging from **A.D. 870-71 to 906-907.**[4]

Next after Satyavâkya-Bûtuga I. came the **Nîtimârga,** whom we may unhesitatingly identify with the **Eṟeyappa** of the Iggali, Kyâtanahaḷḷi, and Kûragallu records, and the **Nîtimârga-Eṟeyappa** of the Kaṭṭemanuganahaḷḷi record, of the time of his predecessor. As regards the period of his own rule, we have as yet no record that actually gives a Śaka date for him under the name of Eṟeyappa; but the Kûlagere inscription[5] gives for him, under the appellation of **Nîtimârga,** the date of Śaka-Saṁvat 831 (expired), = **A.D. 909-910,** without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year; and we may provisionally fix his **initial date in A.D. 908.** The relationship of Eṟeyappa to Butûga I., and the circumstances under which he succeeded, have not been ascertained yet. We shall probably

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[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92.— The name of his wife is given as Paramabbe in the text in Roman characters, and as Saramabbe in the Kanarese text. Both the texts give "Iṟeyappa;" but this is, no doubt, a mistake for "Eṟeyappa."—Mr. Rice (*ibid.* Introd. p. 12, and the Classified List of Inscriptions) has referred this record to the period of the rule of Eṟeyappa, and appears to treat Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as a wife of Bûtuga II. But it is only in his predecessor's time that Eṟeyappa could be "governing" simply a province; and it is impossible to find here, correctly, any reference to Bûtuga II., who came after Eṟeyappa.

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 103.— This record is, in my opinion, sufficient in itself to shew that Eṟeyappa was a Nîtimârga, not a Satyavâkya; it mentions him as Nîtimârga in line 1 in the first set of epithets, and as Eṟepperasa (according to the published texts) in line 5 in the second set of epithets. The published translation, indeed, has separated the appellation Nîtimârga from the name Eṟeyappa, and has made them two distinct persons, by introducing the words "was ruling the kingdom of the world" in line 3, after the word *Permmânaḍigaḷ*; and the result of this would be that the ruling prince was a Nîtimârga, and that Eṟeyappa was a governor under him. But that addition to the text is neither necessary nor justifiable. The second *Svasti*, in line 3, introduces only a second set of epithets. The ruling prince is mentioned only as Permânaḍi, in line 10, which tells us that he and Eṟeyappa were convened together when the grant registered in this record was made.

[3] The Malligere inscription, after introducing the ruling prince as Satyavâkya-Permânaḍi, perhaps goes on to introduce someone else, to whom it applies the epithets that are applied in the Kyâtanahaḷḷi inscription to Satyavâkya (Bûtuga I.) and in the Bêgûr inscription to Eṟeyappa; and, if so, that other person must be Eṟeyappa, by that time entrusted with still greater powers and invested with still higher dignities. But the rest of the record is described as out of sight or illegible.

[4] I did not on the previous occasion, and I do not now, overlook the point that this arrangement places a Satyavâkya next in succession after a Satyavâkya, whereas it might perhaps be urged that we should expect a Nîtimârga to follow a Satyavâkya, a Satyavâkya to follow a Nîtimârga, and so on. But the Śaka dates prove conclusively that this was not the case at this point. And we have plainly three Satyavâkyas in succession later on in the case of Mârasiṁha II., Pañchaladêva, and Râchamalla II. We do not know at present exactly how the appellations Satyavâkya and Nîtimârga were determined. But, if a conjecture may be hazarded, it is that Satyavâkya was the customary appellation of the eldest son. We do not know that Mârasiṁha II. was not the eldest son of Bûtuga II.: it seems probable, in fact, that he was so, because it is unlikely that he should abdicate after ruling for only ten or eleven years, unless he was considerably advanced in years when he began to rule; and the fact that his half-brother Maruḷadêva was the son of a king's daughter, would easily account for the succession going first to Maruḷadêva's son Rachcha-Gaṅga. The Satyavâkya of the Doḍḍahunḍi inscription, *i.e.* Râjamalla, is distinctly specified (see page 45 above) as the eldest son of the Nîtimârga, *i.e.* Raṇavikrama, of that record. And Nîtimârga-Raṇavikrama was a younger son, if we accept the existence of Śivamâra II.

[5] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

find, however, that he was a younger son of Bûtuga I. And, from the fact that none of the records, that have as yet come to light, speak of him as the *Yuvarâja* or chosen successor of Bûtuga I.,[1] and from certain other indications, it seems likely that he took advantage of the executive authority entrusted to him by Bûtuga I., and diverted the succession from the direct and proper line. There are hints to this effect, in the description of his son Râchamalla I. as a poisonous tree which was uprooted, and of Bûtuga II. as a pure tree which was planted in its place, by Kṛishṇa III.,[2] and in the fact that Kṛishṇa III. gave again to Bûtuga II. the Beḷvola, Purigeṟe, Kisukâḍ, and Bâgenâḍ districts,[3] which had previously been given to him, as the dowry of his wife Rêvakanimmaḍi, by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. And there is also the statement in the Bêgûr inscription, that Eṟeyappa governed the Gaṅgavâḍi province as an united whole, after depriving all his enemies of their power.[4] The exact application of this latter statement, indeed, is not yet certain: on the one hand, taken in connection with the mention of hostilities with the Noḷambas in A.D. 891-92, in the time of Bûtuga I.,[5] and with the existence of an intrusive Noḷamba record of A.D. 895-96 at Tâyalûr in the Maṇḍya tâluka,[6] it may mean that Eṟeyappa was successful against some determined effort of the Noḷambas to overthrow the Gaṅga power altogether; and on the other hand, as the Bêgûr inscription shews that he was, at that time, on very friendly terms with the Noḷamba Ayyapadêva, the fact may be that the enemies whom he overthrew were his own relations, and that he was assisted in doing that by the Noḷambas. Still, however this may be, we shall probably find hereafter that Bûtuga II. was the eldest son of the **Râcheya-Gaṅga** whose death in A.D. 891-92, in battle against the Noḷamma or Noḷamba, is mentioned in the Iggali inscription, and that Râcheya-Gaṅga was the eldest son of Bûtuga I., and that it was the death of Râcheya-Gaṅga in A.D. 891-92 that enabled Eṟeyappa to secure the succession,— to the exclusion of Bûtuga II., who was eventually placed in possession of his rights by Kṛishṇa III. To the period of the rule of Eṟeyappa himself belongs the Bêgûr inscription,[7] which mentions him as Eṟeyappa, and describes him as lending a force to Ayyapadêva, for the purpose of fighting against a certain Vîramahêndra who seems to be the Eastern Chalukya king Bhîma II. This record has to be placed near the end of his rule. To an earlier period in his time belongs an inscription at Gaṭṭavâḍi,[8] which mentions him as the ruling prince under the appellation of Nîtimârga, and is dated, without any details of the Śaka year, month, *etc.*, in his fifth year, corresponding probably to **A.D. 912-13.** There is, apparently, an inscription at Marûr in the Hassan district,[9] dated in his nineteenth year, which would carry him on to about **A.D. 926-27.** As we shall see shortly, he must have ruled for not less than twenty-five years, up to some date after A.D. 933. And we may provisionally fix the **end of his rule in A.D. 938.**

Nîtimârga-Eṟeyappa left a son named **Râchamalla I.** And it was by killing Râchamalla that Bûtuga II. obtained the succession. We know this from the Âtakûr inscription.[10] That the event occurred **in or before A.D. 940,** is shewn by the Râshṭrakûṭa grant from Dêôlî, dated in that year, which mentions the fact and implies that Bûtuga II. received material assistance from the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III., who was his brother-in-law; for, it says, Kṛishṇa III. "planted in Gaṅgapâṭi, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhûtârya, having uprooted the poisonous

[1] Regarding an instance in which he has been supposed to be thus described, see page 68 above, note 6.
[2] See below. [3] See page 57 above. [4] Page 49 above. [5] Page 68 above.
[6] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 13; and see above, Vol. V. p. 165. [7] Page 49 above.
[8] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 98.— This record mentions a certain Mâragâmuṇḍa, and a person whose name is given in the published texts as Tapaṟekeṟe-Basavayya. The other Gaṭṭavâḍi inscription (Nj. 97), of the fifth year of a Satyavâkya (proper name not disclosed), mentions evidently the same two persons, the first of them as Mâragavuṇḍa, and the second of them as Tâyûra-Paṟekeṟe-Basavayya according to the published texts. This brings these two records into immediate sequence. And Nj. 97 is, therefore, to be referred either to Satyavâkya-Bûtuga I., or to Satyavâkya-Bûtuga II.
[9] See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12. [10] Page 57 above.

tree Rachhyâmalla."[1] And the event must also be placed some few years **after A.D. 933,** because we have a date in that year for Gôvinda IV., and the reign of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga intervened after that and before the reign of Kṛishṇa III. That Râchamalla did actually succeed his father, is distinctly implied by the Dêôlî grant. And we have now a record which is to be referred to the period of his rule, and which probably discloses the actual outbreak of hostilities between him and Bûtuga I. It is the Hiranandi inscription,[2] which tells us that—"When Eṟeyappa ascended to heaven, Bhuvanâditya came and said that Kiṟiya-Râchamalla had given, at Mannebeṭṭa or Mannibîḍu (?), half the country and the treasury; whereupon, the five *Sâmantas*[3] and the *Pergaḍes* and the governor (?) of the Bayalnâḍ country said— We will not allow any other than Râchamalla to rule; then they fought at Mâguṇḍi (or perhaps at Bhuvanâytana-Mâguṇḍi) and the four sons of Nindiya-Korantiyarasa fought and died," *etc.* It is, thus, plain that Râchamalla I. did actually succeed to the leadership of the Gaṅgas. And it seems that he deliberately gave half the principality to Bûtuga II., and thus paved the way to his own overthrow. At the same time, it appears tolerably certain that he ruled for only a short time. And we may probably place the death of Eṟeyappa, the accession of Râchamalla I., and the killing of the latter by Bûtuga II., all in **A.D. 938.**

In this way, Râchamalla I. was succeeded by **Satyavâkya-Bûtuga II.,** at some time between A.D. 933 and 940, and probably in **A.D. 938,** or very closely thereabouts. As has been intimated above, we shall probably find hereafter that Bûtuga II. was a grandson of Bûtuga I., and a son of the Râcheya-Gaṅga who died in A.D. 891-92. And we have, at present, nothing else to add to the account of him given on the previous occasion, except that certain inscriptions at Aṇṇigere and Gâwarawâḍ in the Dhârwâr district, and at Hûli in Belgaum, shew that the exact name of the elder sister of Kṛishṇa III., who was one of his wives, was **Rêvakanimmaḍi,**[4] and that we have now a later date for him in A.D. 953.[5]

On the present occasion, we are not concerned with the general history of the Gaṅgas after A.D. 940. But it may be conveniently noted here, in connection with **Pañchaladêva,** that the war between him and the Western Châlukya Âhavamalla-Taila II., in the course of which Pañchaladêva was overthrown and killed, is referred to by the Kanarese poet Ranna,[6]

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[1] Above, Vol. IV. p. 289, and Vol. V. p. 191.

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116; and see page 62 above.— I take the text, of course, as given by Mr. Rice. But there are points in it that call for comment. The text in Roman characters speaks of "Koṅgaṇi-Kiṟiya-Râchamalla;" but the text in Kanarese characters omits the Koṅgaṇi, and suggests, instead, some illegible *biruda* of the usual kind ending in *vedeṅga*. For the *Manne-beṭṭadoḷ* of the Roman text, the Kanarese text has *Manni-bêḍidoḷ*,—presumably for *Manni-bîḍinoḷ*. There is nothing in either text, implying an invitation to go to Mannebeṭṭa or Mannibîḍu. *Koṭṭâ* means "he gave, he has (*already*) given," not "he will give or would give." *Bayal-nâḍanu* is certainly not the accusative singular of *Bayal-nâḍ*, governed by *râjyamaṁ geyal*: if it is the real reading at all, it is the nominative singular masculine of a base *Bayal-nâḍa*, with the copulative ending *uṁ*, and it must denote some leading official, probably the *Nâḷgâmuṇḍa*. of the Bayalnâḍ country; we have the same word in the locative, and in the ordinary nominative without the copulative ending, in the Kaṭṭemanuganahaḷḷi inscription (Hg. 103), which tells us, not that on the day that "there was a fight in Bayal-nâḍ, when Bayal-nâḍ coming, attacked Koṭṭamaṅgala," but that "on the day, or at the time, when there was a quarrel with or war against the *Bayalnâḍa*, the *Bayalnâḍa* came," *etc.* The *îyâm* of the Roman text and *iyâm* of the Kanarese text must be a mistake for *îyem*; and *îyem* means, not "we do not wish," but "we will not give, we will not allow."

[3] The five *Sâmantas* were probably the subordinate commanders of five bodies of local troops; compare the reference to the *Sâmantas* of the Nâgattara in the Bêgûr inscription (page 49 above). The same expression,—*ay-sâmantarum*, "and the five *Sâmantas*,"—occurs in an inscription at Mûḍahaḷḷi, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 130.

[4] Accordingly, a certain correction proposed for line 5 of the Hebbâḷ inscription (see above, Vol. IV. p. 352, note 3) is not necessary.— The name Rêvakanimmaḍi is, I suppose, practically another form of Immaḍi-Rêvaka; and, if so, it probably means "a Rêvaka who was twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rêvaka" (see page 51 above, note 4).

[5] See the Postscript, page 83 below.

[6] See Mr. Rice's *Karṇâṭakaśabdânuśâsanam*, Introd. p. 28 ff., where Âhavamalla is wrongly identified with Iṟivabedaṅga-Satyâśraya, and Pañchâla is evidently a mistake for Pañchala.

who mentions, in his *Ajitatîrthakarapurâṇa* or *Ajitatîrthêśvaracharita* (finished A.D. 993-94), a defeat inflicted on the army of Pañchala by a general of Taila II. named Nâgadêva.

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There is a great deal more to be said, both about the genuine history of the Gaṅgas, and about the spurious records. Both these subjects are of extreme interest to me, partly because the history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore is greatly intermingled, for a certain period, with the history of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, which has always been my special line of inquiry; and partly because the ancient history of India, as a whole, deserves, and unfortunately still in many respects remains, to be worked out critically and on sound bases, with an elimination of all the fables that have been imported into it from the spurious records of Mysore, from similar records in other parts of the country, and from various chronicles and lists of kings, some of them of early date and some of them quite modern, which have been credited with an authenticity and value which they do not really possess at all. But certain preliminary studies must be completed, before either of these subjects can be handled finally.

In connection with the genuine history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore, we must, among other things, determine more closely the date of the overthrow of the original Pallava dynasty of Kâñchî, and of the supplantation of it by a branch of the Gaṅgas in the person of, probably, Vijaya-Narasiṁhavarman.[1] We must clear up certain points in the relations of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings Dhruva and Gôvinda III. with the princes of Mysore. And we must examine more fully certain traditions of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga, on the east coast of Southern India, which have a distinct connection with Mysore. These topics will be dealt with shortly. And, for the present, it is sufficient to throw out the following few hints as to what will be established.

We can now recognise clearly one genuine early Gaṅga prince anterior to Śivamâra I. He is the Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman of the Goa grant,[2] which shews him as a viceroy in charge of four provinces under the Western Chalukya kings Kîrtivarman I., Maṅgalêśa, and Pulakêśin II., under an appointment running from A.D. 591-92. He was plainly a close relation, and probably a brother, of Durlabhadêvî of the Batpûra family, the wife of Pulakêśin I. He was an ancestor, and probably the grandfather, of Râjasiṁha-Indravarman I., the first king of the earlier Gâṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga, who adopted the era of A.D. 591-92 as the official reckoning in his dominions. And the name of "the original great Bappûra race," to which he is allotted by the Goa grant, must be derived from a secondary appellation of some great city in Mysore,— very likely of Kôlâr itself.

We have perhaps another Gaṅga name, earlier than that of Śivamâra I., and belonging to the period A.D. 680 to 696, in the case of the official named Kândarba, who was the administrative officer when the grant was made which is recorded in the Baḷagâmi inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya and the Sêndraka prince Pogilli.[3] The emblem at the top of that record is an elephant; the elephant was not the crest of the Western Chalukyas; nor is it likely that it was the crest of the Sêndrakas;[4] but it was the crest

[1] See above, Vol. V. pp. 157, 160.

[2] See the notice of this record in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 355; and cancel my suggestion (*id.* p. 349, and in the Table at p. 336; also, in the Table in Vol. III. above, p. 2) that this person may have been a son of Maṅgalêśa.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 142. For the emblem at the top of the stone, see the photograph in Col. Dixon's collection, No. 98, reproduced in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 152.

[4] It seems highly probable that the name Sêndraka is the origin of the later name Sinda. The Sinda princes are known for the period A.D. 990-91 to 1179, and chiefly in connection with the country round Paṭṭadakal and Bâgalkôṭ in the Bijâpur district and Yelburga in the Nizâm's Dominions (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 572 ff.). But there was also a branch of them in the neighbourhood of the territory held in earlier times by the Sêndrakas (*id.* p. 577);

of the Western Gaṅgas, and it is found above their records at Biḷiûr, Peggu-ûr, Kyâtanahaḷḷi, and Tâyalûr.[1]

It is probable that **Vijaya-Narasiṁhavarman** represented the main line of the Gaṅgas; and he was very likely a lineal descendant of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman.

And it is becoming tolerably certain that **Śivamâra I. and his descendants** did not belong to the main line, but were the hereditary princes of the Koṅgaḷnâḍ eight-thousand province. This would explain why Śivamâra I. and Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa called themselves "the Koṅguṇi king," and why their descendants assumed the appellation Koṅgaṇivarman, Koṅguṇivarman, Koṅgiṇivarman, or Koṅguḷivarman, from which there was evolved, by the persons who fabricated the spurious grants, the name of the fictitious "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga,"[2] as the imaginary founder of the line.

As regards **the spurious grants,**— only ten, including the Sûḍi grant, were known when I wrote about them in Vol. III. of this Journal, p. 159 ff.; I dealt there with only some of the features in respect of which they have to be criticised; I could not examine any of the details, except the date, of the Hosûr grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 762, because I was not aware that the text of it, with a lithograph, had been published in Mr. Rice's article on "the Gaṅga kings" in the *Madras Journ. Lit. and Science*, 1878, p. 138 ff.; and, similarly for want of a lithograph or impressions, I was not able to examine any of the details of the Bangalore Museum grant, which purports to have been issued in the third year of Durvinîta. Since then, some more spurious copper-plate grants of the same series have been published.[3] And there are others already known, the publication of which is awaited. In the final examination of them, one interesting line of inquiry will be to collate the texts, examine all the peculiarities of vocabulary and diction, discover the locality in which these curious documents, or at least the majority of them, were fabricated, and trace the order in which they were concocted, and so, perhaps, the steps by which the fictitious pedigree was built up. In connection with all this, it will be desirable to see what real equivalents can be found for the false dates recorded in some of them, and in certain other records of the same nature connected with them: on this point, my present view is that, while some of the false dates are no doubt altogether imaginary, others of them may have been arrived at by calculations more or less correct, and others, again, give the true details of the dates on which the records were fabricated, or of dates, close to those dates, taken from almanacs accessible to the forgers, falsified in respect of the years by striking off an even number of cycles of the sixty-year system, or by similar means, in order to present a semblance of antiquity; and it is an

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that branch had the crest of a tiger and a deer; and one of the branches at Bâgalkôṭ had the tiger-crest. The Sindas claimed to belong to the Nâga race. And a statement referable to the eleventh century A.D., and to be accepted for what it may be worth, would allot the Sêndrakas themselves— (whom it mentions as Sêndras)— to the lineage of the Bhujagêndras or serpent kings (*id.* p. 292).

[1] See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, *Coorg Inscrs.* p. 7, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147 and Md. 14.—In pointing out (above, Vol. V. p. 165, note 4) an objection to treating the Tâyalûr record (Md. 14) as "an intrusive Pallava inscription," I omitted to notice the fact that the emblem of the elephant proves conclusively that it is not such.

[2] This exact expression occurs in an inscription at Kûḍḷâpura, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 110, which purports to be of A.D. 1148. It is extremely doubtful whether it is even a genuine record of that period. But, if we assume that it is genuine as far as it goes, then, of course, in putting forward Śaka-Saṁvat 25 expired, = A.D. 103-104, as the date of "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga," it simply puts forward, in good faith, a false statement successfully palmed off on the officials of the period with a view to setting up a previous grant of the village. Historically, as regards the Gaṅgas, the record is worthless; except in perhaps shewing that, by A.D. 1148, the date of A.D. 103-104 had come to be connected with the imaginary Koṅgaṇivarman.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, the Haḷḷegere grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 713, and Nj. 122, the Tagaḍûru grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 267, and Vol. IV., Yd. 60, the Gaḷigêkere grant, Sr. 160, the Gañjâm grant, and probably (see page 66 above, note 1) Hg. 4, the Saragûru grant; all of them with lithographs.

interesting fact that some of the dates do work out for precisely the period, the eleventh century A.D., which, as will be shewn, best provided all the historical conditions that necessitated the production of forged title-deeds to regain the possession of genuine endowments which had been confiscated and of which the original title-deeds had been lost, and made it possible to produce forged title-deeds to secure endowments the claims to which were false. And, before dealing with the matter finally, we shall have to consider which of the spurious records may really be accepted as ancient forgeries, worth examination, and which of them,— notably, for instance, the extraordinary Harihar grant,[1] which presents an attempt at two, if not three, alphabets, including some of the most modern Nâgarî or Bâlbôdh forms,— may have to be rejected as modern forgeries, like the Suradhênupura document, and consequently to be dismissed as not worth any further thought. All this will take time. And in this line there is no particular objection to delay : partly in order to include in the final examination as many of these documents as can be brought together; and partly because, in view of what we learn from the Suradhênupura forgery can be attempted even in the present day, there is no particular object in compiling too quickly a manual of hints which would enable a modern forger to concoct a document that might prove not so easy to deal with as the ancient forgeries.

In connection with **both lines of inquiry**, there are two questions of more immediate urgency. One is the duration and extent of **the Chôḷa occupation of Mysore**, and of some of the neighbouring parts of the Western Châlukya territories, during the eleventh century A.D., which, in consequence of the destruction of temples and the confiscation of endowments, created the chief reason for the production of the forgeries of the Western Gaṅga series; and, in connection with this, I shall edit in full an interesting record at Gâwarawâḍ in the Dhârwâr district,[2] with extracts from others connected with it. The other is **the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.**: this will be of use, not only towards exposing fully the palæographic blunders of the ancient forgers, but also for arranging the proper order of genuine undated records not containing information that enables us to refer them to their exact places; and it will be illustrated, in the first instance, by a series of Râshṭrakûṭa records, collotypes of which have already been prepared.

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The two preliminary studies, indicated just above, will be published without much delay. Meanwhile, I am under the necessity of using such further space, as can be spared to me on the present occasion, chiefly in noticing, as briefly as possible, **some remarks by Mr. Rice** which are contained in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 6 to 8, and are by way of being a criticism of my exposé of the spurious grants in Vol. III. of this Journal, pp. 159 to 175.

We need not spend any time over Mr. Rice's opening assertion that "facts have proved "too strong, and Dr. Fleet has been compelled to admit the existence of the kings from "Śivamâra, in the 8th century, downwards, and perhaps Mushkara, two generations earlier." The assertion has been made carelessly, and without sufficient reflection. I have never made the alleged admissions. And nothing has ever yet been brought to light, that would justify me in making any such admissions.

Nor need we spend any time over the bad orthography of the grants,—over Viśvakarman, the alleged writer (not engraver) of some of the grants which purport to be centuries apart in date,— over the identity of the witnesses in two of the grants which purport to be separated by an interval of two hundred and eighteen years,— over a conjectural

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 173, with a lithograph.

[2] Noticed in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 441, note 8. I find that this record contains much more information than I thought from a cursory examination, made when I was writing my *Dynasties* in the leisure moments of official life, of the transcriptions of it and the Aṇṇigere inscription in Sir Walter Elliot's collection.

alteration made by Mr. Rice, in the text of the twelfth verse of the Udayêndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa prince Hastimalla-Pṛithivîpati II., which we now know to be, not only a rather violent liberty, but one that is altogether unsustainable,— and over the dubious title *Râja* or *Vṛiddharâja*. In each case, the facts are as I stated them. Mr. Rice's remarks are simply an attempt to divert attention from the main issue, the spurious nature of the grants. The points themselves will be dealt with, as far as may be necessary and without reviving any contentious matter, in the ultimate full examination of the spurious grants. They involve nothing of historical importance, except in connection with the Jain teacher Siṁhanandin, who seems to have been undoubtedly a real person, though the legends about him in Mysore, especially in respect of connecting him with the Gaṅgas, were of a very wild kind. And the time for going usefully into his history will come, when we examine the full Purâṇic genealogy and legendary history that were eventually devised in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore.

And we need not spend much time over a point, in connection with the invention of the fictitious pedigree that is presented in the spurious grants, which it would not be necessary to notice here in detail at all, but that I have, in this case, to deal with a more than usually unbecoming misrepresentation of what I said.

In 1894 I said[1]—"The question may very reasonably present itself,— What was the object "of the invention of the genealogy that is exhibited in these spurious records?" I remarked,— "There are plain indications that, just about the period,—the last quarter of the ninth century "A.D.,—that has been established above as the earliest possible one for the fabrication of "the Merkara grant, all the reigning families of Southern India were beginning to look up their "pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies." And the answer at which I arrived, was, that the Western Gaṅgas had followed, in the person of the great prince Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II., the example that had thus been set, and that the time when their genealogy, as presented in the spurious grants, was invented, was fixed very closely by an inscription at Lakshmêshwar, which purports to be of his time and to be dated A.D. 968-69, and which then seemed to me "to represent, in a rudimentary form, the beginning of a longer "genealogy which was elaborated subsequently."

Mr. Rice has stamped as a "very remarkable statement" what I said as to there being indications that, about the last quarter of the ninth century A.D., there was a general tendency in Southern India to look up pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies. We may dismiss that observation of his summarily; partly because he has made no attempt to shew how my statement was a remarkable one, and partly because my statement was and is in accordance with facts.

But we cannot dismiss so summarily what he said next. He has said[2] that, "in support "of this very remarkable statement," I have given the information that "the Pallava puranic "genealogy first appears in the 7th century; that of the Râshṭrakûṭas in 933; that of the "Western Gaṅgas was probably devised about 950 but may have been concocted a little earlier; "that of the Chôḷas between 1063 and 1112; that of the Eastern Gaṅgas in 1118." And on this he said, by way of comment,—"But it is singular that not one of these periods falls within "the 9th century, the time when all the royal families were imagined to be engaged with a "strange unanimity in 'furbishing up their pedigrees.' Another thing to be noted is that the "genealogy of the Gaṅgas, with whom we are now particularly dealing, is in no sense puranic."

Now, in the first place, it is only with a reservation that it can be said that the genealogy of the Gaṅgas is in no sense Purâṇic. We know,[3] from inscriptions of the eleventh century

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 171.
[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 7 f.
[3] See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.

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at Humcha and other places in that neighbourhood, that eventually a full Purâṇic genealogy and legendary history of the usual kind were duly invented for the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the Purâṇic element does not figure in the genealogy given in the spurious grants, with which I was dealing. And I treated that genealogy simply as what it is, namely a fictitious genealogy of a pretended historical kind; calling it specifically on one occasion[1] "the pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas." That I, naturally, treated the invention of it in connection with the invention of some of the Purâṇic genealogies, is no reason for saying that I stamped it as Purâṇic. And I did not do so.

In the second place, as regards the extraordinary sentence which Mr. Rice has put, by the use of inverted commas, into my mouth,— no such sentence has ever been written by me; nor has anything ever been written by me, that could justify my statements being represented in that form. The sentence is founded upon words which were actually used by me. But it has been made up by Mr. Rice himself, from garbled extracts from different sentences written by me on different occasions. And my reference to the Pallava Purâṇic genealogy was made in a way very different from that in which it has been presented by Mr. Rice.

In 1894, in the remarks which, in particular,[2] Mr. Rice was attacking in 1898, I made no mention at all of the Pallava Purâṇic genealogy; and I wrote[3]— "The Purâṇic genealogy of "the Râshṭrakûṭas makes its first appearance in the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933. The Purâṇic "genealogy of the Chalukyas presents itself first in the Korumelli grant of shortly after "A.D. 1022. The Chôḷa Purâṇic genealogy is, apparently, first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-* "*Paraṇi*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva "I. (A.D. 1063 to 1112). And the Purâṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara "is first made known by a grant of A.D. 1118-19." I plainly put forward each date as the date at which we first come across each genealogy, and not as the date of its actual invention. And it should be obvious to anyone that the genealogies must have existed for some appreciable time, before they could be actually quoted in records.

So much I wrote in 1894, adding the opinion, from the Lakshmêshwar inscription, that, in the time of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II., the Western Gaṅgas followed the general example that had thus been set, and that their genealogy, as put forward in the spurious grants, was probably invented closely about A.D. 968-69. Subsequently, in 1895 or 1896, in my account of the Pallavas, I wrote[4]— "In their records, the Pallavas claim to belong to the Bhâradvâja "*gôtra*. Some of the records give them a regular Purâṇic genealogy which appears first in the "seventh century A.D." And at this place I made no reference at all to any of the other genealogies. Further on in the same work, I had occasion to give a full notice of the legendary history, including the Purâṇic genealogy, of the Chalukyas, taken, in its final and most complete shape, from a record of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.[5] And to this I attached the following note,[6]— the first part of which does little more than recapitulate what I had said in 1894,— "The Purâṇic genealogy of the Râshṭrakûṭas makes its first appearance in the Sâṅglî "grant of A.D. 933. The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas may have been "concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A.D. 950. The Chôḷa Purâṇic

[1] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 342, note 1.

[2] See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6, para. 3, the last three lines.

[3] Above, Vol. III. p. 171 f.

[4] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 316.— I say I wrote this "in 1895 or 1896," for the following reason. The date of a remark must be, ordinarily, the date of the publication of it. The last of the proof-sheets of my *Dynasties* were passed by me, for printing, in September, 1895. And the title-page was among them. It naturally was dated 1895. And that is the date that appears on the title-page of the very few separate copies that were struck off. Nevertheless, and though I expressly gave instructions that uniformity was to be observed, the date was changed, without my being consulted, to 1896, in the title-page as issued in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II., after page 276,— apparently because that volume was not issued till 1896.

[5] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 338 ff.

[6] *Id.* p. 342, note 1.

"genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi*, which was composed in the "reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., A.D. 1063 to 1112. And the "Purâṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara is first presented in a record of "A.D. 1118-19." Here, in this note, for the first time I mentioned the Pallava Purâṇic genealogy in connection with the others. But I did not adduce, as Mr. Rice says I did, that genealogy, which appears first in the seventh century A.D., as having been put together in the tenth century, as I then put it,— differing a little from my previous suggestion of the last quarter of the ninth century. What I said, is,— "The Purâṇic genealogy of the Pallavas has "been mentioned on page 316 above. This is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to "light. And possibly a discovery of it, in some ancient record, set the later fashion which "became so general."

These are the passages from which Mr. Rice has strung together the extraordinary sentence that he has put into my mouth. He has further, on the same occasion, quoted me as describing the reigning families of Southern India as "furbishing up their pedigrees." He has repeated this twice, as if there were something peculiar in the expression. I cannot find any passage in my writings, in which I used these words; nor can friends, who have searched for it, find it; nor can even Mr. Rice himself, to whom I have applied, give me the reference to any passage in which I have used it. I therefore cannot say whether I did use it, or not. Let it be taken for granted, however, that I did use it. It is a very appropriate expression. "To furbish" means "to polish." And "polishing up" describes exactly the process that each Purâṇic genealogy went through, at some time or another, before it was eventually settled in its final form.

We may leave here all these minor matters, with simply the additional remark that it is easy enough to apparently demolish an opponent by first attributing to him statements and admissions that he has not made, and arguments that he has not used, but that that seems hardly the proper way of carrying on even a controversy. And we may now turn our attention to a more important point, **the palæographic question**, upon which something useful may be said.

In 1894[1] I noticed some of the palæographic blunders in the spurious grants. There is a good deal more to be said in this line hereafter; for I dealt then with only two characters, the *kh* and the *b*. But these two characters themselves are letters which furnish, as I said, "a leading test in dealing with southern records;" and the later cursive forms of them are, in certain circumstances, "tell-tale letters." The later cursive forms of them cannot be carried back to much, if at all, before A.D. 804. Through the occurrence of them in the spurious grants, I was enabled to present the conclusion that the Merkâra grant, purporting to have been issued A.D. 466, and the Dêvarhaḷḷi grant (then known as the Nâgamaṅgala grant), purporting to have been issued A.D. 776-77, cannot have been written before the beginning of the ninth century A.D. And I indicated that the transitional period, when both the old square forms and the later cursive forms of the two characters in question were in use together, was somewhere about A.D. 865.

Mr. Rice has touched upon only one of these characters, the *kh*. He has asserted that of this character "both forms were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period;"[2] and he has told us that he "had determined the above some time ago:"[3] but he has not favoured us with the reference to his examination of the question; and so we cannot consider in detail anything that he may have put forward, but can only say that he has determined a fact which, in Western India, did not exist. He has quoted the Tables of Dr. Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, as giving the cursive form of the *kh* for the fourth, sixth, and seventh centuries A.D. And he has told us that "Dr. Bühler (p. 65 of his work) expressly points out that Dr. Fleet is wrong in

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 161 ff. [2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6. [3] *Ibid.* p. 7, note 1.

"his dictum as to the age of the cursive form." In support of his assertion that "both forms "were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period," he has, further, specifically quoted an instance of the occurrence of the cursive *kh* in an inscription on "the Dharmarâja Maṇḍapa" at Mâmallapuram on the east coast, which, as remarked by myself without any suggestion of dissent, has been assigned by Dr. Hultzsch to probably the sixth century A.D. He has admitted the undeniable fact that both forms occur in the Gaṅga grants that I was reviewing. And he has allowed us to understand that his conclusion is, that the preparation of those records should consequently be referred to a period in which both forms were in use, that is to say, in his opinion, to at any rate a much earlier period than A.D. 804.

Now, for the alleged instance of the fourth century A.D., Mr. Rice has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table iii. col. XX. But neither does that column, nor does any part of that Table, present a form of the *kh* approximating in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned.

For the sixth and seventh centuries, he has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table vii. cols. V. and XXIII. Here, again, the form of the *kh* in col. V. does not approximate in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned: it is a very badly formed *kh* of the old square type; and it is, moreover, from a Valabhî record not connected in any way with the territories with which we are dealing. The *kh* in col. XXIII., however, is, indeed, probably a fully developed cursive *kh* of the type of the *kh* with which we are concerned; but I shall shew directly that it has nothing to do with the matter.

As regards the remarks made by Dr. Bühler on page 65 of his work, and referred to by Mr. Rice, they occur in his examination of what he called "the middle step" or period of the Kanarese and Telugu types of the southern alphabets. Dr. Bühler has there drawn attention to "the strongly cursive, already Old-Kanarese, *kha*, Table viii., 12, cols. III. to V., which by Fleet "(*Ep. Ind.* III. 162) is said to be not older than about A.D. 800, but which, in the closely cognate "Pallava inscriptions (Table vii., 9, col. XXIII.), appears already since the seventh century."[1] This, of course, is a more important matter, because Dr. Bühler was a very great authority. But, for reasons that will be indicated below, the Tables of his palæographic volume, and some of the results based on them, have to be received with great caution. And, in this case, the remark that he made is a misleading one, not by any means applicable in the way in which Mr. Rice would use it.

Finally, for the instance of the cursive *kh* in the inscription on "the Dharmarâja Maṇḍapa," Mr. Rice has referred us to the lithograph in Capt. Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, Plate xiv.,—(to which he might have added Plate xviii., which gives the alphabet of the record in tabulated form),— and to the seventh stanza of the text in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 6, No. 19. Here, there are mistakes, which do not, indeed, involve anything of importance, beyond illustrating further the rudimentary and superficial manner in which Mr. Rice has dealt with the whole question, but which may as well be corrected in order to save perplexity and trouble to others. The intended record, the one of which Capt. Carr has given us a reproduction, is not on the Dharmarâja Maṇḍapa; it is at the Gaṇêśa temple; the record on the Dharmarâja Maṇḍapa is another copy of it, arranged differently, of which we apparently have not as yet any reproduction; the reference to Dr. Hultzsch's text should have been to p. 4, No. 18; and we look in vain to the seventh stanza for the word that is quoted by Mr. Rice; it is in the ninth verse that it occurs. Now, the inscription really intended is in rather elaborate characters, from which fact Mr. Rice has made a curious deduction; in respect of the lithograph of the entire record given in Capt. Carr's Plate xiv., he has said "there is nothing to show that this is a mechanical "copy, but the highly florid nature of the alphabet insures that it must have been carefully "copied." There is, of course, a good deal of difference between copying carefully and copying

[1] This is as given to me from the German; the English translation is not out yet.

accurately. With characters so florid and elaborate as are those of this record, and "so faintly cut,"[1] and with the absolute certainty that the reproduction of them, though based on tracings to which "several days' labour" was devoted, was not a purely mechanical one, we have every reason to doubt the absolute trustworthiness of the lithograph. And what do we find on actual examination? The *kh* quoted by Mr. Rice occurs in the word *sumukhaḥ*, line 9; but the lithograph gives us *samakhaḥ*, omitting twice the vowel *u*. The *kh* occurs in also the word *khyâtô* in verse 5, line 5; and here the lithograph shews *tyatô*, omitting the *â* and turning the *kh* into *t*. Here are four mistakes in the reproduction, in only five syllables. But it is not necessary to criticise this reproduction any further; because I do not wish to rely on any faults in it. I grant everything that Mr. Rice wishes. I concede that we have here, in the word *sumukhaḥ*, a cursive *kh* of precisely the same type, and almost of the same form, with the cursive *kh* of Western India which, I say, cannot be carried back to before A.D. 804. And I concede that this instance, adduced by Mr. Rice, is to be referred to probably the sixth century A.D. But it has absolutely nothing to do with the matter that we have in hand. It is a Grantha character,— a character of an alphabet which, though derived from the same original stock with the alphabet of Western India, was developed on totally different lines and at a much earlier period, and which shews, in the sixth century and perhaps before that time, many characters which, while preserving the leading features of the original type, already exhibit many and wide divergencies, both in the type and in the details. To the same alphabet belong the characters of the record in which occurs the cursive *kh* given in Dr. Bühler's Table vii., col. XXIII., No. 9: it is the Kailâsanâtha inscription of Râjasiṁha, of which the text has been given by Dr. Hultzsch in his *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 12, No. 24, with a facsimile in a Plate issued in Vol. II.; and the *kh* in question is the *kh* of the word *pramukhaiḥ* in verse 7, near the beginning of line 11. And this record, again, has absolutely nothing to do with the development of the alphabet of Western India.

And here we may leave the details of the palæographic question, until the publication of the collotype facsimiles that I have in hand, which will shew the development of the alphabet of Western India during the ninth century A.D., and will prove everything that I have said about the letters *kh* and *b*, and a great deal more too. I have only to add the following general remarks.

In the first place, if we act on Mr. Rice's suggestion, and place the writing of those grants, which shew both forms of the *kh* and *b*, in the period when both those forms really were in use together, we must refer them to about the middle of the ninth century A.D. We must, then—(one instance will suffice),— place about A.D. 850 the Dêvarhaḷḷi grant, which purports to have been issued A.D. 776-77. And the reference of it to a period three quarters of a century (or even one quarter of a century) later than the date asserted by itself, stamps it as a forgery, just as much as the reference of it to any period later still.

In the second place, Mr. Rice has expressed surprise at my saying that the writers of this and other spurious records forgot themselves, and introduced tell-tale characters, when they used in certain words the later cursive forms. But there is no occasion for any such expression of surprise. That is exactly what the writers did. And they simply betrayed themselves in just the same way in which forgers are liable to betray themselves, and do betray themselves, all over the world. In a recent notorious case in England, the first clue to the detection of an almost unparalleled series of forgeries, for genealogical purposes, was given by the fact that the forger forgot himself, and was careless enough to introduce a numeral of quite modern form into a date that purported to be of the sixteenth century.

Finally, a few words as regards the general subject of the **present position of Indian palæography.** The departments of Indian research are numerous; and each one is a complete

[1] See p. 56 of Capt. Carr's book.

study in itself. My special aim has always been to edit as many records as possible, and to write up from them, and from records edited by others, such branches of the history as have engaged my interest. In the palæographic line, I have been satisfied to be able to determine for myself the age and reliability of any documents with which I might be concerned, and have been content to leave to others the systematic prosecution of that line of research. But I have also sought to help it on as far as possible, by means of the lithographs that were issued with my own articles, or that were prepared under my direction to accompany articles written by others. When, however, the science of Indian epigraphy and palæography was not very far advanced, it was thought more important to publish clear and easily legible lithographs, than to give facsimiles which an unpractised eye might find it difficult to deal with because of their including all the imperfections of the originals due to damage and decay. And that procedure necessitated a considerable amount of touching up by hand, either of the originals, or of the impressions of them, or of the proofs. The mistakes that may be made, in such a process, are well illustrated by the evolution of a cursive *kh*, from the old square *kh* of the original, in the lithograph, which was prepared in 1878 more or less under my own direction, of a record of A.D. 694,[1] and by the introduction into Mr. Rice's lithograph of the Âtakûr inscription, simply to suit a purely imaginary reading, of a syllable which does not exist in the original at all.[2] The mischief of that procedure was recognised about 1882; and attention was then given to obtaining better impressions, from which there might be given, without any manipulation, mechanical facsimiles which would be absolutely faithful and reliable reproductions of typical originals. But, unfortunately, sufficient prominence was not given to the change that was then made, and to the reason for it; and the palæographic inquiry went on, without those who were concerned in it being duly informed. The palæographic line of research has been brought to a climax, for the present, by the publication of Dr. Bühler's volume. And it would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the way in which he sought to attain the objects aimed at in it. But it must be remarked that, great as has been the loss that we have sustained, in every line, through his sudden and premature death, it is peculiarly calamitous that he should have passed away just when so important a book had been issued by him and before it had been subjected to criticism which he himself could have attended to. The Tables of his volume are, unluckily, largely based on the manipulated reproductions that were issued in accordance with the earlier practice. And, moreover, the details of them were by no means all selected and arranged by him. For these reasons, and for others which a study of the work will disclose, we can only receive with great caution the Tables, and some of the results based on them, put forward in his book. And we must hope that someone else will be forthcoming, to carry one stage further the inquiry that he brought so far.

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I have to add a few words, by way of correction of views previously expressed by me, on the subject of **the invention of the fictitious genealogy that is presented in the spurious grants.**

In 1894 I suggested[3] that it was devised by the Western Gaṅgas themselves, in imitation of the Purâṇic genealogies of other families,— that it was started in the time of Nolambântaka-Mârasiṁha II.,— and that the Lakshmêshwar inscription, dated A.D. 968-69 and purporting to be of his time, seemed to represent the beginning of it in a rudimentary form, and to fix very closely the time when it was invented.

I have, in the first place, to withdraw the Lakshmêshwar inscription as a basis for any such suggestion. This record[4] is on a stone tablet which contains, after it, records that

[1] See above, Vol. V. p. 155, note 8.

[2] See page 52 above, note 4.

[3] Above, Vol. III. p. 172.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 101.

purport to be of the time of Satyâśraya-(Pulakêśin II.) and the Sêndra prince Durgaśakti (not dated), and of Vikramâditya II. (dated A.D. 735). And another stone tablet at the same place[1] contains a record of Vijayâditya (dated A.D. 723), followed by other records of the same king (dated A.D. 730), of Gaṅgakandarpa-(Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II.) (dated, again, A.D. 968-69), and of Vinayâditya (dated A.D. 687). These records, though bearing such very different dates, are all in characters of one and the same period, and were all put on the stones at one and the same time. When I dealt with them,— more than twenty years ago,— I believed, and said, that they are in characters of the tenth century A.D.; that is to say, I took them as having been put on the stones in the recorded year A.D. 968-69, in the time of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. And I too carelessly endorsed that belief in 1894,[2] without examining impressions of them again. That belief was wrong. The characters are of an appreciably later date, and are fairly referable to the second half of the eleventh century A.D. And there is no doubt that these records were put on the stones in connection with the rebuilding of the Jain temples and the restoration of their endowments under the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi, after the end of the Chôḷa occupation, and for the purpose of what Sir Walter Elliot has called "the unification of the titles."[3] As regards the historical value of them,— it is obvious that the Chalukya records are, at the best, only copies of originals, to be taken for what they may be worth; and, for the present, we need only remark that, with the exception of the record of Satyâśraya-(Pulakêśin II.) and the Sêndra prince Durgaśakti, they are plainly based, more or less directly, on original charters which were deciphered intelligently,— that they are questionable, as dishonest records, only in so far as the writers of them may have substituted names of villages and grantees, to suit their own purposes, for other names standing in the originals,— and that, apparently, the only specially important item in them is the mention of the name Pûjyapâda, as that of the teacher of the alleged grantee, in the record of A.D. 730.[4] As regards the Gaṅga records,— they are questionable in the same way, as dishonest records, in so far as they may put forward fraudulent claims to property. The one that has been edited in full, includes the first three steps of the fictitious pedigree; and, therefore, it was based, in that portion, either on a spurious record, or on a draft of which the ultimate origin is to be traced to the spurious records. But that fact does not make it itself necessarily a dishonest record; because, by the time when it was put on the stone, the fictitious pedigree had evidently become an accepted story, liable to be quoted in even *bonâ fide* records. Even as regards the fictitious pedigree, it makes a mistake, in representing Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. as the younger brother of the imaginary Harivarman of the third generation. This, however, is a detail, of no real importance, which may be accounted for in any way that may seem appropriate. And the only item of special interest, that can be found in the record at present, is the mention of a Jain temple called Mukkaravasati.[5] The important point, for the present, is, that this record was put on the stone about a century later than the date recorded in it, which is a date that fell during the period of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II., and that, consequently, it does not place in the time of that prince the first attempt to devise the fictitious pedigree.

In the second place, when I formed the conclusions that I presented in 1894, we knew of but very few Western Gaṅga records, beyond these Lakshmêshwar inscriptions and the spurious

[1] Noticed, but not edited in full, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 111.

[2] Above, Vol. III. p. 172, note 4.

[3] *Coins of Southern India*, p. 114.

[4] The possible bearing of this is too complicated a matter to be gone into on the present occasion.

[5] It is mentioned, incidentally, among the boundaries of one of the properties claimed by the record. The mention of it suggests that, at some time before the eleventh century, there was a person named Mukkara, by whom the temple was founded, or after whom it was named. All else that can be said, is, that, if there was such a person, he may have been a Gaṅga— (which, however, the record does not assert),—or he may have belonged to any other family, and that it is highly probable that he was the person from whom there was evolved the imaginary Mokkara, or Mushkara, the alleged grandfather of Śivamâra I., of the spurious grants.

copper-plate grants from Sûḍi and Mysore. Since then, Mr. Rice has given us, in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vols. III. and IV., about a hundred records on stone, from Mysore, which he has referred to the Gaṅga period, and nearly all of which are genuine and have been properly so referred. And we have further, in the way of genuine records, the Vaḷḷimalai inscription of Râjamalla grandson of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, from the North Arcot district,— the Biḷiûr, Peggu-ûr, and Kôtûr inscriptions, from Coorg,— the Bêgûr inscription of Eṟeyappa and the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph of Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II., from Mysore,— and, from the Dhârwâr district, the Adaragañchi and Guṇḍûr inscriptions of the same prince and the Hebbâḷ inscription of A.D. 975. Neither anywhere in the whole of this mass of genuine materials, nor in any other such record known to me, is there the slightest allusion to, or hint of, the fictitious genealogy, anterior to Śivamâra I., that is presented in the spurious records. And it is now plain that that genealogy was not claimed by Śivamâra I. and his descendants, but was simply evolved by the persons who fabricated the forged grants, in concocting the necessary pseudo-historical portions of their spurious title-deeds.

The general subject of Purâṇic genealogies will be an interesting topic for examination on some future occasion. Meanwhile, in respect of such of the great families of Southern India as can be traced back to before A.D. 1000, the position is as follows. The earliest such genealogy that we meet with, in any but a merely allusive and rudimentary form, is that of the Pallavas of Kâñchî; and it appears first in the Kûram grant of the second half of the seventh century A.D.[1] We meet next, as a matter of certainty, with that of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, in the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915.[2] And that of the Yâdavas of the Sêuṇa country, from whom sprang the Yâdavas of Dêvagiri, is first found in the Saṁgamnêr grant of A.D. 1000.[3] As a matter of certainty, the Purâṇic genealogy of the Chôḷas is first met with in the so-called Leiden grant of A.D. 1019 or 1020;[4] but it would be carried back, in somewhat different forms, to the period A.D. 900 to 940, if a fragmentary grant of Vîra-Chôḷa from Udayêndiram[5] is a genuine original record and is referable to the time of Parântaka I.,[6]— and to the year A.D. 915, if the Udayêndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa prince Hastimalla-Pṛithivîpati II., dated in the fifteenth year of Parântaka I.,[7] is, again, a genuine original record actually drawn up in that year.[8] The full Purâṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Chalukyas are first met with in a record of the eastern branch, the Korumelli grant of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.[9] And the Purâṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara are first found in a grant that bears the date of A.D. 1118-19.[10] These are the dates at which, as far as our information goes at present, the genealogies are first met with. But, obviously, each of the genealogies had been selected, thought over, and elaborated, at a time appreciably earlier than that at which we first come across it. The earliest of them was that of the Pallavas. It was, probably, a discovery of it, in some ancient record, that set the fashion which became so general. And all the historical considerations point to the latter half of the ninth century A.D. and to the tenth century, as the period during which the other early great families of Southern India applied themselves to putting forward, or in some cases elaborating, claims to descent from the Lunar and Solar Races, and to working up their own traditions so as to establish presentable historical connections with those races.

In the way of fictitious pedigrees of a pretended historical kind, without Purâṇic introductions, we have an instance in that of the Kâdambas of Hângal,— from the name of

[1] *South-Ind. Inscrs* Vol I. p. 144.
[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol XVIII. pp 261, 267.
[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.
[4] See, provisionally, *Archæol. Surv. South-Ind.* Vol. IV. p 204.
[5] Above, Vol. III. p. 79.
[6] See Dr. Hultzsch's remarks, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.
[7] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 375.
[8] See page 65 above, note 4.
[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48.
[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 165.

Mayûravarman I. to that of Âdityavarman,— which is put forward in the Kargudari inscription of A.D. 1108.[1] The alleged genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakâḍ, as presented in the spurious records, is a genealogy of this same kind, without a Purâṇic introduction. A Purâṇic introduction was eventually prefixed to it. And, as far as is disclosed at present, in genuine records,— that is to say, in records which contain all that fabulous matter, but put it forward *bonâ fide*, as a story that had come to be really believed, and without using it fraudulently,— the fictitious historical pedigree and the Purâṇic introduction, both together, first appear in records of the eleventh century A.D. at 'Purale,' Humcha, and 'Kallur Gudda' in Mysore.[2] The Purâṇic introduction seems to have been invented in that century. We shall consider, on another occasion, the period to which the inception of the fictitious historical pedigree may be carried back.

POSTSCRIPT.

I subjoin a few supplementary remarks which suggested themselves after this paper had gone into pages.

Page 53, text line 3, and note 7. The reading *a[ṅka]-Tri[ṇê]tran* may be accepted; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III., in a note on the appellations of the Râshṭrakûṭa king, which will be given in a subsequent article in this volume.

Page 57, note 8. Another instance of the occurrence of *aṅkakâṛa* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name, is Chaladaṅkakâṛa, "the champion of firmness of character," in the case of the Râshṭrakûṭa prince Indra IV. (*Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 57, verses 5, 6).

Page 71, line 24. The date of A.D. 953 for Bûtuga II. is supplied by an inscription at Chiñchli in the Gadag tâluka; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III. in the place referred to above.

Page 72, line 2. It may be added that the killing of Pañchala in battle at the command of Nûrmaḍi-Taila II. is attributed to the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Âhavamalla-Bhûteyadêva or Bhûtiga, whose descendant Barma was governing the Lôkâpura twelve and other circles, at Toragal, in A.D. 1187, in the time of Sômêśvara IV.; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 96, text lines 4 to 6 (the verse has not been well translated). I am indebted to Professor Kielhorn for drawing my attention to this reference.

No. 7.— THE DATE OF THE KOTTAYAM (SYRIAN CHRISTIANS') PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

After a careful examination of the Grantha letters in the **Kôṭṭayam** plate of **Vîra-Râghava**, above, Vol. IV. page 293, Mr. Venkayya has intimated that, on palæographical grounds, Vîra-Râghava's grant may be assigned to about the 13th or 14th century A.D. Convinced of the general correctness of Mr. Venkayya's conclusion, I have examined the date of the grant for the four hundred years from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500, and am enabled to state that during that period[3] there is only a single day for which the date is absolutely correct, *viz.* **Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1320.**

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 249; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 559, 560.

[2] See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.; also, his Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1891, which gives the date of the Humcha record as Śaka-Saṁvat 999 (expired), = A.D. 1077-78.

[3] For the same period of years I have calculated the date of the Tiruppûvaṇam plates of the Pâṇḍya Jaṭâvarman *alias* Kulaśêkharadêva, from the *data* furnished by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 288, with the result that the only day between A.D. 1100 and 1500 which satisfies all the requirements of the date, is Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214. I may have an opportunity to treat more fully of this date on another occasion.

The *data* furnished by the original date are—"the day of (the *nakshatra*) **Rôhiṇî**, a **Saturday** on which passed[1] (the day) **twenty-one** (of) the month of **Mîna**, (when) Jupiter (was in) **Makara.**"

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1241 expired = A.D. 1319-20 the Mîna-saṁkrânti by the Ârya-siddhânta took place 3 hours 22 minutes after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th February A.D. 1320, which therefore was the first day of the month of Mîna. Accordingly, **the 21st day** of the month of **Mîna** was **Saturday,** the 15th March A.D. 1320. On this day (which was the 5th of the bright half of Chaitra) the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Rôhiṇî** during the whole of the day, and the true longitude of Jupiter by the Ârya-siddhânta was 9ˢ 1° 14′, *i.e.* Jupiter was in the 10th sign **Makara.**

I may add that in the period from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500 there are two other Saturdays, 95 years before and 95 years[2] after the 15th March A.D. 1320, either of which answers two of the other requirements of the original date, but not all of them. They are:—

Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1225, which was the 21st day of the month of Mîna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rôhiṇî, while the true longitude of Jupiter was only 8ˢ 27° 58′; and—

Saturday, the 16th March A.D. 1415, when the *nakshatra* was Rôhiṇî, and the true longitude of Jupiter 9ˢ 4° 28′, but which was the 20th day of the month of Mîna.

I venture to hope that the results of Mr. Venkayya's examination of the plate and of my own calculations will be considered to render it extremely probable that Vîra-Râghava's grant was made in A.D. 1320, and not in either A.D. 775 or so strangely early a year as A.D. 230.[3]

No. 8.— MAYIDAVOLU PLATES OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; DRESDEN.

These copper-plates were found about the middle of 1899 by a man who was digging the soil of a field in the *pâḍu* or abandoned village north of **Mayidavôlu.** The *pâḍu* is about four acres in extent and contains the ruins of a small old temple. Mayidavôlu[4] is a small village 12 miles east of Narasarâvupêṭa, the head-quarters of a tâluka of the Kistna district. As good luck would have it, the find of the plates came to the notice of that zealous antiquarian, Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L., to whom epigraphy is already indebted for the Chikkulla plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 193) and the Tottaramûḍi plates (*ibid.* p. 318). He forwarded the plates to Mr. Venkayya, who sent me three sets of ink-impressions and the following description of the original:—"**Eight plates** and fifteen sides. The length of the plates varies from 6⅞″ to 7″. As regards the breadth, the plates are slightly narrower in the middle than at the ends; the average may be taken as 2¼″. The plates were held together by a **ring** which is 3¼″ in diameter and ¼″ thick; it has been cut by me before taking the impressions. The ends of the ring are secured in an elliptical **seal** which measures very nearly 1½″ × 1¼″. The seal bears in relief an animal couchant and facing the proper right—apparently a **bull,** as it has a hump on its back—and

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[1] I owe a literal translation of the date to Dr. Hultzsch.

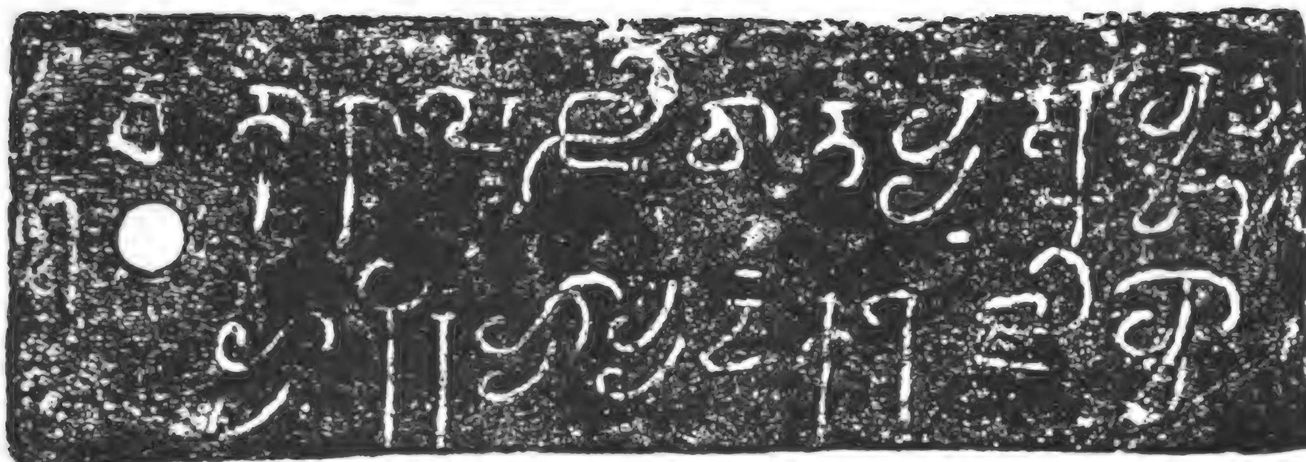
[2] The same number of years (or, more accurately, the number of 34699 days) intervenes between the two days in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. which would answer all the requirements of the date, *viz.* Saturday, the 10th March A.D. 680, and Saturday, the 11th March A.D. 775.

[3] See above, Vol. IV. p. 292, note 7. So far as I can see, the astronomical calculations of Mr. Kookel Keloo Nair were not quite correct. Saturday, the 6th March A.D. 230, was the 21st day of Mîna and the *nakshatra* for part of the day was Rôhiṇî; but Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, not in Makara.—I do not venture to hope that we ever shall find in an inscription a date of the third century A.D. that would admit of exact verification.

[4] See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 72.

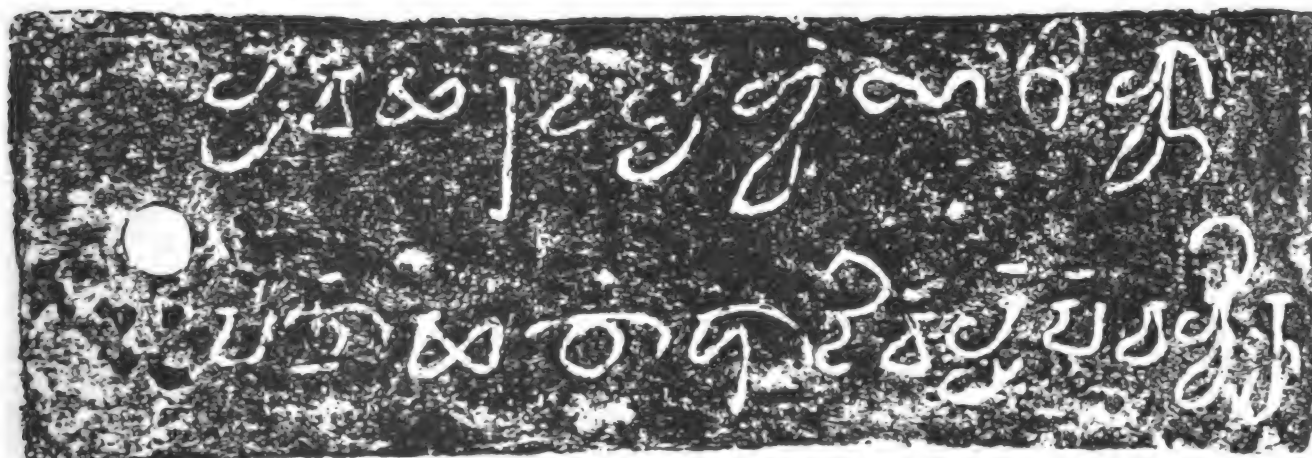
vii a.

24



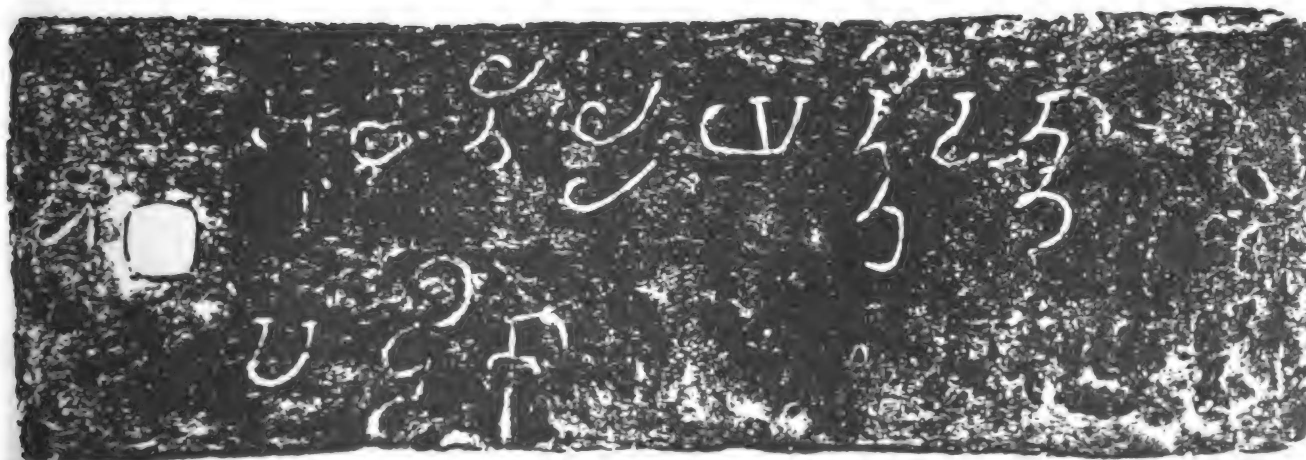
vii b.

26



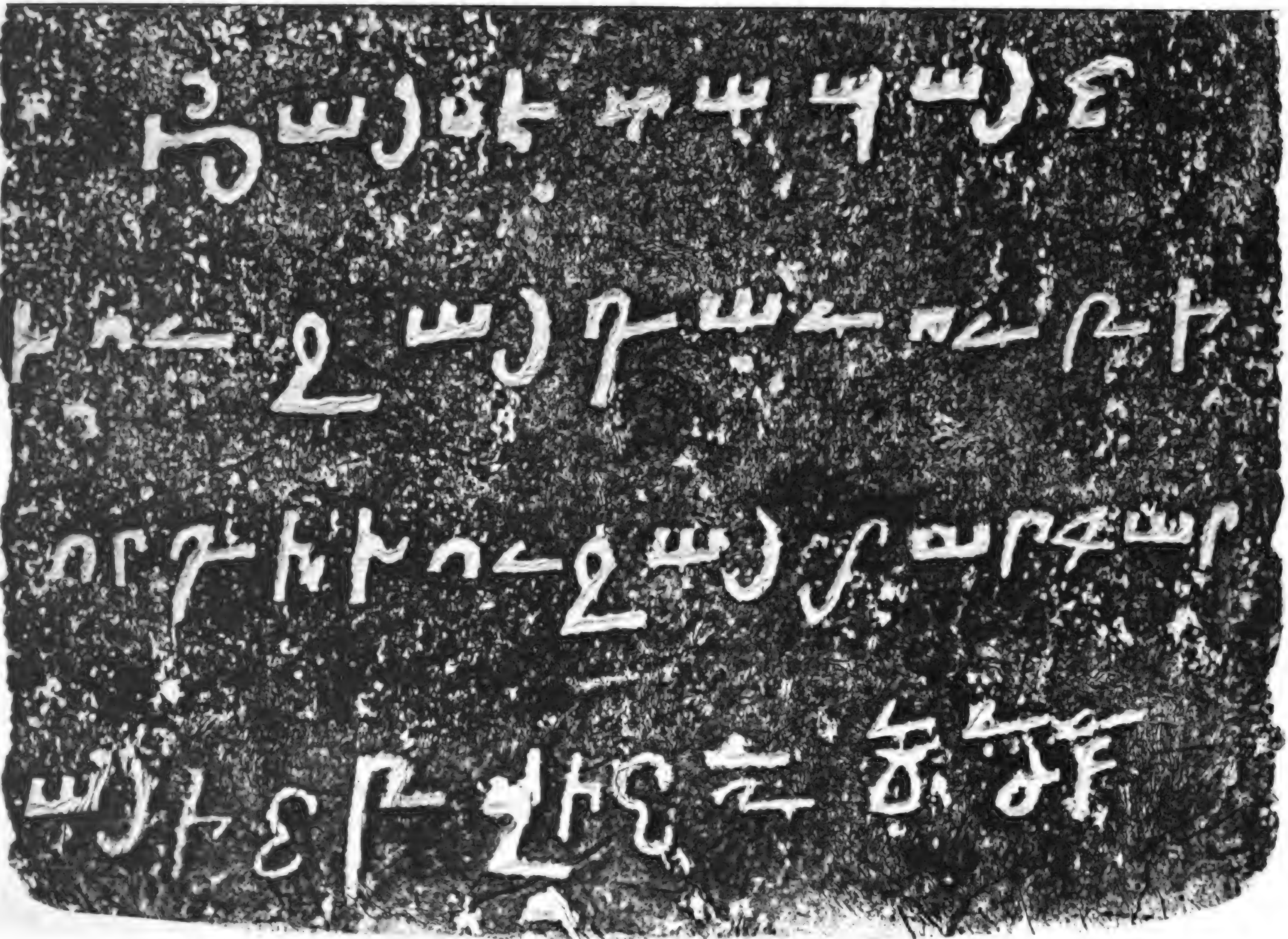
viii.

28



E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·98 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Armenian Epitaph at the Little Mount near Madras.



2

4

E. HULTZSCH.

Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

SCALE ·35.

(L. 25.) **The tenth—10th—year, the sixth—6th—fortnight of summer, the fifth—5th—lunar day.**

(L. 27.) The executor (*âjñapti*) (was) myself. Accordingly (*this*) set of plates (*paṭṭikâ*) has been given (*to the donees*).

No. 9.—THE ARMENIAN EPITAPH AT THE LITTLE MOUNT.

BY FATHER VARTAN MELCHISEDECH, OF THE MECHITHARIST CONGREGATION, VIENNA.

Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (Vol. I. page 175 f.) contain a short, but excellent description of the three sites on the south of the city of **Madras** which are connected with the legend of **St. Thomas.** These are— the village of St. Thomé, which claims to possess the apostle's grave; the Little Mount, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom; and St. Thomas's Mount, the church on the top of which contains the famous inscribed cross.[1] The church at **the Little Mount** is reached by a flight of stone steps, and at the foot of these is set up a stone which bears a cross and, below it, the subjoined Armenian epitaph. The stone lately attracted the attention of His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Madras. At his instance Dr. Hultzsch sent inked estampages of the inscription to Professor H. Hübschmann, of Strassburg, who was the first to decipher it. It is dated in **the year 1112** (of the Armenian patriarch Moses), *i.e.* **A.D. 1663,** and is the epitaph of an Armenian merchant, named David, the son of Margarê.

TEXT.[2]

1 Hais[3] ê tapayn[4]
2 Khujay Davuthi[5]
3 ordi Khujay Margar-
4 ayin[6] thvin[7] **r oh zh b.**

TRANSLATION.

This is the grave of Khoja[8] David, the son of Khoja Margarê.[9] **In the year 1112.**

No. 10.—GADAG INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-BALLALA II.; SAKA-SAMVAT 1114.

BY H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a stone standing up against the back wall of the temple of Trikûṭêśvara at **Gadag,** the chief town of the Gadag tâluka in the Dhârwâr district of the Bombay

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1 See above, Vol. IV. p. 174 ff.

2 As read by Professor Hübschmann from the inked estampages.

3 This is a cockneyism for Old-Armenian *ais*, 'this,' which has become *as* in New-Armenian.—H. H.

4 Read *tapan*.— H. H.

5 In Old-Armenian this would be *Davthi*, the genitive of *Davith*. The form *Davuth* seems to be due to the influence of *Dâ'ûd*, the Arabic form of the name 'David.'—H. H.

6 Dr. Karst considers *Margarayi* to be the genitive of *Margarê*; and *n* is the definite article.

Instead of *thvin*, 'of the year,' we ought to have *ithvin*, with the locative prefix *i*.

8 This is the Persian خواجه, 'a lord, master,' a title generally applied to preceptors and merchants.

9 This name is identical with the Armenian word *margarê*, 'a prophet.

Presidency. An abstract of its contents was given by Dr. Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. 321 f. The text was first published, together with a translation, by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. p. 298 ff.; and a very small photograph of it is given in P.S.O.C.I. No. 98. I now re-edit it from Dr. Fleet's excellent impression, made over to me by Prof. Kielhorn.

The inscription contains 56 lines of writing which covers a space of about 3′ broad by 4′ 6″ high, and is throughout in an extremely good state of preservation. At the top of the stone are some sculptures:— In the centre a man worshipping a *liṅga* with a head lying on a *yôni*;[1] to the left a figure of Gaṇapati, beyond which is a figure of Śiva's bull Nandin; to the right a figure of a Śakti, beyond which are a cow with a calf and a crooked knife.— The **size of the letters** is about ⅝″.— The **alphabet** is Old-Kanarese. In the first and third lines some of the letters are drawn out into ornamental flourishes.— The **language** is Sanskṛit. In lines 6 and 32 we have the Kanarese words *hoy* and *malaparoḷgaṇḍa*. The main portion of the text is in verse; only lines 31-33 and 41-46, speaking generally, are in prose, and besides a few words in lines 1, 36, 37 and 39, and the introductory remarks to the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 46, 47, 48, 49 and 53.— As regards **orthography,** the groups *ddh* and *bbh* are generally spelt *dhdh* and *bhbh*, the only exceptions being *Vishṇuvarddhana-* in l. 8 and *pâtayêd=dharttâ* in l. 51; and *b* is written instead of *v* before a consonant in *brati-* in l. 5 and *kâbya-* in l. 37.

The inscription, which records a grant of land by the **Hoysaḷa** king **Vîra-Ballâḷa II.,** contains a number of historical references which have been dealt with already by Dr. Fleet in his account of the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. The following remarks are therefore chiefly based on Dr. Fleet's discussions.

Opening with two verses invoking the protection of Vishṇu and praising the king, the inscription gives in verses 3-7 the well known legendary account of the origin of the Hoysaḷas. They claimed to belong to **the lineage of Yadu**; in this race there was a king called **Saḷa,** 'who, changing the name of the family, caused Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten.' Once there lived at **Śaśakapura** an ascetic who, while engaged in performing his rites, was attacked by a tiger. He called Saḷa for assistance with the words: *Hoy Saḷa*, 'Slay, O Saḷa.' Saḷa killed the tiger, and thus acquired for himself and his descendants the name of **Hoysaḷa** and a tiger as emblem of their banner. Śaśakapura or Śaśapura seems to have been the seat of the first rulers of the dynasty.[2] In inscriptions incised in Śaka 1060 and 1106[3] Vinayâditya, the first historical king, is represented as ruling at Sosavûru, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, as the passages containing it were evidently taken from older records. Mr. Rice[4] is undoubtedly right in identifying Sosavûru with Śaśapura, but his identification of Śaśapura with the modern Aṅgaḍi in the Mûḍgere tâluka of the Kaḍûr district, Mysore,[5] does not seem to be well founded.

The inscription then turns to the historical genealogy of the family. After other kings, **Vinayâditya** became king (v. 8). His son was **Ereyaṅga** (v. 9), who again had three sons, **Ballâḷa, Vishṇuvardhana** and **Udayâditya** (v. 10). Nothing beyond the name is recorded

[1] Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 298, speaks of 'three heads on an altar,' but the drawing accompanying the impression shows one only.

[2] Probably already in the time of Ballâḷa I., and certainly in the time of Vishṇuvardhana, the capital was Vêlâpura, the modern Bêlûr, whence during the reign of Vishṇuvardhana the seat of government was shifted to Dôrasamudra, the modern Haḷêbiḍ; compare Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 491.

[3] *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 208; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329, where the name of the town is given as Sosulya. *Ibid.* p. 260, Vinayâditya is said to have been born at Śaśapura.

[4] *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. Introd., p. 18.

[5] *Ibid.* Part I. Introd., p. 18; Part II. Introd., p. 18.

of Udayâditya, the inscription speaking in the following verses only of the elder two brothers, of whom, after some general praise (v. 11), it is said (v. 12, 13) that, 'when the elder of them,[1] the mighty one, who attacked **Jagaddêva**, the lord of elephants, with his own horse in the van of battle and overturned him and took away his sevenfold (sovereignty), had ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishṇuvardhana, reigned for a long time.' In other records the defeat of Jagaddêva is attributed to Ballâḷa's successor Vishṇuvardhana. In an inscription at Bêlûr[2] and in another at Hosakôṭe[3] Vishṇuvardhana is called 'a Bhairava in destroying (*or* conquering) the armies of Jagaddêva,' and in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa[4] he is said to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mâḷava, Jagaddêva, and others, sent by the emperor (*chakrin*). The discrepancy between these statements is removed by an inscription at Lâlanakere,[5] where it is said that at Dôrasamudra the three brothers, Ballâḷa, Vishṇu and Udayâditya, destroyed the army of Jagaddêva and captured his treasury. The joint victory of the three brothers over Jagaddêva must therefore have occurred before A.D. 1118, the earliest reliable date, as far as I know, for Ballâḷa's successor Vishṇuvardhana.[6] As to Jagaddêva, the term *saptâṅga* used of his kingdom in the present inscription would seem to indicate, at first sight, that he was an independent ruler; but it is apparently only a hyperbolical phrase, as the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription leaves no doubt that he was a feudatory of some emperor who can only be the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.[7] I am therefore inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet, who looks upon Jagaddêva as identical with the Śântara prince Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddêva of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura[8] who, according to the Baḷagâṁve inscription,[9] was ruling as *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* of Jagadêkamalla II. at Sêtuvinabîḍu in A.D. 1149, and who, according to an inscription at Anamkoṇḍ,[10] after the defeat of Taila III., laid siege to the fortress of Anumakoṇḍa. The latter event must have taken place between A.D. 1150 and 1163. There would thus lie an interval of at least 32 years, but probably a much longer time, between the Jagaddêva of the Hoysaḷa records and that of the Châlukya and Kâkatîya inscriptions, so that, if the identification should prove correct, Jagaddêva must have enjoyed a considerably long reign.

The next verses (14-17) speak of the conquests and pious gifts of Vishṇuvardhana, 'who, having given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory, in order to have a kingdom of his own, invaded **Uchchaṅgi**[11] and other territories belonging to his enemies; who, invading the whole country from his own abode to **Beḷvola**, bathed his horse in the **Kṛishṇavêrṇâ**; who is again and again reminded by his servants whenever they wait upon him: 'Know the **Hoysaḷa** alone among (all) princes to be unconquerable for king **Paramardidêva**."[12] The

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[1] I take *tatra* in the sense of *tayôḥ*, and the two verses as forming one sentence.

[2] *Mysore Inscr.* p. 263.

[3] *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 86.

[4] *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 138, p. 107. This inscription gives only the direct line of descendants, omitting Ballâḷa I. and Udayâditya altogether.

[5] *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. p. 200.

[6] *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa*, No. 59, p. 57; compare *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part I. p. 120, and *Mysore Inscr.* p. 265. Mr. Rice says (*Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. Introd., p. 19) that Ballâḷa I. died in A.D. 1104, but I do not know his authority for this statement.

[7] Vikramâditya, it is true, did not bear the title *chakravartin*, but his three successors, Sômêśvara III., Jagadêkamalla II. and Taila III., styled themselves, respectively, *Sarvajñachakravartin*, *Pratâpachakravartin* and *Châlukyachakravartin*, and it is therefore quite intelligible that in a record written in Śaka 1081 this title should have been conferred on Vikramâditya also.

[8] *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 494. [9] *Mysore Inscr.* p. 97 ff. [10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 13.

[11] Regarding this place see the note by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 285.

[12] Different translations have been proposed for this verse by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 497, and Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 87. The version given above differs from that of Dr. Bhandarkar especially as regards the word *pratyupachâram*.

warlike exploits of Vishṇuvardhana need not be discussed here, as they have been treated at great length by Dr. Fleet, who also was the first to identify king Paramardidêva with the Western Châlukya king Permâḍi-Vikramâditya VI., the feudal lord of Vishṇuvardhana.

Vishṇuvardhana's son and successor was **Narasiṁha,** who married the noble **Êchaladêvi** (vv. 18, 19). Their son was **Vira-Ballâḷa II.** to whom the rest of the eulogy (vv. 20-36) is devoted. He is said (v. 20) to have acquired the kingdom by worshipping Vajrêśvara. This term seems to refer to Indra; but, as *vajra* is occasionally used also with reference to the *chakra* of Vishṇu,[1] Vajrêśvara may possibly be meant here for Vishṇu. At any rate it is stated in another record[2] that he had gained the empire by being the favourite of Vijaya-Nârâyaṇa, and in the present inscription also he is represented as an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu (v. 24). After a series of laudatory verses (20-33) and the general statement that the Aṅgas, Kaḷiṅgas, Vaṅgas, Magadhas, Chôḷas, Mâḷavas, Pâṇḍyas, Kêraḷas and Gûrjaras were in fear of him (v. 34), the inscription gives in verses 35 and 36 a more detailed account of two of Ballâḷa's campaigns: 'And by force, he, the strong one,[3] defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general **Brahman** whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless[4] elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the **Kaḷachuris.** And cutting off **Jaitrasiṁha** who was, as it were, the right arm of that **Bhillama,** he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of **Kuntaḷa.'**

The general **Brahman** mentioned in the former verse was the councillor and general of the last Châlukya king Sômêśvara IV. His name occurs in several Châlukya records from A.D. 1184-85 to 1186-87,[5] and in one of them he is called 'a fire of death to the Kaḷachuryas. Like his father Kâma or Kâvaṇa, he had originally been in the service of the Kaḷachuryas. Kâvaṇa is mentioned as the *daṇḍanâyaka* of king Saṅkama in a Harihar inscription, and again as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of that king in a Baḷagâṁve inscription of A.D. 1179, and as the *daṇḍanâyaka* of Âhavamalla in a Baḷagâṁve inscription of A.D. 1181.[6] And Brahman himself is called the *mahâpradhâna*, *sênâdhipati* and *daṇḍanâyaka* of king Sôvidêva in a record of A. D. 1175. The reason for his rebellion is given in our inscription in the words '*nyakkârêṇa pituḥ*.' Dr. Fleet renders them 'in contempt of his father,' but I doubt that the words admit of such an interpretation. I can only translate them as I have done above, and, considering that the records make it highly probable that Kâvaṇa was still alive when Brahman revolted against his sovereign, I see no difficulty in assuming that the account of the motives of Brahman as given in our inscription is correct. As to **Jaitrasiṁha,** by whose conquest Ballâḷa is said to have acquired Kuntaḷa or the southern Marâṭhâ country, there can be no doubt that he is identical with the Jaitasiṁha mentioned as the minister of the Yâdava king Bhillama in the Gadag inscription of Śaka 1113.[7] On the other hand, I see no cogent reason why this Jaitrasiṁha should be identified with Bhillama's son and successor Jaitugi or Jaitrapâla.[8] The names, it is true, are similar, but if Jaitrasiṁha had been Bhillama's son, one should certainly expect that

[1] See *e. g. Mysore Inscr.* p. 152.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 266.

[3] *Bhujabhṛit* seems to be an equivalent of *bhujabala*, and is apparently used here in allusion to Ballâḷa's *biruda* Bhujabala, just as *vîra* is used in the next verse.

[4] For *tûbara* the dictionaries give the meanings 'a bull without horns; a beardless man; a eunuch;' here it evidently denotes a tuskless elephant as opposed to *dantin*, the tusked elephant. A revised translation of the verse was given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464. I differ from him only with regard to the words *nyakkârêṇa pituḥ*.

[5] For this and the following dates see Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464.

[6] *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117.

[7] *Above*, Vol. III. p. 217 ff.

[8] See especially Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 106.

this relationship of the two had been hinted at either in the present or in the Gadag inscription referred to above.

Lines 31 ff. then record that the *Pratâpachakravartin*, the glorious **Vîra-Ballâḷadeva,** who was adorned with such titles as 'the refuge of the whole world, the illustrious favourite of the earth, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the lord of the excellent city of Dvârâvatî, the sun in the sky of the Yâdava family, who has perfection as his crest-jewel, the destroyer of the Maḷapas, who is fierce in war, a hero even without anybody to help him, who is brave even when alone, who has success even on a Saturday, the conqueror of hill-forts, a Râma in war, having established his victorious camp at **Lokkiguṇḍi,— at a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the day of the full-moon of the month Mârgaśirsha of the Paridhâvin year, when 1114 years[1] had elapsed of the era of the Śaka king,—** after having washed the feet of the holy *âchârya* Siddhântichandrabhûshaṇapaṇḍitadêva, also called Satyavâkya, who was the disciple of Vidyâbharaṇadêva and the disciple's disciple of Sômêśvaradêva of (the lineage of) the *âchârya* Kâḷamukha, granted out of devotion, with oblations of water, the village of **Hombâḷalu** in the **Beḷvola three-hundred,** with its boundaries as known before and together with the right to hidden treasures, underground stores, water, stone, gardens, *etc.*, together with the *tribhôga*, together with the full proprietorship of the *ashṭabhôga*, together with the right of appropriating all things such as tolls and fines, for the sake of the *aṅga-* and *raṅga-bhôga* of the Holy one, the *guru* of all moving and immoveable things, the holy god Svayaṁbhû-Trikûṭêśvara, for the sake of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through age, *etc.*, for the sake of providing for instruction, and for the sake of feeding, *etc.*, ascetics, Brâhmaṇas and others, making it a *sarvanamasya* grant not to be pointed at with the finger by the king or the king's officials.

Inserted into this portion of the text are eleven verses (37-47) glorifying the god Śiva Svayaṁbhû-Trikûṭêśvara at **Kratuka** and the chief priest (*sthânâchârya*) of his shrine, the said Siddhântichandrabhûshaṇapaṇḍitadêva, called also Satyavâkya, of the lineage of the *âchârya* Kâḷamukha. Among the verses in praise of the latter, special interest is attached to verse 39, where the Paṇḍit is called the living *liṅga* by whom the god who is the lord of the three peaks (*Trikûṭêśvara*) by his three stationary *liṅgas*, in the opinion of people became at the same time a lord of four peaks (*chatushkûṭêśvara*). This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva in the form of a *liṅga* descended upon the three mountains Kâlêśvara, Śrîśaila and Bhîmêśvara, and that these three *liṅgas* marked the boundaries of the country which was in consequence called the Triliṅga, Teliṅga or Telugu country.[2]

The members of the Śaiva school of Kâḷamukha seem to have enjoyed considerable local fame. They were originally established at Baḷagâṁve, where a quarter of the town was called after them the Kâḷamukha Brahmachârin quarter.[3] The numerous records at Baḷagâṁve,[4] together with the present inscription, the Gadag inscription mentioned above, and another Gadag inscription of the time of Vîra-Ballâḷa II.,[5] furnish the following line of *âchâryas*,[6] all of whom

[1] The date is expressed both in words and in figures.

[2] Arden, *Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, p. 1, [and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 note 13].

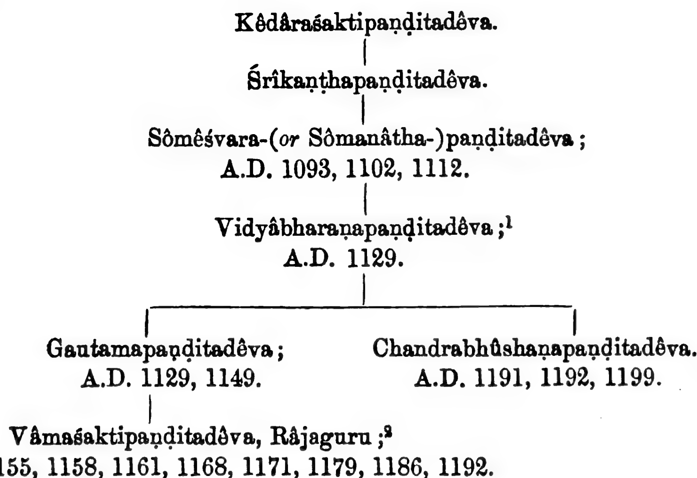
[3] *Mysore Inscr.* p. 147, [and above, Vol. V. pp. 220 to 226].

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 74, 77 ff., 80 f., 85 f., 87, 91, 92, 95 f., 99, 101 f., 105 f., 111, 160, 174.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 155 f. The last two inscriptions record grants in favour of the same temple as the present one.

[6] Another branch of the lineage of Kâḷamukha Chakravartimuni at Baḷagâṁve is mentioned *loc. cit.* p. 172.

from Sômêśvara onwards, with exception, of course, of Chandrabhûshaṇa, were in the service of the temple of Dakshiṇa-Kêdârêśvara at Baḷagâṁve :



Lines 46 ff. contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, and the inscription ends with the statement that, by order of king **Ballâḷadêva**, the *śâsana* was composed by **Agniśarman**, an emperor among the learned.

The **date** of our inscription corresponds, as shown by Prof. Kielhorn, to **Saturday, the 21st November A.D. 1192,** when there was **a lunar eclipse visible in India,** commencing 0 h. 18 m. before mean sunrise.

Of the localities mentioned, **Kratuka** is the modern Gadag itself; **Lokkiguṇḍi,** the modern Lakkuṇḍi, 5 miles east-south-east of Gadag ; and the village of **Hombâḷalu,** the modern Hombal, 7½ miles north-west of Gadag.

TEXT.[3]

1 Svasti ◎ Traiḷôkyaṁ pâlyatê yêna sadayaṁ sat[t*]va-vṛittinâ | sa dêvô Yadu-śârddûlaḥ Śrî-patiḥ śrêyasê ऽstu vaḥ || [1*]

2 Dêvaḥ samasta-sâmanta-mastaka-nyasta-śâsanaḥ | â-chaṁdr-ârkkaṁ nṛipaḥ pâyâd=bhuvam=aṁbhôdhi-mêkhaḷâm || [2*]

3 Âsît=kshitau kshatriya-puṁgavânâṁ[4] śirô-maṇiḥ śrî-**Yadu**-nâmadhêyaḥ | yad-anvavâyê sa Harir=dhdha(ddha)ritrî-bhâr-âvatâr-ârttham=ajô=pi jâtaḥ || [3*] Tad-anvavâyê

4 bahavô babhûvur=bhbhu(bbhu)j-ôdbhavâ viśruta-kîrtti-bhâjaḥ | ady=âpi lôkê charit-âdbhutâni yêshâṁ purâṇêshu paṭhaṁti saṁtaḥ || [4*] Kâla-kramêṇ=âtha babhûva kaśchin=mahî-

5 patis=tatra **Saḷ**-âbhidhânaḥ | kulasya kṛitvâ vyapadêśam=anyaṁ vismâritô yêna Yadus=tad-âdyaḥ || [5*] Kên=âpi bra(vra)ti-patinâ sva-dêvakâryyê śârddûlaṁ grasitum=upâgataṁ ni-

6 haṁtum | âdishṭaḥ **Śaśakapurê** sa hoy=Saḷ=êti prâpat=taṁ kiḷa vinihatya **Hoysaḷ**-âkhyâm || [6*] Tataḥ-prabhṛiti tad-vaṁśê pravṛittaṁ **Hoysaḷ**-âkhyayâ | śârddûlaś=cha dhvaja-

[1] Vidyâbharaṇa is once called the younger brother of Sômêśvara ; *ibid.* p. 91.

[2] A pupil of Vâmaśakti was probably Svâmidêva or Sâvidêva, of whom in an inscription at Baḷagâṁve dated in A.D. 1181 it is said that 'his head was marked by the lotus hands of the excellent *muni* Vâmaśaktîśa, the Śiva seer;' compare *ibid.* p. 119.

[3] From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

[4] The second *anusvâra* of this word has been drawn out by the engraver into an ornamental figure.

7 sy=âsîd=aṁkaḥ śatru-bhayaṁkaraḥ || [7*] Aparêshu cha tad-râjyaṁ bhuktavatsv=atha râjasu | **Vinayâditya** ity=âsît=kramaśaḥ pṛithivîpatiḥ || [8*] **Ereyaṁg**-âbhidhânô ςbhûn=nṛipati-

8 s=tasya ch=âtmajaḥ | guṇair=ananya-sâmânyaiḥ prakhyâtaḥ pṛithivî-talê || [9*] Atha tasy=âpi **Ballâḷa-Vishṇuvarddhana**-nâmakau | abhûtâm=âtmajanmânâv=**Udayâditya**-

9 paśchimau || [10*] Têjasvinau bhûta-hita-pravṛittau lôka-pûjitau | yâv=abhâsayatâṁ viśvaṁ sûryyâ-chaṁdramasâv=iva || [11*] Raṇa-śirasi yêna balinâ gajapatim=âkramya nija-turaṁgêṇa [|*]

10 vinipâtya **Jagaddêvaṁ** sapt-â[ṁ*]gaṁ tasya ch=âpahṛitam || [12*] Tatr=âgrajê nijaṁ râjyam=upabhuktavati kramât | anujô=pi chiraṁ râjyaṁ bubhujê **Vishṇuvardhdha(rddha)naḥ** || [13*] Yô dêśam=agrahâ-

11 rîkṛitya samastaṁ nijaṁ sva-râjy-ârttham | âchakrâm=**Ôchchaṁgi**-prabhṛitîn=anyân=dvishad-dêśân || [14*] Ârabhya nija-nivâsâd=**Beḷvola**-paryyaṁtam=akhiḷam=api vishayam | âkramya

12 yêna dhautaṁ turaga-vapuḥ **Kṛishṇavêrṇṇâyâm** || [15*] Yaḥ smâryyatê niyuktaiḥ pratyupachâraṁ nṛipêshv=asâdhyatayâ | **Paramarddidêva**-nṛipatêr=Hoysaḷam=ava-

13 dhâray=êti muhuḥ || [16*] Yên=âgrahârâḥ kratavô mahâ-dânâni shôḍaśa | anyâny=api cha puṇyâni paunaḥpunyêna chakrirê || [17*] **Narasiṁha** iti khyâtô jâta-

14 s=tasy=âtmajô nṛipaḥ | yasya varṇṇayituṁ n=aiva śakyantê mâdṛiśair=gguṇâḥ || [18*] Tasya Śrîr=iva Daity-ârêḥ Śaṁkarasy=êva Pârvvatî | âsîd=**Êchaladêv**=îti mahâ-dêvî kul-ôdgatâ || [19*]

15 ◎ Tên=âpi tasyâm=atuḷa-prabhâvô Vajrêśvar-ârâdhana-labdha-râjyaḥ | jâtaḥ sutô dôr-vva(bba)ḷa-chakravarttî śrî-**Vîra-Ballâḷa** iti prasidhdha(ddha)ḥ || [20*] Mâdhyasthyên=ônnatyâ kâṁchana-

16 vibhavêna vibudha-sêvyatayâ | yô jaṁgama iva Mêrur=mmahîbhṛitâm=agraṇîr=jjagati || [21*] Sîm-âtikrama-bhîrôr=atigaṁbhîrasya vipuḷa-sat[t*]vasya | ratnâ-

17 karasya yasya cha na kô=pi lakshmîvatôr=bhbhê(bbhê)daḥ || [22*] Charitaṁ Bharat-âdînâm=api bhuvanê tâvad=êva bôdya(dhya)m=iha | lôk-ôttarâ na yâvad=dṛiśyantê yasya sâdhu-gu-

18 ṇâḥ || [23*] Vishṇau nisargga-sidhdhâ(ddhâ)ṁ bhaktiṁ[1] yasy=âdya paśyatâṁ puṁsâm | Prahrâd-âdi-kathâ api na vismayâya prakalpantê || [24*] Tan=na tapas=tan=n=êshṭaṁ tan=na hutaṁ tan=na dânam=ast=îha | a-

19 sakṛin=na yêna vihitaṁ dêśê kâlê cha [pâ]trê cha || [25*] Strîshv=arbhbha-(rbbha)kêshu śûdrêshv=anyêshv=api yêshu kêshuchij=jagati | sô ςsti na janô vidhattê yaḥ pâpaṁ yatra śâsitari || [26*] Shaṭ-tarkka-

20 kâvya-nâṭaka-Vâtsyâyana-Bharata-râjanîtishu cha | anyêshu têshu têshu cha śâstrêshv=akhiḷêshu yaḥ kuśalaḥ || [27*] Sarvvêshu darśanêshu cha bhuvi târkkika-chakravarttinô

21 yasya | n=aiv=âsti prativâdî vâdi-mada-dvirada-kêsariṇaḥ || [28*] Ṣarvv-âyudh-âjîva-puraḥsarêṇa samasta-vidvaj-jana-vallabhêna | śastrâṇi śâstrâṇi cha yêna lôkê sa-

22 nâthatâm=adya chirâd=gatâni || [29*] Yan-nâmadhêyam=api viśva-[vi]ḷâsinînâṁ lôkê vaśîkaraṇa-karmmaṇi sidhdha(ddha)maṁtraḥ | tasya pragalbha-vanitâ-kusumâyudhasya

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[1] Originally *bhaktiḥ* had been engraved, but the lower dot of the *visarga* seems to have been effaced.

23 saubhâgya-varṇṇana-vidhau katamaḥ samartthaḥ || [30*] Vishvag-vâji-khura-prahâra-daḷita-kshôṇî-tala-prôchchaḷadh-dhûḷî-dhvâṁta-nimîḷit-âkhiḷa-diśi[1] dvaṁdva-pradôsh-âgamê | dût=î-

24 v=âtipatîyasî muhur=iha svas-suṁdarîbhiḥ samaṁ vîrâṇâm=abhisâraṇaṁ vitanutê yat-khaḍga-yashṭir=dvishâm || [31*] Śaśvad=yat-samar-âvatâra-piśunêshv=âhanyamâ-

25 nêshv=itas=tûryyêshu sva-pati-praṇâśa-chakitâḥ kshubhyanty=arâti-striyaḥ | apy=êtâḥ subhaṭa-svayaṁvara-kṛitê maṁdâra-mâlâm=itô hastâbhyâṁ parigṛihya nâka-

26 vanitâḥ sajjîbhavanty=aṁbarê || [32*] Yasmin=Hoysaḷa-bhûmipâḷa-dharaṇî-sâmrâjya-siṁhâsanâd=ârûḍhê sati matta-vâraṇapatêr=yyudhdhâ(ddhâ)ya -pûrvv-âsanam | sadya[ḥ*] sva-

27 sva-kula-kram-âgata-mahî-sâmrâjya-siṁhâsanât=pratyartthi-kshitipâḷakair=api raṇê valmîkam=âruhyatê[2] || [33*] Yasmin=dig-vijay-âr̀ttham=udyatavati prasthâna-bhêrî-ravê

28 gaṁbhîrê sphuṭam=uchcharaty=avanibhṛitsv=anyêshu vârtt=aiva kâ [|*] dûrâd=Aṁga-Kaḷiṁga-Vaṁga-Magadhâś=Chôḷâs=tathâ Mâḷavâḥ Pâṁḍyâḥ Kêraḷa-Gûrjjara-prabhṛitayô=py=ujjhanti sadyô dhṛi-

29 tim || [34*] Nyakkârêṇa pituḥ śriyaṁ **Kaḷachuri**-kshatr-ânvayât=karshatâ yên=aikêna hi tûbarêṇa kariṇâ shashṭir=jjitâ dantinâm | taṁ cha **Brahma**-chamûpatiṁ gaja-ghaṭ-â-

30 vashṭabdha-sainyaṁ haṭhâd=yên=âśvair=api kêvalair=bhbhu(bbhu)ja-bṛi(bhṛi)tâ nirjjitya râjyaṁ hṛitam || [35*] Uchchhidya **Jaitrasiṁhaṁ** dakshiṇam=iva tasya **Bhillamasya** bhujam | vîrêṇa yêna labdhaṁ **Kuntaḷa**-dêś-âdhi-

31 patyam=api || [36*] ◎ Sa cha samastabhuvanâśraya-śrîpṛithvîvallabha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka-Dvârâvatî puravarâdhîśvara-Yâdavakulâṁbaradyu-

32 maṇi-samyaktvachûḍâmaṇi-malaparoḷgaṁḍa-kadanaprachaṁḍa-asahâyaśûra-êkâṁga vîra-śanivârasidhdhi(ddhi)-giridurggamalla-chaladaṁkaRâma-ity-âdi-samasta-praśasta-nâm-âvaḷî-vi-

33 râjamâna[ḥ*] śrîmat-pratâpachakravartti-śrî-**Vîra-Ballâḷa**-**dêvô** **Lokkiguṁḍi**-nivêśita-vijayaskaṁdhâvâraḥ || ◎ Asti Svayaṁbhûḥ **Kratuk**-âbhidhânê grâmê Trikûṭêśvara-

34 nâmadhêyaḥ [|*] Śivaḥ samasta-kshitipâla-mauḷi-maṇi-prabhâ-raṁjita-ramya-pîṭhaḥ || [37*] Tasya sthân-âchâryyaḥ Kâḷamukh-âchâryya-saṁtati-prabhavaḥ | Sidhdhâṁ(ddhâṁ)tichaṁdrabhûshaṇapaṁ-

35 ḍitadêv-âbhidhô ऽsti muniḥ || [38*] Taṁ Trikûṭêśvaraṁ dêvaṁ liṁgais=taiḥ sthâvarais=tribhiḥ | jaṁgamêna samaṁ yêna chatuḥkûṭêśvaraṁ[3] viduḥ || [39*] Satata-śarîr-ârdhdha(rddha)-sthita-Gaurî-bhṛiśa-saṁgamâ-

36 d=vadhûshv=adya | Śiva iva virajyamânô yô bhâti brahmacharyyasthaḥ || [40*] Yaś=cha || Kula-śailêshu chalatsv=api maryyâdâm=atipatatsu siṁdhushu cha | satyaṁ na Satyavâkya-dvitîya-

37 nâmâ parityajati || [41*] Anyatra kâbya(vya)-nâṭaka-Vâtsyâyana-Bharata-râjanîty-âdau | [n=ai]va kathâ-sidhdhâ(ddhâ)ntêshv=akhiḷêshv=api yasya n=âsti samaḥ || [42*] Yêna cha || Âdṛiśyêta kadâ-

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[1] Read *-prôchchhaḷad-dhûḷî-*; compare *Kathâsaritsâgara*, 101, 291: *gulpha-daghn-ôchchhalad-dhûlau* (*kârâgṛihê*).

[2] Compare Mr. Rice's *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 206, line 7, and, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 69, l. 18.

[3] Read *chatushkû°*.

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EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST.

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38 chid=viśrâmô vâridhau taraṁgâṇâm | na tv=êva kṛipâ-bhâjâ pradîyamânê ꞩśnatâṁ sat[t*]rê || [43*] Annên=aiva na kêvalam=api tu suvarṇṇ-aushadh-âmbu-vastr-âdyaiḥ | antô n=âsti ja-

39 nânâṁ nirantaraṁ tarpyamâṇânâm || [44*] Yêna ch=âtra sthânê || Udhdhṛi-(ddhṛi)tya jîrṇṇam=akhiḷaṁ nirmmâya cha nûtana[ṁ] puraṁ ramyam | dêv-ântikam=ânîtâ vêśyâ-vîthî sthitâ parataḥ || [45*]

40 Amṛit-ôpama-pânîya-pûrṇṇâ pushkaraṇî[1] kṛitâ | vanaṁ cha Nandana-[sâm]yaṁ nânâ-pushpa-latâ-vṛitam || [46*] Kiṁ jalpitêna bahunâ grâva-prâkâra-vaḷaya-bâhyam=i-

41 ha | yad=yat=samasti tat=tat=samastam=api tasya nirmmâṇam || [47*] ◎ Tasya bhagavataś=charâchara-gurôḥ śrî-Svayaṁbhû-Trikûṭêśvara-dêvasy=âṁga-raṁga-bhôga-khaṁḍa-sphuṭita-jîrṇṇ-ôdhdhâ(ddhâ)-

42 r-âdy-arthaṁ vidyâ-dân-ârttha[ṁ] tapôdhana-brâhmaṇ-âdi-bhôjan-âdy-arttha[ṁ] cha **Beḷvola-triśat-ântarggata-Hoṁbâḷalu-nâmadhêya-grâmaṁ** pûrvva-prasidhdha(ddha)-sîmâ-samanvitaṁ nidhi-nikshêpa-

43 jaḷa-pâshâṇ-ârâm-âdi-sahitaṁ tribhôg-âbhya[ṁ]taram=ashṭabhôga-têjaḥ-svâmya-yuktaṁ śulka-daṁḍ-âdi-sakaḷa-dravy-ôpârjjan-ôpêtaṁ **Śakanṛipakâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śa-**

44 **têshu chaturddaś-âdhikêshv=êkâdaśasu aṁkatô=pi 1114 varttamâna-Paridhâvi-saṁvatsar-ântarggata-Mârggaśîrsha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Śanaiśchara-vârê sôma-grahaṇê** tasya Kâḷamukh-â-

45 châryya-Sômêśvaradêva-praśishyasya Vidyâbharaṇadêva-śishyasya Satyavâky-âpara-nâmadhêyasya śrîmad-âchâryya-Sidhdhâ(ddhâ)ntichaṁdrabhûshaṇapaṁḍitadêvasya pâda-prakshâ-

46 lana[ṁ] kṛitvâ râjñâ râjakîyair=apy=anaṁguḷiprêkshaṇîyaṁ sarvvanamasyaṁ kṛitvâ dhârâ-pûrvvakaṁ bhaktyâ dattavân || ◎ Asya cha dharmmasya saṁrakshaṇê phaḷam=ida-

47 m=udâharanti sma tapô-mahima-sâkshâtkṛita-dharmma-sthitayô Manv-âdayô mah-arshayaḥ || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya

48 yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || Gaṇyantê pâṁsavô bhûmêr=ggaṇyantê vṛishṭi-biṁdavaḥ | na gaṇyatê Vidhâtr=âpi dharmma-saṁrakshaṇê phalam || Apaha-

49 rataḥ samartthasy=âpy=udâsînasya tair=êva viparîtam=api phalam=udâhṛitam || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâm | shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâ-

50 yâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ || Para-dattâṁ tu yô bhûmim=upahiṁsêt=kadâchana | sa badhdhô(ddhô) vâruṇaiḥ pâśaiḥ kshipyatê pûya-śôṇitê || Kulâni târayêt=karttâ

51 sapta sapta cha sapta cha | adhô ꞩdhaḥ pâtayêd=dharttâ sapta sapta cha sapta cha || Api Gaṁg-âdi-tîrtthêshu haṁtur=ggâm=atha vâ dvijam | nishkṛitiḥ syân=na dêvasva-brahmasva-hara-

52 ṇê nṛiṇâm || Viṁdhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-śâyinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇa-sarppâ hi jâyaṁtê dêva-dravy-âpahârakâḥ || Karmmaṇâ manasâ vâchâ yaḥ

53 samartthô=py=upêkshatê | sa syât=tad=aiva chaṁḍâla[ḥ*] sarvva-karmma-bahishkṛitaḥ || Ata êv=âha Râmachaṁdraḥ || Sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê

54 pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârtti(rtthi)v-êṁdrân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmachaṁdraḥ || Mad-vaṁśajâḥ para-mahîpa-

55 ti-vaṁśajâ vâ pâpâd=apêta-manasô bhuvi bhâvi-bhûpâḥ | yê pâlayanti mama dharmmam=imaṁ samagraṁ têshâṁ mayâ virachitô ꞩṁjaḷir=êsha

56 mûrdhni || ◎ **Ballâḷadêva-nṛipatêr=âdêśâd=Agniśarmmaṇâ** rachitâ | śâsana-padhdha(ddha)tir=êshâ sârasvata-sârvvabhaumêna(ṇa) ||

---

[1] Read *pushkariṇî*; but compare Pâli *pokkharaṇî*.

O

No. 11.—NILGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.; A.D. 866.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. And I edit it from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887. I edit it, partly because it is interesting in itself, and partly because it is closely connected with the Sirûr inscription, of the same date, of which a version has been given by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215 ff. A revised version of the latter record will be given shortly, in the course of some papers which will illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.[1] And it is convenient to publish the Nîlgund record first, because, as far as the words *Annigeṟeyoḷ=ire* in line 22, it was based on the same draft on which was based the same part of the Sirûr record, and, though on the one hand parts of it could hardly have been deciphered without the help of the Sirûr record, on the other hand it supplies a few *aksharas* which are illegible in the Sirûr record and could not be supplied from any other source.

Nîlgund is a village about twelve miles S. W. ½ W. from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tâluka of the Dhârwâr district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) as 'Neelgoond.' The modern form of the name is carried back to A.D. 1379 by the Ḍambaḷ grant of that year, which mentions the place, in Nâgarî characters and in a Sanskṛit verse, as **Nîlagunda.**[2] The present record gives its name in the older form of **Nîrgunda**;[3] the purport of it places Nîrgunda in a circle of villages known as **the Muḷgunda twelve,** which, again, it places in **the Beḷvola three-hundred district**; and **Muḷgunda,** from which the circle took its name, is, of course, the modern **Muḷgund,** about two miles on the south-east of Nîlgund. The **inscription** is on a stone tablet which was found standing in front of the house of Aṅgaḍi-Râchappa, in the village of Nîlgund.

At the top of the stone there are **sculptures,** of which the principal ones are the goddess Lakshmî, squatting and facing full-front, with an elephant, on each side, standing towards her: the tips of the trunks of the elephants, which are uplifted, meet above her head, and each of them holds something which may be either a flower or a water-pot or some sacred symbol; and above them, and perhaps supported by them, there is a smaller image, representing probably Vishṇu, squatting and facing full-front. Below the figure of Lakshmî, there is a *svastika*. On the proper right of the latter, there are a cow and a calf; and on the proper left, two objects which, in the sketch submitted to me, look like a thick-set bush and a flowering plant, each in a tub or stand.— The **writing** covers an area about 3′ 4½″ broad by 5′ 11½″ high. Lines 1 to 15 are in a state of fairly good preservation. Lines 16 to 25 have suffered a great deal of damage; and there are many syllables here, in addition to those which I have placed in square brackets, which could hardly have been deciphered with any certainty, if at all, without the help of the Sirûr inscription. Lines 26 to 35, also, are considerably damaged, but not to the same extent.— The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. They are of a good antique square and upright style, presenting an appearance much older than that of the characters of the Sirûr inscription, of the same date, of which a collotype will be published hereafter. And the size of them ranges from about ¾″ in the *ya* of *traya*, line 12, to about 1½″

[1] See a remark made on page 74 above.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 357, text line 129.

[3] The dental *nd* can be recognised clearly in the impression, both in *Nirggundada*, line 26, and in *Muḷgunda*, line 2; and it is, of course, exactly what we should expect. The Nîlgund inscription of A. D. 982, however, for some reason or other gives the name as Nîrguṇḍa, with the lingual *ṇḍ* (above, Vol. IV. p. 206, text line 20).

in the *la* of *Kulappayyaṁ*, line 22. Only the first part of the ink-impression, containing lines 1 to 13, is suitable for reproduction; and here the largest *akshara* seems to be the *kâ* of *kânt-êndu*, line 3, which is about $2\frac{1}{8}''$ high. The record uses final forms of *t* in line 16, of *n* in lines 28 and 33, of *r* in line 27, and of *ḷ* in lines 25 and 27 (twice). And it marks, in the usual way, the difference between the lingual *ḍ* and the dental *d*; this can be recognised in the *ḍâ* of *Gauḍân*, line 6, though the *akshara* is somewhat damaged. As regards palæography, the record, which belongs to the transitional period, favours the older rather than the later types, not only in general style, but also in details. The *kh* occurs twice: in *likhitaṁ*, line 35, it is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to decide whether we have there an old square *kh* rather loosely formed, or a later cursive *kh*; but in the *kha* of *śaṁkha*, line 12, No. 14, we have clearly the later cursive character. The *j* is damaged and undeterminable in *vijaya*, line 19, and *râjyâbhivṛiddhi*, line 20; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *j*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 19 and 20: in the lithograph, the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *ja* of *dhirâja*, line 9, No. 22. The *ṅ* occurs three times, in *ôttuṅga*, line 13 (the last *akshara* but one), and *Nṛipatuṅga*, line 17, and *saṁvatsaraṅgaḷ*, line 19-20: in each instance, it is damaged and not determinable with certainty; but such marks as are recognisable, indicate that in each case it follows the usual rule which connects it with the *j*, and is of the old square type, with the closed form. The *b* is damaged and undeterminable in *baraṁ*, line 17, and *bbrâhmaṇarumaṁ*, line 29; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *b*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 17 and 29: the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *bdha* of *labdha*, line 3, No. 24. The *l* is damaged and undeterminable in *Lattalûra*, line 16, *Lakshmîvallabhêndra*, line 17, *salutt-ire* and *kâlâtîta*, line 18, *salutt-ire*, line 20, *Kulappayyaṁ*, line 24, *kâlaṁ*, line 26, and *kâlê-kâlê pâlanîyô*, line 34: in the *li* of *maṇḍalikarkkaḷâ*, line 10, No. 23, and in the *lâ* of *lâñchanaṁ*, line 16, we have the later cursive *l*, and so also in the upper *l* in *vallabhô*, line 5, *ella*, line 12, and *kallaṁ*, line 35; but in every other instance we have unmistakably the old square *l*, and the intended form of it is illustrated very well by the *la* of *alaṁkṛitaṁ*, line 3, No. 20; the formation of it here exhibits, though not to a very marked extent, the prolongation, with a sweep to the right, of the downstroke that makes the end of the letter, which (as will be shewn more clearly hereafter) had been the first step in the development of the later cursive type from the old square type.— As regards the **language**, we have Sanskṛit ordinary verses in lines 1 to 8, and Sanskṛit benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 30 to 35, with, among them, a verse in praise of the god Vishṇu which seems rather out of place there; the remainder of the record is in Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record uses two words which are not included in dictionaries; namely, in line 10, *prâtirâjya*, employed in the sense of *pratirâja*, 'a hostile king;'[1] and in line 24, *râjaśrâvita*, for which the best translation seems to be 'a royal decree.'[2] In *Vâraṇâsiyuḷ*, line 27, we have the locative ending *uḷ*, which, in genuine records, is of sufficiently rare occurrence, as compared with the endings *oḷ* and *al*, to be

[1] See above, Vol. III. p. 104. I owe this reference to Prof. Kielborn.

[2] The word *râja-śrâvita*,— or *râjâ-śrâvita*, as sometimes written, and perhaps in the present record, but wrongly,— means, literally, 'caused to be heard by the king, spoken by the king.' It has been met with before, in an inscription of the period A.D. 680 to 696 at Baḷagâmi, where we have *râja-śrâvitam=âge*, "on a royal decree being (issued)," *i.e.* "under or in accordance with a royal decree" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, text line 11-12), and in an inscription of the period A.D. 733 to 747 at Aihoḷe, where we have *râjâ(ja)-śrâvitaṁ mahâjanamum naka(ga)ra-śrâvitaṁ*, "a decree by the king, a decree by the *Mahâjanas* and (*the people of*) the city" (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 286, text line 4-5; it may be noted here that, at the end of line 5 of this record, the correct reading is *Vâraṇâsioḷ*, for *Vâraṇâsiyoḷ*).— The Âḍûr inscription helps to illustrate the term, by giving us [*vi*]*śrâvya*, "having caused to be heard everywhere, having made proclamation" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 69, text line 7-8).— We have the same erroneous lengthening of the *a* of *râja* in *râjâ(ja)-rakshitaṁ dharmma*, "a religious grant protected by the king," in the Bêlûr inscription of A.D. 1021 or 1022 (*id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 274, text line 37).

worth noting.[1]— As regards **orthography**, the only points that present themselves are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in the word *srishṭi*, lines 12 and 33, though everywhere else the vowel seems to be used correctly; and (2) the occasional omission to double a consonant after *r*, in the second *jayati*, line 1, in *Gûrjarâṁś*, line 6, in *ârthaṁ*, line 25, in *brahma-svaṁ*, line 31, and in *nṛipâṇâṁ*, line 34.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I.**, who was on the throne from A.D. 814 or 815 to A.D. 877 or 878. It mentions him by also the *birudas* of **Atiśayadhavala, Lakshmîvallabhêndra,**[2] and **Nṛipatuṅga.** His proper name is not yet known. But, from the way in which his sovereignty is likened to the sovereignty of the god Vishṇu, and from the attribution to him, in that passage, of the *biruda* Lakshmîvallabhêndra or "chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmî or Fortune," and of the epithet *surâsuramardana* or "subduer of gods and demons," which would hardly be appropriate in any ordinary description of a king, it seems likely that his name either was Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu, or else was a name beginning with the word Vishṇu. It mentions an officer of his, named **Dêvaṇṇayya,** who,— residing at **Annigeṛe,**[3] which is the modern Aṇṇigere

[1] The following other instances, the dates of which are known or can be fixed approximately, may usefully be put together here, from genuine records, and from others for questioning which there are no *primâ-facie* grounds. *Vâraṇaśivaduḷ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, line 13; at Baḷagâmi; of the period A.D. 680 to 696: and, in line 15 of the same record, *eḷpattaṛuḷaṁ*, in which we have the copulative or emphatic ending *aṁ* after the *uḷ*. *Tiṁgaḷuḷ*, *pûrṇṇamâsaduḷ*, *vishupaduḷ*, *gâṇaduḷ*, and *Vâraṇâsiyuḷ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, lines 2 to 5; at Aihoḷe; A.D. 708. *Ûruḷ* and *okkaluḷ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., My. 55; at Varuṇa; A.D. 765 to 805. *Okkaluḷ* again; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 93; at Maṭakere; about A.D. 783. *Ma(?mâ)vindilaṛuḷ* and *nâyakaruḷ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 39, No. 2, lines 6, 8; at Gûlgânpode; A.D. 850 to 900, or somewhere thereabouts. *Pathaduḷ*, *besaduḷ*, and *kôṭeyuḷ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75; at Husukûru; A.D. 870-71. *Nâḍinuḷ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 103; at Kaṭṭemanuganahaḷḷi; A.D. 870-71 to about A.D. 908. *Nâḍuḷ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 134; at Nandigunda; A.D. 1021; and further on in this record we seem to have a very exceptional locative, *badagalaḷu* or *badagalaḷ*.— We can now recognise *uḷḷe*, as a development of the *uḷ*-ending, in *Maṅgaluḷḷe*, "at (*the village of*) Maṅgal," in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 103, line 8; at Mahâkûṭa; A.D. 696 to 733-34. And we have the same ending presented in *saṅghaduḷḷe* and *Kaḷvappinuḷḷe*, in *Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* Nos. 31, 34; date not yet fixed.

[2] See page 106 below, note 2.

[3] This name occurs in line 22 of the text. In other ancient records, as far as they have come under my notice, it is always written with the lingual *ṇṇ*,— Aṇṇigeṛe, and the vowel is sometimes marked long,— Aṇṇîgeṛe. A half-Sanskṛitised form, in which *taṭâka* is substituted for *keṛe*, occurs in a verse in a record of not long after A.D. 1176 (*Inscrs. at Srav.-Beḷ.* No. 42): the transcription gives there, also, the lingual *ṇṇ*; and the metre marks the vowel as short,— Aṇṇitaṭâka. Whatever may be the explanation of the use of the dental *nn* in the present record and in the Sirûr inscription, we may take it as tolerably certain that the more correct form of the name was always that with the lingual *ṇṇ*. The vowel, no doubt, was liable to be used either short or long.— As regards the etymology, the first component of the name may be a proper name; or it may be a variant of *aṇṇe* (1), 'excellence, purity,' or of *aṇṇe* (3),= *âṇi* (3), which occurs in *âṇikallu*, 'a hailstone,' and (see, particularly under *âli*, 1) may perhaps mean 'water, cloud, or rain;' or it may quite possibly stand for *haṇṇi*, 'the sunflower,' which we have in the name Haṇṇikeri (see further on in this note), on the analogy of *ôgu* for *hôgu* (above, Vol. V. p. 262). With the dental *nn*, there does not seem to be any word *anni*; and the words *anne* (1), (2), and (3), do not give any suitable meaning.— As regards the modern form, the compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, certifies it as 'Aṇṇîgêri,' with the lingual *ṇṇ* and the long *î*: but I feel tolerably certain that, in giving *gêri*,= *kêri*, 'a street,' instead of *gere*,= *kere*, 'a tank,' it does not even represent any correct modern custom outside official circles; for, to the best of my remembrance, the inhabitants of the town always pronounce the name as Aṇṇigere. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) has 'Anigeeree,' which rather suggests that the writer was thinking of *giri*, 'a hill.' The Map of the Dhârwâr Collectorate (1874) has 'Annehgeree,' which suggests that the person who then took down the name, heard, correctly, *gere*. The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) has 'Annigeri.' And the Dhârwâr volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* uses that same form; *e.g.* pp. 389, 440, 650, 651.— In connection with the official certification of the modern name as 'Aṇṇîgêri,' I may add the following remarks, which will be of use in respect of some other names also. In the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, there is a constant tendency to substitute *i* for the final *e* of nominal bases and verbal roots,— for instance, *mane*, 'a house,' will just as often, if not more frequently, be written *mani*, and *kare*, 'to call,' often becomes *kari*, for conjugational purposes; also, the old character *ṛ* has passed out of use altogether; and the mark which distinguishes the long *î*, *ê*, and *ô*, is rarely, if ever, used in writing. The result is that a nondescript word *keri* is

or Aṇṇigere, about twelve miles west of Gadag,— was governing the **Beḷvola three-hundred district.** And it mentions also a relative of Dêvaṇṇayya, probably named **Kulappayya,** who was governing the circle of villages known as **the Muḷgunda twelve.** The object of it is to record an assignment of the tax on clarified butter or ghee. The assignment was made under

used to represent, indifferently, either *kere* (*keṟe*), 'a tank,' or *kêri*, 'a street;' and it is impossible to decide which it represents, as the final of a place-name, unless one can hear the name pronounced by a resident of the village itself, or can find it in an ancient record. In cases in which I have been unable to ascertain whether the real termination is *kere* or *kêri*, I have used that nondescript word *keri*, as a reminder to myself that the name has not been determined; and it is for that reason that I have written, for instance, Kaṭṭageri, Beṇḍigeri, and Haṇṇikeri (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 448, note 1, 526, 556). There is, perhaps, more trouble with the words *kere* and *kêri* than in any other detail. But no one, who has not tried it in person, can realise how difficult it is to get at the really correct and undeniable spelling of many a place-name, unless some indication is derivable from an ancient record. My experience is that, among modern publications, the older sheets of the Indian Atlas, though by no means infallible, are in many respects the best guide, in spite of the want of any definite system in them, or rather, because no attempt was made in them to aim, in vain, at any uniformity of system on lines which, at that time, had hardly become definitely fixed even among scholars. The revised sheets are not so useful a guide, because in them (as also in the Bombay Survey sheets) the spelling is adapted to the modern official system. The chief features of this system are, the use of *a*, *á*, *i*, and *u*, instead of *u*, *a*, *ee*, and *oo*, and the use of *d*, instead of *r*, for the lingual *ḍ*. It would be good enough, if it were in safe hands; that is to say, under the control of someone who could determine the exact correct spelling everywhere, and could enforce the uniform use of it. But it is not in such hands. It frequently gives the long *á* where it ought to give the short *a*, and *vice versâ*. It has a particularly weak point in failing to make any distinction between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*, which latter usually appears as *r* in the older sheets of the Indian Atlas. It has produced such monstrosities as 'Kánara' and 'Kánarese,'—(supposed to be critical forms),— instead of the purely conventional but thoroughly well established words Kanara and Kanarese. And, as specific instances of the failure of this system in official hands, we may quote, from the Bombay Survey sheet No. 272 (1894), Kanvad and Kutvad, which are given there instead of Kanvád and Kutvád, and Shirti instead of Shirhatti, and, from sheet No. 239 (1887), Bagni, instead of Bágni (regarding these names, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX. p. 278 and note 23, p. 276, and p. 277, note 17). The best way to determine the real name of a place, is, naturally, to make local inquiries in person. And it is, of course, the cultivators and the hereditary village-officials,— not the district officials and their clerks,— who can best furnish information as to the true names of their villages. But what they pronounce, has frequently to be written down by an ordinary clerk who takes no real interest in the matter. And that is where all the mistakes come in now, and, apparently, came in in earlier times also.— In illustration of the way in which the cultivators can help towards the identification of ancient places, we may refer to the case of Bâgalkôṭ in the Bijâpur district. The cultivators call it Bâṅgaḍlkôṭe. This name is accounted for, though the exact form of it is not absolutely justified, by the fact that the ancient name of the place was Bâgaḍageyakôṭe, Bâgaḍigeyakôṭe (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 170). This name, adduced by the cultivators, first put me in the way of identifying Bâgaḍage with Bâgalkôṭ. And, in addition to the epigraphic passage which I then quoted, I may now refer to a record of A.D. 1049 at Sirûr, eight miles on the south-east of Bâgalkôṭ, which mentions *Bâgaḍagâ-râjapatha*, "the highway to Bâgaḍagâ."— In illustration of the way in which the cultivators preserve the real names of places, we may take the case of a village close on the east of Gadag and incorporated with that town for municipal purposes. The name of it is certified in *Bombay Places* as 'Beṭgêri;' and, I may add, in the Dhârwâr volume of the *Gazetteer* it appears as 'Bettigeri' (pp. 712, 713), which illustrates very well the vagaries of official practice. But the cultivators call it Baṭgere. And the ancient name occurs as Baṭṭakeṟe in a record of A.D. 888. In this instance, it happens, the official mistake, of substituting *kêri* for *kere*, is carried back to A.D. 1379 by the Ḍambaḷ grant, which mentions the place as Baṭṭagêri (*loc. cit.* in note 2 on page 98 above, text line 125), evidently as the result of an ancient official failing to catch the name correctly; and it may be remarked that the same record also mentions as Kaujagêri, in line 126, a neighbouring village, the name of which is found in a record of A.D. 933-34 as Kovujageṟe, or possibly Kovujaṁgeṟe.— I would make, here, a correction in the name of a village in the Karajgi tâluka, at which some early Kadamba copper-plate grants were obtained (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33 ff.). The name of it figures in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) as 'Dewgeeree,' and in the Map of the Dhârwâr Collectorate (1874) as 'Deogeree,' and in the Postal Directory (1879) as 'Deogiri,' and in the Dhârwâr volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer* as 'Devgiri' (p. 665). I was told that the cultivators call the place Dêvagere and Dêogere. But I was assured that that is a mistake, and that the real name is Dêvagiri. And I, therefore, gave the name as Dêvagiri in editing the grants in question, and elsewhere (*e.g.* above, Vol. V. p. 173). Subsequently, I was led to believe that the real name is Dêvagere; and I have used that form in, for instance, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 287. But I have since then found, from records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at the place itself, that the ancient name was Dêvaṁgêri,— sometimes perhaps written Dêvagêri, without the *anusvâra* in the second syllable. I also notice that the Native gentleman, to whom I was indebted in the first instance for impressions of them, wrote the name, on the first of the impressions, as Dêvagiri in English characters (according to official custom),

the authority of a *râjaśrâvita* or royal decree[1] of Amôghavarsha I. And it was made to the hundred-and-twenty *Mahâjanas* of **Nirgunda,**— doubtless in order to make the proceeds of the tax available for expenditure by them on communal purposes, instead of being credited to the royal revenues.[2]

The passages containing the details of **the date** are partly illegible. But enough can be deciphered to shew that the date of this record is the same as the date of the Sirûr record. The full details, then, are an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyaishṭha of the Vyaya *saṁvatsara*, Śaka-Saṁvat 788, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Amôghavarsha I. And the corresponding English date is Sunday, **16th June, A.D. 866,** when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India, at 9 h. 4 min. after mean sunrise.[3]

TEXT.[4]

1 Ôm[5] [||*] Jaya[t]i[6] bhuvana-kâraṇaṁ Svayaṁbhur=jayati Purandara-nandanô Murâriḥ jayati Giri-

2 [s]utâ-niruddha-dêhô durita-bhay-âpaharô Haraś=cha dêvaḥ [||*] Sa[7] vô=vyâd= Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâ-

3 [bhi]-kamala[ṁ] kṛitaṁ Haraś=cha yasya kânt-êndu-kalayâ kam=alaṁkṛitaṁ [||*] Labdha[8]-pratishṭham=achirâya

4 [Ka]li[ṁ] su-dûrâ(ra)m=utsâryya śuddha-charitô(tai)r=ddharaṇî-talasya kṛitvâ punaḥ Kṛitayuga-śrî(śri)yam=a-

5 [p]y=aś[ê]shâṁ chitraṁ kathaṁ **Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhô-bhût** [||*] **Prabhûtavarshô**[9] **Gôvinda-râjâ(jaḥ)**[10] śauryyêshu

6 vikramaḥ[11]. jitvâ jagat=samastaṁ yat=**Jagattuṁga** iti[12] śrutaḥ [||*] **Kêraḷa-**[13] **Mâḷava-Gauḍân**[14]**-sa-**[15]**Gûrjarâ[ṁ]ś-Chi-**

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but as Dêvagêrî in the Môḍî or current Marâṭhî characters. And I entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call it, is, not Dêvagere (as reported to me), but Dêvagêri, and that this is the form that ought to be used for the future.

[1] See page 99 above, and note 2.

[2] See note 4 on page 107 below.

[3] See Prof. Kielhorn's result in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 123, No. 59, and Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 198, No. 4939, and Plate 99.— The week-day is specified in the Sirûr record, but not here. — The Śaka year 788 has to be taken as the expired year: for, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, by the mean-sign system the Vyaya *saṁvatsara* lasted from the 23rd September, A.D. 865 (in Ś.-S. 788 current) to the 19th September, A.D. 866 (in Ś.-S. 788 expired), and by the southern lunar-solar system Vyaya was Ś.-S. 789 current (788 expired), = A.D. 866-67,— (as also by the northern system of the same kind).

[4] From the ink-impression.

[5] Represented by a plain symbol; and so also in lines 9 and 30.

[6] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

[7] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[8] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[9] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[10] The Sirûr inscription, line 3, has precisely the same reading, *Prabhûtavarshô Gôvinda-râjâ*. The run of the metre would have been better suited by *Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindô râjâ*.

[11] Sirûr, line 3, has the same, *śauryyêshu vikramaḥ*; but the *ê* of the *ryyê* was omitted at first and then was added by way of correction. It would be difficult to make any sense of *śauryy-êshu-vikramaḥ* 'having heroism-arrow-prowess;' and it can hardly be thought that *śauryyêshu Vikramaḥ*, "a very Vikrama in deeds of heroism," was intended. I can only suggest that the words are a mistake for *śauryyêṇa vikramaiḥ*, or else that the text is altogether corrupt here.

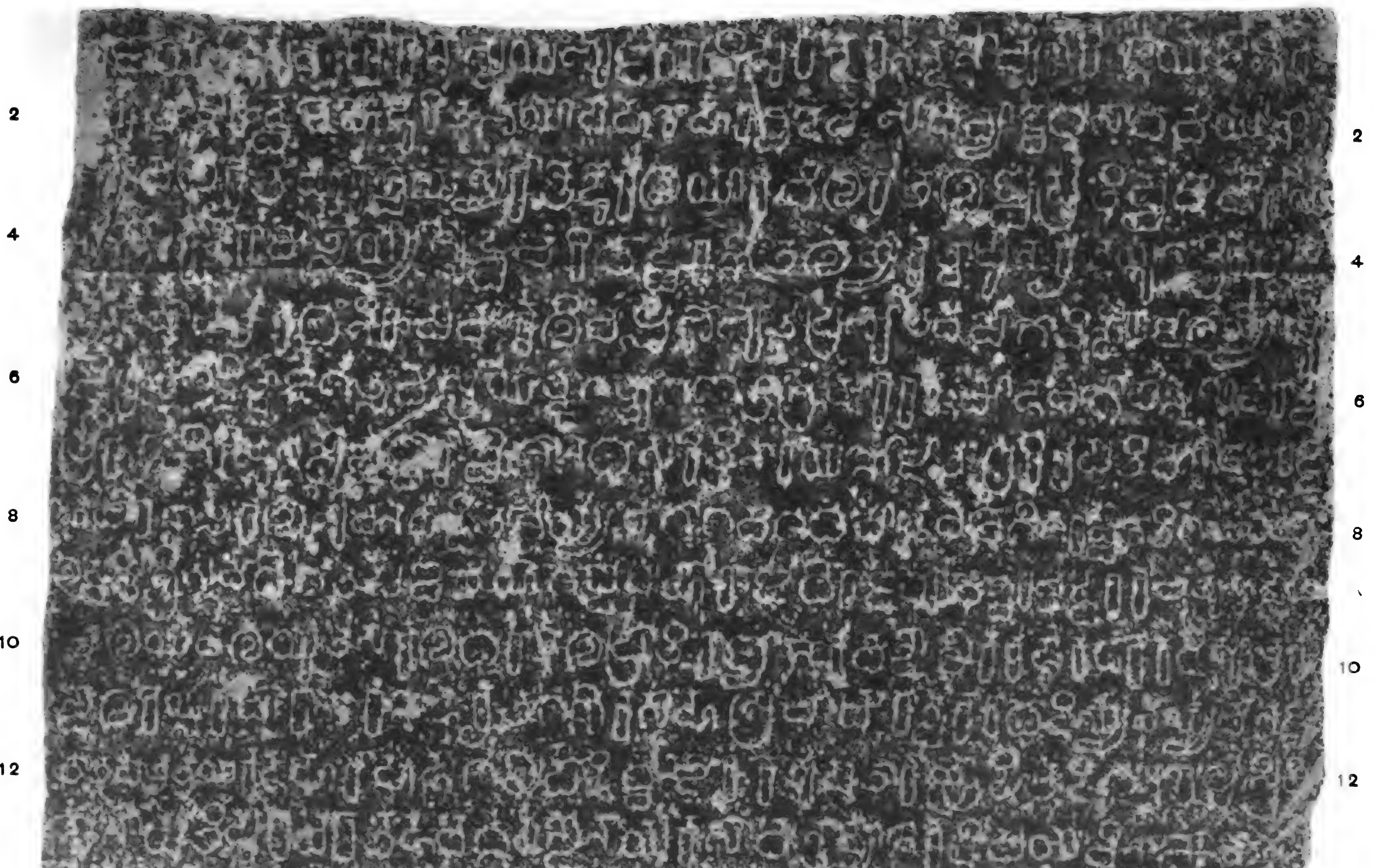
[12] Read *yaj=Jagattuṁga*, which, however, in view of the past participle *jitvâ*, must probably be treated as a mistake for *yô Jagattuṁga*. In Sirûr, line 4, the pronoun was omitted altogether and the reading is [*sama*]*st*[*aṁ*] *Jagat*[*t**]*uṅga*.

[13] Metre; the first two *pâdas* are Âryâgîti, and the last two are Âryâ: or, we may say, the verse is an Âryâgîti, in the last *pâda* of which the metre of an Âryâ has been followed. There is a mixture of metres again in the next verse.

[14] Sirûr, line 4, has *Śauḍân*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct.

[15] Sirûr, line 4, has *Gujjarâ*: it gives the short *u*, according to the undoubtedly more correct spelling of the name in the second syllable, it omits the *r*; and,— as the writer seems to have intended *Gurjjarân* without *saṁdhi* with the following word,—it omits a final *n*.

Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarsha I.—A.D. 866.



J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ·20

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

7 **trakûṭa**-giridu[r]gga-sthân=ba[d*]dhvâ **Kâñch-îśân**=atha sa **Kirttinârâyaṇô** jâtaḥ[1] [||*] Ari[2]-nṛipati-makuṭa-ghaṭṭi-

8 ta-charaṇas=sakala-bhuvana-vandita-śauryyaḥ **Vaṁg-Âṁga-Magadha-Mâḷava-Veṁg**-îśê(śai)r=archchitô=**Tiśayadhava[ḷaḥ]** [||*]

9 Ôm Svasti Śrî[3] Samadhigatapañchamahâśabda-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭâraka chatur-udadhi-

10 valaya-valayu(yi)ta[4]-sakala-dharâtala-prâtirâjy[5]-ânêka-maṇḍalikarkkaḷâ kaṭaka-kaṭi-sûtra-ku-

11 ṇḍala-kêyûra-hârâ[bha]raṇ-âḷaṁkṛita-gaṇika-sâhasra[6]-châmar-ândhakâr-âdhô-diryya-viryyamâna[7]-śvi(śvê)-

12 t-âtapatra-traya-kaḷaha-kâhaḷa[8]-śaṁkha-pâḷidhvaj-ôru[9]kêtu-patâk-âchchhâdita-digantar-ella sri(śri)shṭi-

13 sênâpati puravara-taḷavargga-daṇḍanâyaka-sâmant-âdy-ânêka[10]-vishaya-vinâm[n]-[11] ôttu[ṅ]ga-[ki]-

14 rîṭa-makuṭa-ghṛishṭa-pâdâravinda-yugma nirjjita-v[ai]ri ripu-nivaha-Kâla-daṇḍa dushṭa-mada-bha[ṁ]janan[12]=a-

15 môgha-Râmaṁ para-chakra-pañchânanaṁ sur-âsura-marddanaṁ vairi-bhaya-[ka]raṁ badd[e]-ma[nô]haraṁ a[bh]imâna-

16 man[d]iraṁ **Raṭṭa-vaṁś**-ôdbhava[ṁ] Garuḍa-lâñcha(ñchha)naṁ[13] ṭiv[i]ḷi-paṛeghôshaṇa[ṁ **Lattalûra-p]u[ra]-paramêśvara**[ṁ] śrîmat

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[1] Sirûr, line 5, has *jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*.

[2] Metre; the first two *pâdas* are Âryâ, and the last two are Udgîti; or we may say, the verse is an Âryâ, in the last *pâda* of which the metre of an Udgîti has been followed.

[3] Sirûr, line 6, omits the *Ôm* and the *Śrî*.

[4] Sirûr, line 7, also has *yuta*.— Prof. Kielhorn has given me, from the *Daśakumâracharita*, the quotation *ratnâkara-vêlâ-mêkhalâ-valayita-dharaṇî*, which suggests that the original source of the draft used in this record had *chatur-udadhi-vêlâ-valayita, etc.* Compare, in some respects, lines 1, 2 of the Bêgûr record (page 48 above).

[5] Sirûr, line 8, also has *prâtirâjy*. [6] Read *gaṇikâ-sahasra*.

[7] Sirûr, line 9, has *ândhakâra-vâdiyya-viyya-mâna*. The words *vîrya*, 'bravery, or heroism,' and *mâna*, 'pride,' seem altogether inappropriate in this passage. And I can only suggest that the intended reading was *ândhakâra-dâdîpyamâna*, or else that there may have been meant *dôdhûyamâna*, "being waved to and fro like fans," which we have in line 47 of the Kadaba grant (above, Vol. IV. p. 342), applied, however, to *chauris*, not to white umbrellas.

[8] Sirûr, line 9, omits this word, *kâhaḷa*.

[9] The reading is quite distinct here. And it can be recognised, now, that in Sirûr, line 7, the writer or engraver first formed, instead of *ru*, the *k* of *kêtu*, and then, before attaching the *ê*, corrected the *k* into *r*, and then added the *u*. This disposes of the *ôkakêtu*, the "banner of a bird, or bird-ensign," which I thought was indicated by the Sirûr inscription.

[10] Sirûr, line 10, has the same reading, *âdy-ânêka*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct. *Âdy-anêka* would be more in accordance with custom. But the use of *âdya* instead of *âdi* in such a combination, though somewhat unusual, is hardly to be treated as a mistake.

[11] In Sirûr, line 10-11, the reading is very clear,— *vishaya-vinâmn-ôttuṅga*, except that the *vi* of *vinâmn* is rather intermediate between *vi* and *dhi*. And the reading is equally certain here, though the subscript *n* of *vinâmn* is a good deal damaged. We might accept *vinâmna* as a mistake for the usual Sanskṛit word *vinamra*, 'bent down,' *etc.*, or for a word *vinamna* which might be justified by the use of *namna* by Kanarese authors as an equivalent of *namra*, 'bowing, bent,' *etc.* (see Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, under *namna* and *namnîkṛita*; and I think that I have met with either *namna, nâmna, vinamna*, or *vinâmna* in Kanarese records, though I cannot at present find the passages). But, as has been pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, no such word would give any suitable meaning here, and what is needed after *âdy-ânêka* is some expression meaning 'chief or ruler of a district.' I am inclined to think, therefore, that what was really intended was *vishay-âdhinâth-ôttuṅga*.

[12] From this point, the present record,— and the Sirûr inscription also,— pays more attention to the case-endings of the nominatives in *a*, which are disregarded altogether in the preceding part of this passage. Sirûr, line 11-12, has here a reading which indicates that there was intended there *bhañjanan amôgha*, without *saṁdhi*.

[13] Sirûr, line 13, has the same mistake, *ñcha* for *ñchha*.

17 Amôghavarsha[1]-Nṛipatu[ṅ]ga-nâm-â[ṁ]kita-[La]kshmîva[lla]bhêndra[2] chandr-âditya-kâlaṁ-[baraṁ][3] [ma]hâ-Vishṇ[u]va râjyaṁ-bol=uttar-ôttaraṁ[4]

18 râjy-âbhi[vṛi]ddhi sa[l]utt-ire Śaka-nṛipa-kâ[l-â]tîta-saṁvatsara-śata[ṁ]gaḷ=êḷ-n[ûṟ]-eṇbhatt-eṇṭa][5]neya Vyaya-[saṁva]tsara[ṁ] pra-

19 [va]rttise [śrî]ma[d-A]môghava[rsha]-Nṛi[pa]tu[ṁ]ga-[nâm-âṁkitanâ vijaya-râ]jya-pravarddhamâna-saṁvatsa[ra]-

20 [ṅ]gaḷ=ayva[tt-eraḍum=uttar-ô][6]ttaraṁ [râjy-âbhivṛiddhi[7] sal]u[tt-i]re A[ti]śa[yadha]vaḷa-narê[n]d[ra]-dê[va][8]-prasâda[dind=A]-

21 môgha[varsha]-dêva-p[â]dapa[ṁ]kaja-[bhra]mara[ṁ] viśishṭa-ja[n-âśrayan=a]ppa śrîmad-Dêvaṇṇayyaṁ Beḷvo[la]-

22 mûnûṟuman=âḷuttuṁ Anni[9]geṟeyoḷ=ire â[ta]na ma[y]du[naṁ] Kulappayya[ṁ][10] Muḷgunda-pa-

23 nneraḍuman=âḷutt-ire ta[d-a]ntarggata[11]-Jyêshṭa[12]-mâsada krish[ṇ]a-pakshad=amâseyu[ṁ][13] sûryya-graha-

24 ṇamum=âgi[14] Ku[lappa]yya[ṁ]-binnapa[ṁ]-g[e]yye Dêvaṇṇayya[ṁ] Amôgha-varshadêvaroḷ râja(?jâ)-śrâ-

25 vitaṁ-mâḍi tad-anuma[ta]dind=irvvoruṁ mâtâ[pi]tṛi . . . . . .[15]m-â[r]thaṁ [p]uṇyam=âg[iy=â] grahaṇado[ḷ]

26 Nîrggundada nûṟ-irppadiṁbaruṁ mahâjanada kâ[la]ṁ kaḷchi tuppa-deṟeya[ṁ] sa-bhôga-sâda(dha)-

27 kam-âgi biṭṭo[r] [||*] Î dharmmama[ṁ k]âdoṁ Vâraṇâsiyuḷ sûryya-grahaṇadoḷ sâsira kavile-

28 yaṁ vêda-vidarkkaḷ=appa brâhmaṇarkkaḷge koṭṭa puṇya-phalaman=a(?e)yduvon idan=aḷid-uṇṭ-[â]vaṁ

29 sâsira kavileyuṁ[16] sâsi[r]vvar=[bbr]âhmaṇarumaṁ Vâraṇâ[s]iyuman=aḷida pañcha-mahâpâka-

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[1] Read *śrîmad-Amôghavarsha*. Sirûr, line 13, omits the *Amôghavarsha* here, and has *śrî-Nṛipatuṅga*.

[2] Sirûr, line 14, has the same reading, *vallabhêndra*. But the construction requires the genitive, *vallabhêndrana* or *vallabhêndranâ*.

[3] Sirûr, line 14, has *chandr-âdityara kâlaṁ-varegaṁ*. In the present record, there are only two *aksharas* after *kâlaṁ*, both much damaged. The first of them seems to be *ba*, rather than *va*. The second of them may be *raṁ*, in which case *baraṁ* was written, quite correctly; or it may be *gaṁ* in which case *bagaṁ* was written by mistake for *baregaṁ*.

[4] Sirûr, line 14, divides the words, and has *râjyaṁ-bol uttar-ôttaraṁ*.

[5] The *aksharas* given here in square brackets are supplied entirely from Sirûr, line 15. But there is no doubt about the correctness of them, as the name of the *saṁvatsara* is quite recognisable, and so also are the other details in line 23.

[6] The preceding note applies here also.

[7] Sirûr, line 17, gives *râjy-âbhivṛiddhi*; and the same seems to have been the reading here also. But we require in this place the instrumental *râjy-âbhivṛiddhiyiṁ*. The nominative seems to have been carelessly repeated from line 18 above, where it is quite correct.

[8] Sirûr, line 17, omits the *dêva*.

[9] Sirûr, line 19, makes *saṁdhi*, and has *âḷuttum=Anni*. As regards the *nni*, which is quite distinct here as well as in the Sirûr inscription, but is probably a mistake for *ṇṇi*, see page 100 above, note 3.

[10] Both here, and in line 24, there seems to be the vowel *u* attached to the *k*. But the name may perhaps be Kalappayya, or even Kâlappayya.

[11] Read *tad-varsh-ântarggata*.

[12] Read *Jyêshṭha*; or, more correctly, *Jyaishṭha*.

[13] Sirûr, line 19, has *amaseyum*, with the short *a* in the second syllable. Either form is admissible. The week-day, which is specified in the Sirûr inscription, is omitted here.

[14] Sirûr, line 19, has the infinitive form *âge*, instead of the past participle which we have here.

[15] Three *aksharas* are quite illegible in the ink-impression here. We should expect something like *śrêyô-dharm-ârthaṁ*, *puṇy-âpyâyan-ârthaṁ*, *puṇy-âbhivṛiddhy-arthaṁ*, *etc.*; but none of these expressions adapts itself to such traces as are discernible.

[16] Read *kavileyumaṁ*, since we have *brâhmaṇarumaṁ* instead of *brâhmaṇaruṁ*.

30 takan[1]=akkuṁ Ôm [||*] Vyâsa-vâkyaṁ [|*] Sva[2]-da[ttâṁ] para-dattâ[ṁ] vâ yô harêti[3] vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâ-
31 ṇi vishṭhâyâṁ j[â]yatê kṛimiḥ [||*] [Dê]va-s[v]aṁ visham=ity=[â]hur=brahma-svaṁ visham=[u]chyatê visham=êk[â]kinaṁ hanti bra-
32 hma-sva[ṁ] putra-pautrika[ṁ] [||*] Brahma-svaṁ praṇayâd=bhuktvâ dahaty=â-saptamaṁ kulaṁ v[i]kramêṇa [yê] bhôjyantê[4] daśa pû-
33 rvvân=daś=âvarân [||*] Jayati [s]thiti-sa[ṁ]hâra-sri(sṛi)shṭikâra[ṇa]-kâraṇa[ṁ] Harir=dditija-kânt-âsya-kuśê[śaya]-himâgama[ḥ] [||*]
34 Sâmânyô[5]=yaṁ dharmma-s[êt]ur=nṛipâ[ṇâṁ] kâlê]-kâ[lê pâlanî]yô bhavadbhiḥ sarvvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârtthivêndrân=[bhûyô]-
35 bhûyô yâchatê Râmabha[draḥ] [||*] . . . . [6] bhaṭṭara likhitaṁ ī kallaṁ Nâgamuḍḍa(?)na(?) . . . . [7] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm !— (Verse 1; line 1). Victorious is Svayaṁbhu (Brahman), the cause of the world; victorious is Murâri (Vishṇu), the son of Puraṁdara (Indra);[8] and victorious is the god Hara (Śiva), whose body is imprisoned by (*the embraces of*) (Pârvatî) the daughter of the mountain (Himâlaya), and who removes sin and fear !— (V. 2; l. 2). May he (Vishṇu) protect you, the water-lily (*growing*) in whose navel is made a habitation by Vêdhas (Brahman); and Hara, whose head is adorned by a lovely digit of the moon !

(V. 3; l. 3). Since, with his pure actions, he in no long time drove far away from the surface of the earth Kali who had secured a footing there, and made again complete even the splendour of the Kṛita age, it is wonderful how **Nirupama-(Dhruva)** became (*also known as*) **Kalivallabha.**[9]

(V. 4; l. 5). (*There was his son*)[10] **Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja (III.)**, who, having conquered the whole world by his heroism and deeds of prowess (?),[11] was known as **Jagattuṅga.** — (V. 5; l. 6). Having fettered the people of **Kêraḷa** and **Mâḷava and Gauḍa**, and, together

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[1] Read *pâtakan*. The *ta* stands in the margin, before the *ka*. There are some indications that an attempt was first made to supply the *ta* below the *pâ* of the preceding line.

[2] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next three verses.

[3] Read *harêt=tu*; or *harati*.

[4] Read *bhôkshyantê*; or *bhuñjatê*.

[5] Metre, Śâlinî.

[6] Eight or nine *aksharas* are illegible here.

[7] Four or five *aksharas* are illegible here.

[8] The reading *Purandara-nandanô* is quite clear and unmistakable in the present record, and in line 1 of an inscription of A.D. 897-98 at Chiñchli in the Gadag tâluka, and evidently in also the impressions of an inscription at Kâlañjar, referred to "about the eighth century," from which the verse has already been brought to notice by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. V. p. 210, note 3). And it seems impossible to translate the word otherwise than by "son of Puraṁdara." But, Vishṇu was one of the *svayaṁbhu* or self-existing gods; the later mythology represents him as the younger brother of Indra; and, as yet, we know of no other statement that would make him a son of Indra, and we know the expression "son of Indra" only as an epithet of the monkey-king Vâlin, of Arjuna, and of Jayanta.

[9] This verse is met with, earlier, in lines 13, 14 of the Waṇi grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157), in the description of Dhôra, *i.e.* Dhruva; and we know from that record that Nirupama and Kalivallabha were *birudas* of Dhruva. The *primâ-facie* meaning of the *biruda* Kalivallabha would be "favourite of Kali,"— Kali being the personification of the present age. But the verse points out that it would be curious that an enemy of Kali should be called the favourite of Kali. And, either the *biruda* means "the favourite of brave men," or else, as has been suggested to me by Dr. Hultzsch, we must explain it by taking *kali* in its meaning of 'dissension, war, battle,' in which case we may render the appellation by "fond of war."

[10] In this and the following two verses, there are no verbs except past participles. I supply, in such terms as seem appropriate, that which appears necessary to complete the construction. It seems likely that these three verses are detached excerpts from some longer composition, which has not yet come to notice in the records of the dynasty; just as the preceding verse about Nirupama-Kalivallabha is an excerpt from the full description of Dhruva given in the Waṇi grant (see the preceding note).

[11] See page 102 above, note 11.

with **the Gûrjaras,** those who dwell in the hill-fort of **Chitrakûṭa,** and then the lords of **Kâñchî,** he became (*known as*) **Kîrtinârâyaṇa.**[1]

(V. 6; l. 7). (*And then there came his son*) **Atiśayadhavaḷa-(Amôghavarsha I.),** whose feet are rubbed by the diadems of hostile kings (*bowing down before him*), and whose heroism is praised throughout the whole world, and who is worshipped by the lords of **Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mâḷava, and Vengî.**

(Line 9)— Ôm! Hail! Fortune! While, to an extent ever greater and greater, the increase of the sovereignty of him, **Lakshmîvallabhêndra,**[2] who is distinguished by the name of the glorious **Amôghavarsha-Nṛipatuṅga,**— the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara* and *Bhaṭṭâraka* who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*;[3] he who has covered all the territories of the numerous chieftains[4] of the hostile kings, over the whole surface of the earth which is girdled by the belt of the four oceans, with his thousands of courtesans decorated with waistbands and belts round their hips and ear-rings and armlets and necklaces, and with the darkness (*caused by the multitude*) of his *chaurîs*, and with his very brightly shining (?) three white umbrellas, and with his battle-horns and conches, and with his broad standard of the *pâḷidhvaja*-banner and his (*other*) flags; he who is a born leader of armies; he whose feet, resembling water-lilies, are rubbed by the lofty tiaras and diadems (*bowed down before him*) of *Daṇḍanâyakas* (*in charge*) of capitals and groups of places,[5] and of chieftains and other lords of districts (?); he who has conquered his foes; he who is a very staff of Death to the host of his enemies; he who breaks down the pride of wicked people; he who is a very unfailing Râma; he who is a very lion to the army of his enemies; he who subdues gods and demons; he who causes fear to his foes; he who captivates the minds of truthful women;[6] he who is the habitation of haughtiness; he who has been born in **the race of the Raṭṭas**; he who has **the Garuḍa-crest**; he who is heralded in public with the sounds of **the musical instrument called ṭiviḷi**; (*he who has the hereditary title of*) **supreme lord of the town of Lattalûra,**— was continuing, like the sovereignty of the great Vishṇu, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun might last:—

(L. 18)— **While the Vyaya saṁvatsara, the seven [hundred and eighty-eighth] of the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings, was current; and while the**

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[1] *I.e.* "a very Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) in fame." A verse in the description of Gôvinda III. in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 presents this *biruda* in the form of Kîrtipurusha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 24). I then translated it by "the personification of fame." But there is no real authority for that. And, on the other hand, Purusha was Vishṇu, who, again, was Nârâyaṇa; and the composer of that verse evidently used Kîrtipurusha instead of Kîrtinârâyaṇa, simply to suit his convenience in framing his lines.— The Sirûr version of the verse has, instead of *jâtaḥ, jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*,— "he (*became known as*) Kîrtinârâyaṇa on the earth." The Chiñchli inscription of A.D. 897-98 (mentioned in note 8 on page 105 above), however, presents clearly *jâtaḥ*, again. And *jâta*, which means ordinarily 'born,' seems to be used here in the meaning of 'happened, become, present, apparent, manifest.'

[2] We might take this as simply an epithet, and translate it by "the chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmî or Fortune." But various analogies justify us in finding in this word a formal *vallabha*-appellation of Amôghavarsha I., which in its simplest form would be Lakshmîvallabha.

[3] The present passage is one of a limited number in which this epithet is applied to paramount sovereigns. Two other instances have been given by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296, note 9; and a few others will be adduced on some more convenient occasion.

[4] The genitive *maṇḍalikarkaḷâ* seems to be governed by *digantar-ella*, the last member of the following compound, rather than by any of the preceding members of it.

[5] From *taḷavarga*, which we have here and in Sirûr, line 10, we have *Talavargin*, which occurs as an official title in Vol. IV. above, p. 258, text line 14.

[6] Kittel's Dictionary gives *badde*, 'a truthful woman,' and indicates that it is a feminine form of *badda*, 'firm, true,' which is a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *baddha*. The whole word *badde-manôhara*,— half Kanarese, half Sanskṛit,— is a *viruddha-samâsa* (more popularly known as an *arisamâsa*), "an incongruous or improper compound, a compound of heterogeneous words or words dissimilar in kind," which, according to the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, sûtra 174, is allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*.

fifty-[second] of the augmenting years of the victorious reign of him who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nṛipatuṅga was continuing (with) an increase of sovereignty to an extent ever greater and greater:—

(L. 20)— While, by the favour of his majesty the king **Atiśayadhavaḷa,** the illustrious **Dêvaṇṇayya,** a very bee on the water-lilies that are the feet of **Amôghavarshadêva** and a very asylum for excellent people, was dwelling **at Annigeṛe,**[1] governing **the Beḷvola three-hundred ;** and while his [brother-in-law][2] **Kulappayya** was governing **the Muḷgunda twelve :—**

(L. 23)— **When it was the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha in that [year*], and when there was an eclipse of the sun,—** on **Kulappayya** making a request, **Dêvaṇṇayya** obtained a royal decree from **Amôghavarshadêva,**[3] and, with his (Amôghavarsha's) approval, the two of them, for the . . . . of their parents, in a meritorious manner, **at the time of that eclipse,** laved the feet of the hundred-and-twenty *Mahâjanas* of **Nirgunda,** and relinquished[4] *(to them)* the tax on clarified butter, with a conveyance of the usufruct of it.

(L. 27)— He who protects this act of religion shall attain the reward of the merit of giving at Vâraṇâsi, at the time of an eclipse of the sun, a thousand tawny-coloured cows to Brâhmaṇs who know the Vêdas ; whosoever destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the five great sins of destroying a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brâhmaṇs and Vâraṇâsi![5] Ôm! And there is the saying of Vyâsa :— (V. 7 ; l. 30). He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty

[1] Regarding the second syllable of this name, as written here, see page 100 above, note 3.

[2] The meanings given to *mayduna* in Kittel's Dictionary, which seem to mark clearly the relationship that is ordinarily intended, are 'a sister's husband, a husband's brother, a wife's brother ;' and other meanings are 'a connection, friend, or husband,' and 'a brother's son in his relation to a sister's son.' Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives (under *maiduna,* which is the same word) 'the son of a mother's brother, or of a father's sister, or a man's brother-in-law, if younger than one's self ;' and on this authority I have, I think, sometimes translated it by 'cousin.'

[3] *Lit.,* "Dêvaṇṇayya having made a *râjaśrâvita* on Amôghavarshadêva." For *râjaśrâvita,* 'a royal decree,' see page 99 above, note 2.

[4] *Biḍu* means 'to let loose, to quit hold, to let go, to leave, to abandon, to give up,' *etc., etc.* We might perhaps understand it to mean here that the tax in question was abolished. But the verb is often used, in the ancient records, in the place of *koḍu,* 'to give ;' that is to say, in the sense of 'to relinquish, to assign ;' see, for instance, Vol. IV. above, p. 65, text line 23, and p. 353, lines 21, 34, and Vol. V. p. 25, lines 25, 26, 28, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, line 12, and Vol. XII. p. 225, line 19, p. 256, line 18, and p. 271, line 17-18 : and the causal *biḍisu* occurs in the sense of 'causing to relinquish, assign, or allot,' in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 225, line 10. The expression *sa-bhôga-sâdhakam-âgi,* "in a manner accomplishing or effecting the enjoyment, with a conveyance of the usufruct," seems to shew clearly that it must be taken in that sense here. And there are three other references to the same matter, of the same period, one of which distinctly specifies a grant of the tax in question. The Sirûr inscription, of precisely the same date (see page 98 above), records that Dêvaṇṇayya, while governing the Beḷvola three-hundred, laved the feet of the two-hundred *Mahâjanas* of Śrivûra and relinquished *(to them)* (*biṭṭoṁ*) the *tuppadeṟe.* An inscription at Soraṭûr, dated, without full details, in the same year, the Vyaya *saṁvatsara,* Śaka-Saṁvat 788 (expired), = A.D. 866-67, records that, while he was governing the Purigeṟe *nâḍ,* the *Mahâsâmanta* Kuppeyarasa "graciously abandoned (*uḻidoṁ*) the *tuppadeṟe* to the fifty (*Mahâjanas*) of Saraṭavura." And an inscription at Gâwarawâḍ, dated in Ś-S. 791 (expired), in A.D. 869, records that, while he was still governing the Beḷvola three-hundred, Dêvaṇṇayya, under a royal decree (*râjaśrâvita*), "laved the feet of the *Mahâjanas* and . . . . of Gavadivâḍa, and gave *(to them)* (*dânaṁ-goṭṭa*) the *tuppada teṟe,* to continue as long as the moon and sun should last." — It seems probable, now, that *biḍu* should be taken in the same sense of 'assigning' in line 6 of the Baḷagâmi inscription of the time of Vinayâditya and the Sêndraka prince Pogilli (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 144). And the purport of that record, accordingly, will be that Kândarba, under a royal decree, conferred a favour on the specified establishments, *etc.,* by assigning to them the specified fees and duties.

[5] One might, perhaps, rather expect "at Vâraṇâsi." But plenty of other cases might be quoted, in which the accusative is used just as it is here. We may quote, in particular, lines 13, 14 of the Doḍḍabuṇḍi inscription (page 44 above), where the destruction of only Vâraṇâsi is mentioned.

thousand years!—(V. 8; l. 31). They say that the property of a god is poison;[1] and the property of a Brâhmaṇ is said to be poison: but poison kills only one person; whereas the property of a Brâhmaṇ kills one's sons and grandsons!—(V. 9; l. 32). If a man enjoys the property of a Brâhmaṇ through (*breach of*) trust, he burns his family to the seventh generation; and those who enjoy it by force (*burn*) ten ancestors and ten descendants!—(V. 10; l. 33). Victorious is the god Hari (Vishṇu),[2] the cause of continuance and destruction and creation, who is a very winter to the water-lilies that are the faces of the wives of the demons![3]—(V. 11; l. 34). "This general bridge of religion of kings should at all times be preserved by you;" thus does Râmabhadra make his earnest request to all future princes!

(L. 35)—Written by . . . . . bhaṭṭa. Nâgamuḍḍa (?) [set up] this stone.

No. 12.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

BY H. LÜDERS, PH. D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of these two inscriptions were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn. The **first**[4] is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying on the ground near the steps leading to the temple on the hill at **Maṅgalagiri,** 12 miles north-east of Guṇṭûr in the Kistna district.

It contains 257 lines of writing.—The average **size of the letters** is ¾". At the top of the fourth face is a representation of the sun and the moon.—The **alphabet** is Telugu. The chief points in which it differs from the modern script are the following. The *talakaṭṭu* is a flattened semi-circle. The *dîrghamu* goes right down to the bottom of the line, except in *ṭâ*, *ṇâ* and *hâ*, where it is represented by the curve above the line which in the modern alphabet appears in *hâ* only. The *guḍi* is like the upper half of a circle, and to denote *î*, the tip is sometimes slightly curved inwards; see *e.g.* *sî* in l. 241. But in most cases it is absolutely impossible to distinguish between the long and the short vowel, except in *mî*, which appears in the modern form (l. 25). Medial *ê* has the form of a sickle or a semi-circle open to the left. In *mau* (ll. 54, 107), *yau* (l. 63), and *ryau* (l. 224) the diphthong is expressed by attaching the ordinary sign for *au* to the right of the letter and the sign for *ê* to the middle bar or to the *r*. Initial *a*, *ê*, *ga*, *gha*, *chha*, *ṭa*, *ṇa*, *da*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *va*, *śa*, *sha* and *ha* show still the ancient forms. In the case of *sha* this is all the more remarkable as already in the Vânapalli plates of Anna-Vêma, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1300,[5] occasionally a form of *sha* appears which on account of the division of the middle horizontal line comes nearer to the modern form (see *e.g.* ll. 2, 18, 30). *Ka*, on the other hand, shows, except in *ka* in ll. 22, 177 and *kê* in l. 23, an advanced form which in its characteristic lines already resembles the modern form. *Ḻa* has a peculiar form, differing from the sign used *e.g.* in the Bitraguṇṭa grant of Saṁgama II. (Śaka-Saṁvat 1278)[6] and the Vânapalli plates as well as from the modern sign. The *ottu*, the small vertical stroke underneath the letter, which in the modern alphabet is the sign of aspiration, is never found in *kha*, *chha* and *tha*, but, as a rule, it is used in *gha*, *ḍha*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha*, when no other sign stands below

[1] With the first, second, and fourth clauses, supply "if confiscated, or misappropriated."

[2] This verse seems rather out of place in the middle of the benedictive and imprecatory verses.

[3] Compare the expression in the Tuśâm inscription, which describes Vishṇu as "a very frost to (*cause the withering of*) the beauty of the water-lilies which are the faces of the women of the demons" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 270).

[4] No. 257 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

[5] Above, Vol. III. p. 59 ff., Plates.

[6] Above, Vol. III. p. 21 ff., Plates.

the letter, as in *ghna*, *dhva*, *bhṛi*, *bhya*, etc.[1] Occasionally, however, the *ottu* is missing without any reason; examples for *gha* are found in l. 18; for *ḍha* in l. 48; for *dha* in ll. 153, 228; 214 (*dhâ*); 39, 130, 178 (*dhi*); 180, 218 (*rdhi*); 93, 116, 198 (*dhu*); 27, 82, 163 (*dhdha*); for *bha* in ll. 33, 39, 231; 170, 187, 230 (*bhu*); 15, 85 (*bhû*); 233 (*bhâ*); 141, 233, 244 (*bhô*). As in the latter cases the *talakaṭṭu* disappears, it is, of course, impossible to distinguish *bhâ* and *bhô* from *bâ* and *bô*. In the groups *chchha* and *rchchha* the *chha* is written above the *cha* (see ll. 15, 102, 160), the subscript *chha* apparently being found impracticable on account of the loop in the middle of the letter. As first letter of a group, *r* is represented by the full sign in *rchû* (ll. 220, 224, 236), and before *y* and *v* with the exception of *rva* in l. 177, *rvâ* in l. 24, and *rvi* in ll. 21, 33. Here, as in all other cases, the secondary sign has been used.— The **language** is Sanskṛit, and the whole text is in verse, with the exception of the introductory phrase *śubham=astu* in l. 1, the concluding Telugu words *śrî śrî śrîṁ jêyunu* in l. 257, and a few explanatory remarks in Telugu in ll. 46 f., 49 f. and 121.— As regards **orthography**, it will suffice to state that the doubling of consonants after *r* occurs only in *Rompicharlla* (l. 149) and *vargga* (l. 240). After *anusvâra* a consonant is doubled in *vêdâṁtta* (l. 10), *Kṛishṇamâṁbbayâ* (l. 61), *saṁttâna* (l. 90), *âkrâṁtta* (l. 140), *anaṁtta* (ll. 149, 225), *saṁdhdhânitaṁ* (l. 163), *Roṁppicharla* (l. 226), *-âṁkkitaṁ* (l. 243), and probably in *Koṁḍḍakâvûri* (l. 255). A superfluous *anusvâra* has been inserted in *Tiṁmma* (l. 40, 252). In *nigṛiṁhya* (l. 5) and *Saṁhya* (l. 246) the *anusvâra* is due to faulty pronunciation. The group *ddh* is written *dhdh* in *ânadhdha* (l. 8), *pâtâḷâdh=dharaṇî[ṁ*]* (l. 27), *śudhdha* (l. 48), *yadh-dhâṭî* (l. 82), *yudhdha* (l. 86), *saṁdhdhânitaṁ* (l. 163), and perhaps *-ôdhdhûta* (l. 83). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhâna* are written *maṇṭapa* (ll. 155, 168, 173, 184, 204) and *prathâna* (l. 29; *pratâna* in l. 113).

The proper object of the inscription is to record a grant by **Sâḷva-Timma**, the prime-minister of king **Kṛishṇarâya** of **Vijayanagara**. It opens with invocations of Vishṇu in his boar incarnation (vv. 1, 2), as lord of Kâkuḷa (v. 3), and as Râma (vv. 4, 5). The title of *Kâkuḷêśa* seems to refer to Vishṇu as worshipped at Śrîkâkuḷam, 19 miles west of Masulipatam in the Kistna district. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I. p. 55, states that there is a temple at that place dedicated to Śrîkâkuḷêśvara-svâmin and considered to be very sacred.[2]

The following verses (6-8) are a eulogy of king **Kṛishṇarâya**. They contain no historical information besides the statement that 'king Kṛishṇa's pillar of victory is shining in the court of **Kaḷiṅga**,' an allusion to his conquest of the eastern coast.

The next verses (9-15) give an account of Kṛishṇarâya's prime-minister **Sâḷva-** (or **Sâḷuva-**) **Timma**. He belonged to the *gôtra*[3] of Kauṇḍinya, and was the son of the minister **Râcha** and the grandson of the minister **Vêma**,[4] and it may be added here that vv. 43, 44 and 47 incidentally mention the name of his wife, **Lakshmî**.[5] Two verses (13 and 14) are devoted to his conquest of **Koṇḍavîṭi**, *i.e.* Koṇḍavîḍu, the well-known hill-fort in the Narasarâvupêṭa tâluka of the

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[1] But if the subscript sign stands far enough to the right, the *ottu* appears occasionally; see *rghya* in l. 159.

[2] That this temple existed long before the time of our inscription is proved by the fact that it contains a number of inscriptions ranging from the latter half of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

[3] Or, as it is called here, *kula*.

[4] I have used throughout the Sanskṛit forms of these names, *Râcha*, *Vêma*, *Timma*, *Appa*, etc., though in the text we find also the longer forms *Timmaya*, *Appaya* (ll. 56, 148, 150, 153, 189, 227). Except in *Timmâkhyê* in l. 42, the longer forms are invariably used in compounds before a word beginning with a vowel, as in *Appayâmâtya*, *Gôpayâmâtya*, *Timmayâmâtya*, *Vêmayâmâtya*, *Râchayâmâtya*, *Gôpayârya*, *Appayârya*.

[5] Perhaps the praise bestowed on Sâḷva-Timma in vv. 11 and 12 for his literary attainments was not quite unfounded. In his *Index to the Sanskṛit Mss. at Tanjore*, p. 159, Burnell mentions an 'exceedingly diffuse' commentary (*vyâkhyâna*) on Agastya's *Bâlabhârata* by Timmaya, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work apparently is the same as the *Bâlabhâratavyâkhyâna* described by Taylor in his *Catalogue of Oriental Mss.*, Vol. I. p. 168, where the name of the author is given as Sâḷuva-Timmaṇṇa *daṇḍanâtha*. The date, the title and the surname of the author make it highly probable that he is identical with the minister of Kṛishṇarâya.

Kistna district. From verse 13, where it is said that he captured 'the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Koṇḍavîṭi,' it appears that Koṇḍavîḍu was governed at that time by some chieftains subordinate to the Gajapatis of Orissa. This agrees very well with what we can gather from other records. Until the beginning of the 15th century A.D. Koṇḍavîḍu was ruled by the Reḍḍis,—the Tottaramûḍi plates of Kâṭa-Vêma, the latest record of the dynasty hitherto published, being dated in Śaka 1333.[1] Not long afterwards the country must have been occupied by the Gajapatis. In Śaka 1377, the cyclic year Yuvan,[2] we find as ruler of Koṇḍavîḍu a certain Gâṇadêva Rautarâya, whose family was connected with that of the Gajapatis, and who apparently was a tributary of the Gajapati king Kapila.

The capture of Koṇḍavîḍu formed part of Kṛishṇarâya's victorious campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. A detailed account of it is given in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara* written about 1525 and 1535 by two Portuguese horse-dealers, Domingos Paes and Fernão Nunes.[3] There[4] we are told that after the conquest of Odigair or Digary (Udayagiri)[5] king Crisnarao (Kṛishṇarâya) laid siege to Comdovy (Koṇḍavîḍu) which was one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Orya (Orissa). The king of Orissa approached with a large army in defence of his country. When Kṛishṇarâya had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at Koṇḍavîḍu as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*legoas*). On the banks of 'a great river with salt-water,' which apparently is the Kṛishṇâ, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of Orissa.[6] After this victory the king told his '*regedor*' Salvatinea (Sâḷva-Timma) that he intended to continue the siege of Koṇḍavîḍu. After two months the fortress surrendered, and Sâḷva-Timma was appointed governor of Koṇḍavîḍu. But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of Orissa, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers. After taking the fortress of Comdepallyr (Koṇḍapalle) and occupying the country as far north as Symamdary,[7] Kṛishṇarâya made peace with the king of Orissa and married one of his daughters. The 'river,' apparently the Kṛishṇâ, marked henceforth the boundary between the two kingdoms. After another expedition against Catuir[8] on the coast of Charamãodel (Coromandel) the whole country was pacified, and Sâḷva-Timma was sent by the king to Koṇḍavîḍu to organize the administration of the newly acquired territory. On his way to Koṇḍavîḍu, Sâḷva-Timma defeated a general of the king of Daquem (Dekkhan), called Madarmeluquo. A few months Sâḷva-Timma stayed at Koṇḍavîḍu, organizing the civil and judicial administration of the province. Then he returned to Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), where he was received by the king as the principal person of the kingdom. The narrative of the chronicle has the appearance of being, on the whole, perfectly reliable.[9] If the inscription differs from it in ascribing the capture of Koṇḍavîḍu to Sâḷva-Timma alone, it is apparently only because he was the general in command of the Vijayanagara forces.

As a counterpart it may be quoted here what local tradition has to tell about the capture of the fort. According to Mr. Boswell,[10] the story goes that about the beginning of the 16th century the last king of the Reḍḍi dynasty of Koṇḍavîḍu died childless, and his seventy-two

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[1] Above, Vol. IV. p. 318 ff. [2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 390 ff. The date is irregular.

[3] *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga. Manuscripto inedito do seculo XVI publicado por David Lopes.* Lisboa, 1897, p. lxxxvi f.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 19-24.

[5] The conquest of Udayagiri and its dependencies took place in 1513; compare Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 107, and *Sketch of the Southern Dynasties*, p. 109.

[6] This seems to be the battle referred to in an inscription at Mêdûru; see Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 51.

[7] Symamdary is described as 'a very large town.' I therefore consider it to be Râjamahêndri (Rajahmundry), Symamdary being probably an error for Rasmamdary or a similar form.

[8] I cannot identify this place.

[9] One very slight mistake will be noticed hereafter. [10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 183.

chiefs could not agree upon the selection of a successor. Kṛishṇarâya resolved to make use of this state of things, and to acquire for himself the kingdom. To accomplish his designs, he sent a wily and unscrupulous Brâhmaṇ to Koṇḍavîḍu. This Brâhmaṇ was directed to set up and consecrate a new image in the temple of Gôpînâthasvâmin at the foot of the fort, and to invite the seventy-two chiefs to the celebration of these rites. They descended from their hill-fortress and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new image. As they stepped into the inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. When all had thus found their death, Kṛishṇarâya had no difficulty in seizing the fort. In a Telugu chronicle extracted by Mr. Sewell[1] the name of the wicked Brâhmaṇ is given as Râmayya Bhâskaruḍu. It is hardly necessary to point out that the story, as it stands, is incompatible with the historical facts. Whether it is purely fictitious or based on events which occurred at a different time, cannot be decided at present. At any rate it shows once more that local traditions and local chronicles, by themselves, have no historical value, even when they refer to events of comparatively modern times.[2]

The date of the capture of Koṇḍavîḍu is given several times, expressed in words, letters and figures.[3] It took place **on Saturday, the Harivâsara of the bright half of the month Âshâḍha in the Śaka year 1437.** For Śaka-Saṁvat 1437 expired, this corresponds to **Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1515,** when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Âshâḍha ended 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.[4]

Vv. 16-19 give a short genealogy of the two ministers **Appa** and **Gôpa.** They were the sons of the minister **Timma,** who belonged to a family from **Nâdiṇḍla**[5] and to the *gôtra*[6] of Kauśika, and his wife **Kṛishṇâmbâ** or **Kṛishṇamâmbâ** who was the sister of Sâḷva-Timma, as appears from vv. 19 and 28, where Appa and Gôpa are called Sâḷva-Timma's sister's sons (*bhâginêya*). Later on, however, in v. 30 Gôpa is incidentally spoken of as his son-in-law (*jâmâtṛi*), and in v. 27 as his younger son-in-law (*jâmâtary=avarê*), which term, if used in its strict sense, would imply that both brothers were married to daughters of Sâḷva-Timma, their cousins. Of the following verses, vv. 20-23 are in praise of Nâdiṇḍla-Appa, vv. 24-28 are glorifying Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa, and vv. 29-34 give a description of the latter's pious gifts. With v. 35 the text returns to Nâdiṇḍla-Appa, the list of whose donations fills vv. 36-59. Of

[1] *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48.

[2] Of course, this does not exclude that some of their statements may be correct. The account of the Telugu chronicle, for instance, is partly confirmed by the inscriptions and the Portuguese chronicle.

[3] For details I refer to the translation.

[4] My thanks for the calculation of this and the following dates are due to Prof. Kielhorn who has also favoured me with the following additional remarks regarding the term *Harivâsara*. According to Molesworth's *Marâṭhi Dictionary*, *Harivâsara* is a term for the first quarter of the 12th lunar day, and a common term for the 12th lunar days of the light fortnight of the months Âshâḍha, Bhâdrapada, and Kârttika, upon which, respectively, occur the *nakshatras* Anurâdhâ, Śravaṇa, and Rêvatî. In accordance with the latter meaning we find *e.g.* in two Bombay *Pañchâṅgas* for Śaka 1789 and 1814 *Harivâsara* written opposite to *Âshâḍha-śukla-paksha* 12, with, in either case, the Anurâdhâ-*nakshatra*, but not in a Bombay *Pañchâṅga* for Śaka 1812, where the *nakshatra* on *Âshâḍha-śukla-paksha* 12 was Viśâkhâ. That in the inscription also *Harivâsara* is used with the same meaning, is proved by the fact that on the day in question the moon was in the *nakshatra* Anurâdhâ by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. With regard to the origin of the name, it may be pointed out here that the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of Âshâḍha was considered to be pre-eminently auspicious for the worship of Vishṇu. The *Dharmasindhu* says '*Âshâḍha-śukla-dvâdaśyâṁ Vâmana-pûjanêna naramêdha-phalam.*' It is therefore also called *Vaishṇava-tithi* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 333, No. 17) and described as *mahâtithi* (*ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 131, Plate IV. A, l. 16). *Harivâsara* must not be confounded with *Haridina* which, according to Molesworth, is simply a term for the *êkâdaśî* or 11th day of the waxing or waning moon, and in this sense occurs *e.g.* in *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 63 (*Harêr=dinê*).

[5] On Nâdiṇḍla, the modern Nâdeṇḍla, see below, p. 115 and note 4.

[6] Here called *anvaya*.

historical value are verses 21, 27, 28 and 35. V. 21 states that **Nâdiṇḍla-Appa** obtained from king Kṛishṇa and the minister Sâḷva-Timma the right to use a palanquin, two *chauris*, and a parasol, and the posts of commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of **Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti** and **Amarâvati**, and of sole governor (*ěkadhuraṁdhara*) of that kingdom. Vinikoṇḍa is apparently the modern Vinukoṇḍa, a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 37 miles west-south-west of Koṇḍavîḍu.[1] Gutti (Gooty) is the well-known hill-fort in the Anantapur district, and Amarâvatî is the equally well-known Buddhist site in the Kistna district. Vv. 27 and 28 state in very similar words that Sâḷva-Timma gave to Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa the right to use a palanquin and two *chauris*, and the posts of general of an army and sole governor (*ěkadhuraṁdhara, dhaurěya*) of the town and country of **Koṇḍaviṭi**. But in v. 35 we are told that **in the year Yuvan, marked as Sâlivâhana-Śaka** (*Sâlivâhana-Śak-âṅka*), Nâdiṇḍla-Appa obtained the regentship of **Koṇḍaviṭi** from Sâḷva-Timma.

The apparent discrepancy between these statements may be solved, I think, with the help of the data furnished by the Portuguese chronicle. We have only to assume that Nâdiṇḍla-Appa was temporarily appointed after the capture of Koṇḍavîḍu, when Sâḷva-Timma left the country in order to accompany the king on his expedition against Orissa, and that afterwards, when Sâḷva-Timma had settled the administration of the country and intended to return to Vijayanagara, he installed Appa's younger brother Gôpa as governor of Koṇḍavîḍu, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarâvatî. That Appa was appointed immediately after the capture of the fort, is shown by the date. There can be no doubt that it was Śaka-Saṁvat 1437 expired, which corresponds to Yuvan, although the chronogram does not work out quite correctly. The first three letters present no difficulty, *s*(*â*) being 7, *l*(*i*) 3, and *v*(*â*) 4, but, according to Burnell, *h*(*a*) has the value of 8, whereas here it would have to be taken as 1.[2] Secondly, the above assumption agrees with the fact that five years afterwards, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1442, Gôpa was ruling as governor of Koṇḍavîḍu.[3] And from v. 45, where Appa, 'the lord of Vinikoṇḍa *etc.*,' is said to have made a grant in Śaka-Saṁvat 1439, we may perhaps even conclude that the new arrangement was made in or before that year. The chronicle, it is true, does not mention the second appointment of a substitute, and the first substitute is called there the brother of Sâḷva-Timma, which certainly is a mistake. On the other hand, the statement that the real governor of Koṇḍavîḍu was Sâḷva-Timma, and that he, on his hand, appointed a regent, is fully borne out by the terms used in v. 35, and the fact that he granted a village situated in the territory of Koṇḍavîḍu.

The list of **Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa's** gifts comprises only three items.

1. (V. 29.) **In the Śaka year counted by Râghavâya** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1442) he erected some new buildings (*harmya*) adorned with a wall (*vapra*) and a gate-tower (*gôpura*) in honour of the god **Râghava** in **Achalapurî**. This is the Sanskṛit equivalent of Koṇḍavîḍu, as we learn from the following verses that the temple of Râghava or Raghunâyaka was situated in that town.

2. (Vv. 30-32.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the towns (3), the Vêdas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vṛisha, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Phâlguna,** he set up an image of **Raghunâyaka** in the town of **Koṇḍaviṭi**. This image was surrounded by statues of Râma's followers.[4] For Śaka-Saṁvat 1443 expired, the date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th February A.D. 1522,** when the full-moon *tithi* of Phâlguna ended 18 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

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[1] The older form of the name seems to have been *Vishṇukuṇḍa*; see above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 1.

[2] The chronogram is altogether a very poor one; it has three letters, or, if *aṅka* is to be considered part of it as in *Sâḷuvâṅka* in v. 14, even four letters too many.

[3] See the Koṇḍavîḍu inscription which will be published at an early date in this volume.

[4] For details I refer to the translation.

3. (V. 34.) In order to do the performance of *niyôga*, exceeding seventy-two,[1] he presented to the temple of the holy **Sâḷuva-Râghava** the fertile village of **Unnuva**, defined by its four boundaries and completely furnished with all necessary things, together with the eight powers and enjoyments. The temple of Sâḷuva-Râghava seems to be identical with the temple of Râma at Koṇḍaviḍu referred to in the preceding verses. The village of Unnuva is the Vunnava of the map, 5 miles south-south-east of Koṇḍavîḍu.

Of the nineteen grants of **Nâdiṇḍla-Appa** enumerated in vv. 36-59 one is undated, six were made in Śaka 1438, ten in Śaka 1439, one in Śaka 1440, whereas one (v. 38) lies as far back as Śaka 1414. This last date seems to me open to grave doubts;[2] at any rate, it is difficult to see how Appa could have granted a village in the principality of Koṇḍaviḍu 23 years before the occupation of the country. The localities mentioned are situated in the modern tâlukas of Vinukoṇḍa, Narasarâvupêṭa, Guṇṭûr, Bâpaṭla, Bezvâḍa, Oṅgôlu, and Palnâḍ (?). As we do not know the exact date of Appa's installation as governor of Vinikoṇḍa *etc.*, we cannot say with certainty whether he made these grants in the latter capacity or at the time when he was still governor of Koṇḍavîḍu. And even from those cases where the granted villages are expressly stated to have been in the *sîman* of Vinikoṇḍa, no conclusions can be drawn in this respect, as there is no reason to believe that Vinikoṇḍa formed a separate province before the country was divided between Appa and Gôpa.

1. (V. 36.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by 9, the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), having founded an excellent village[3] bearing the name of **Appâpura**, which was supplied with a tank and with some[4] good arable land between **Vinikoṇḍa** and the river **Kunti**, he gave it to the temple of **Aṅgaḍi-Gôpinâtha-Hari.** From v. 47 we learn that this temple was in the town of Vinikoṇḍa. The river Kunti may be the Guṇḍlakamma, or, more probably, one of its tributaries.[5] 4 miles south-west of Vinukoṇḍa, on the left bank of the Guṇḍlakamma, the map shows Sabinivinu Appavupuram, which probably is the same as the Appâpura of the inscription.

2. (V. 37.) To the temple of **Ananta-Gôpinâtha,** situated at **Rompicharla,** he gave the village of **Gôpavara.** Rompicharla is 10 miles west of Narasarâvupêṭa.[6] Gôpavara may be the Gopapuram of the map, 8 miles south of Rompicharla.

3. (V. 38.) **In the Śaka year contained in the Indras (14), the oceans (4), and the moon (1),** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1414), he presented a wall (*vapra*) and the whole village of **Paiṇimaṟṟi** to the temple of **Mâdhavidêvi** in the town of **Madderêla,** to be enjoyed as long as the earth will last. Madderêla or, as it is called in v. 48, Madderâla seems to be the Madheralah of the map, 21 miles south-west of Bâpaṭla, 6 miles west of Môtupalle.[7] Paiṇimaṟṟi may be the hamlet of Pamidimarru, the Payidimarri of the map, 8 miles south of Narasarâvupêṭa, though the distance between Pamidimarru and Madheralah amounts to 30 miles.

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[1] *Dvâsaptaty-adhikâṁ niyôga-kalanâṁ kartuṁ.* I do not know what is meant by this phrase. It occurs again in the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 8), l. 98: *dvâsaptaty-adhikâṁ niyôga-rachanâṁ* . . . *kṛitvâ.*

[2] There seems to be some confusion in the verse. The *vapra* which Appa is said to have erected in Śaka-Saṁvat 1414 is apparently the same which according to v. 48 he built in Śaka-Saṁvat 1438.

[3] With *kṛitvâ grâmavaraṁ* compare *avayuti-kalanâ-nirmit-Âppâpur-âkhyaṁ* . . . *grâmaṁ* in v. 52, *Appâpuraṁ* . . . *virachayya* in v. 54, and *grâmaṁ vidhâya* in v. 55.

[4] With *kiyanmâtrataḥ* compare *kiyatîm=avayutya bhûmim* in v. 54, and *avayutya bhûmim=uchitâṁ* in v. 55.

[5] The Guṇḍlakamma seems to be identical with the Ôṁkâra mentioned in v. 40.

[6] In the village is a temple dedicated to Gôpâlasvâmin, which probably is identical with the temple mentioned in the inscription; see Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. I. Appendix, p. xii.

[7] There is also a Mudderalapaudoo (Madderâlapâḍu) 6½ miles north by east of Oṅgôlu in the Nellore district on the right bank of the Guṇḍlakamma.

4. (V. 39.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the Brahmans (9),**[1] **the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), he erected a temple (*âlaya*), adorned with a solid hall (*maṇṭapa*), a wall (*vapra*) and a plastered mansion (*saudha*), to **Râmêśvara** in the fort of **Vinikoṇḍa.**

5. (V. 40.) **In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhâtṛi** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1438 expired), he built a splendid temple of **Śiva** at the village of **Nandipâṭi** near the river called **Ôṁkâra.** Nandipâṭi seems to be the Nundeepandoo (Nandipâḍu) of the map, 8 miles north of Oṅgôlu. It is situated on the right bank of the Guṇḍlakamma which in that case would have to be identified with the Ôṁkâra river.[2]

6. (V. 43.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Râmas (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), **on the day of full-moon in the month Śrâvaṇa,** he presented a plastered hall (*maṇṭapa*) of stone to the temple of the great **Vîrêśvara** in the village called **Nûntulapâṭi** in the *sîman* of **Vinikoṇḍa,** for the benefit of **Sâḷva-Timma,** the husband of **Lakshmî.**[3] 29 miles south-south-west of Guṇṭûr, 34 miles east-south-east of Vinukoṇḍa, the map shows Nutalupadu, which possibly is identical with the Nûntulapâṭi of the inscription. The date is the same as that of the grant recorded in v. 46.

7. (V. 44.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the air (0), the oceans (4), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Bahudhânya** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1440 expired), he built a fine large hall (*maṇṭapa*) and presented it to the temple of **Agastya-Mahêśvara** at **Krâñjâ** for the benefit of **Sâḷva-Timma,** the husband of **Lakshmî.**[4] Krâñjâ is the modern Kâzâ, 9 miles north-east of Guṇṭûr.

8. (V. 45.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), he founded *sarvamânyas*,[5] (which supplied) the taxes and fees (*mêra*)[6] (due) to village accountants (*karaṇika*), for the eternal prosperity of his father and mother in the Vaikuṇṭha heaven.

9. (V. 46.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Śrâvaṇa,** he gave the *agrahâra* **Mallavara,** filled with all kinds of riches, to be enjoyed for ever,[7] to the temple of **Channa-Kêśava-Ramânâtha,** the lord of that village, whose nature is knowledge.[8] The date is irregular. It corresponds, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1489 expired=Îśvara, to the **1st August A.D. 1517,** when the full-moon *tithi* of Śrâvaṇa ended

[1] *Brahman*, with the value of 9, occurs again in vv. 52 and 54 [and the synonym *Aja* above, Vol. IV. p. 193]. I have found it only in the list given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. The use of *Brahman* in this sense is rather strange, especially as its synonym *pitâmaha* is mentioned by Bêrûnî among the numerical words for 1.

[2] There is another Nandipâḍu six miles south by east of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. But this would seem to be too far to the south as to be the village referred to in the inscription.

[3] The phrase *Lakshmî-nâyaka-Sâḷva-Timma-vibhavê* occurs again in v. 47, and with the addition of *puṇyâya* in v. 44 and v. 28 of the Koṇḍavîḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3). The meaning is that the gift was made for the benefit of Sâḷva-Timma *and* his wife Lakshmî, as clearly stated in the Telugu portion of the Koṇḍavîḍu inscription, l. 153 ff. The words *Lakshmî-nâyaka* are apparently used on account of their ambiguity.

[4] See the preceding note.

[5] *Sarvamânya*, 'exempted from all taxes,' is always applied to villages or portions of land allotted to Brâhmaṇs or some temple.

[6] [For *mêra* and *karaṇika* see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.— E. H.]

[7] *Achalam*, literally 'immovable,' seems to have here this meaning.

[8] See below, p. 129, note 5.

19 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. But this day was a **Saturday**, not a Monday.[1] Mallavarâgrahâra may be the Mullawarum Agra of the map, 4 miles north of Tummarakôṭa in the Palnâḍ tâluka, on the right bank of the Kṛishṇâ, or Mallavaram, 10½ miles north-east of Koṇḍavîḍu, or Mullavarum, 11 miles north-north-west of Oṅgôlu. There is also a Chinna Mullavarum, 23½ miles north-north-east of Oṅgôlu.

10. (V. 47.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), **on the day of full-moon in the month Vaiśâkha,** he presented a beautiful large hall (*maṇṭapa*) and a very high wall (*prâkâra*) to the temple of **Aṅgaḍi-Gôpinâtha-Hari** in the town of **Vinikoṇḍa** for the benefit of **Sâḷva-Timma,** the husband of **Lakshmi.**[2] The same temple we have met with already in v. 36.

11. (V. 48.) **In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1),** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1438), he presented to the temple of **Mâdhavidêvi** in the town of **Madderâla** the wall (*vapra*) which he had caused to be heightened. This temple was mentioned already in v. 38.

12. (Vv. 49, 50.) **In the Śaka year contained in the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhâtṛi** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1438 expired), having presented the whole village of **Âtukûru,** surnamed **Nâdiṇḍla,** to the Brâhmaṇs, he gave them a large tank, causing the growth of rice-fields and sugar-cane, for the performance of the daily ceremonies of bathing and praying at the *saṁdhyâs*, etc. This statement is repeated in different words in the second verse.[3] Âtukûru is the Autcoor of the map, 11 miles north of Bezvâḍa.

13. (V. 51.) **In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the Râmas (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Dhâtṛi** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1438 expired), he presented a solid temple (*prâsâda*), adorned with nine golden pinnacles (*kumbha*), and a beautiful large hall (*maṇṭapa*) to the temple of **Hari,** the lord of **Maṅgalaśaila,** and gave also the village of **Maṅgalaśaila** to the temple of **Nṛisiṁha.** Maṅgalaśaila is, of course, identical with Maṅgalagiri, where the inscription was found.

14. (V. 52.) **In the Śaka year counted by the Brahmans (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), having presented to the Brâhmaṇs the village of **Appâpura,** which he had formed by taking off a portion of the land in the *sîman* of the village of **Rêṭûri,** he gave, in aid of them, a large tank for the cultivation of paddy fields, *etc.* This tank is described in the next verse. Rêṭûri is the Returu of the map, 7 miles north by west of Bâpaṭla. One mile to the north-west of it the map shows Appapuram.

15. (V. 54.) **In the Śaka year marked by the Brahmans (9), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), having taken off some land in the *sîman* of **Nâdiṇḍla** and having founded **Appâpura,** which was supplied with a tank, he gave it to the Brâhmaṇs. Nâdiṇḍla, which apparently is connected with the name of the donor's family, is the modern Nâdeṇḍla,[4] 9½ miles east-south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa. 3½ miles south-west of Nâdeṇḍla, 8 miles south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa, the map shows Appapuram.

16. (V. 55.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Râmas (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), having taken off a suitable portion of land in the territory of **Yêrchûri** and having founded a village

[1] Prof. Kielhorn adds that in Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 current = Dhâtṛi the full-moon *tithi* of the second (*nija*) Śrâvaṇa *commenced* 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 11th August 1516, but he thinks it not at all probable that this day is intended.

[2] See above, p. 114, note 3.

[3] See the translation.

[4] For inscriptions at this village see above, Vol. IV. p. 37 f.

adorned with a tank and containing 10 *Kêsaripâṭi-puṭṭis*,[1] he gave it to the temple of **Aubhaḷa-Nârasiṁha-Hari at Yêrchûri.** This is the Vêlchûru, Yêlchûru, or Êlchûr, 12½ miles south-west of Narasarâvupêṭa, 4 miles north of Kommâlapâḍu Bungalow, mentioned by Mr. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 73. On the map the name of the village is missing, though its site is indicated.

16a. (V. 56.) To the temple of **Ananta-Gôpinâtha at Rompicharla** he gave the village of **Gôpavara.** This is merely a repetition of v. 37.

17. (V. 57.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Dhâtṛi** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1438 expired), **on the day of full-moon in the month Vaiśâkha,** he gave the whole village of **Bhartapûṇḍi** in the *sîman* of **Vinikoṇḍa,** which he had marked with his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments, to the learned **Râyaṇa-Bhâskara** who belonged to the *gôtra* of Vasishṭha. The map shows Bhartapudi 5 miles north-east of Bâpaṭla, but the identification must remain doubtful. As the distance between this Bhartapudi and Vinukoṇḍa is about 52 miles, it could hardly be said to be in the *sîman* of Vinikoṇḍa.

18. (V. 58.) **In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhâtṛi** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1438 expired), **on the day of full-moon in the month Śrâvaṇa,** having taken off at **Yêrchûri** in the *sîman* of **Vinikoṇḍa** a village called **Gôpapuram,** containing 10 *Kêsaripâṭi-puṭṭis*[2] and adorned with a tank, he presented it to the Brâhmaṇs. Yêrchûri we have met with already in v. 55; 1½ miles north-west of it the map shows Gopapuram.

19. (V. 59.) **In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Râmas (3), the aggregate of the pursuits of life[3] (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1439 expired), **on the day of full-moon in the month Kârttika,** he gave the whole village of **Annavara** in the *sîman* of Vinikoṇḍa, marked by his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments to the learned **Dêcha**[4] of the *gôtra* of Kauṇḍinya. Annavaram is a very common name, which makes a strict identification impossible. The map shows an Annavaram Kandrike 5 miles west of Narasarâvupêṭa, 20 miles north-east of Vinukoṇḍa, another Annavaram (Annawarum) 25¼ miles south by west of Vinukoṇḍa, and a third Annavaram 17 miles south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa, 35 miles east of Vinukoṇḍa.

The list of Nâdiṇḍla-Appa's donations concludes with a verse (60) in praise of Sâḷva-Timma, and the last verse of the inscription (61) records that Sâḷva-Timma assigned the village of **Koṇḍakâvûri** to the temple of **Trikûṭêśvara-Niṭaladṛiś,** *i.e.* Trikûṭêśvara-Śiva, the lord of the whole world, as long as the moon and the sun and the stars endure. Koṇḍakâvûri is the modern Koṇḍakâvûru, 8 miles south of Narasarâvupêṭa.

The **second inscription,**[5] also in **Telugu** characters, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying in the temple of Kôdaṇḍarâmasvâmin at **Kâzâ**, 9 miles north-east of Guṇṭûr, in the Kistna district. It contains 258 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is ¾". With the exception of the last verse, beginning in l. 255, the whole text of the inscription is identical with that of the Maṅgalagiri inscription. Only the order of the verses differs, as shown by the following comparison: Kâzâ 1—35=Maṅgalagiri 1—35; K. 36=M. 55; K. 37—40=M. 36—39; K. 41, 42=M. 45, 46; K. 43=M. 40; K. 44=M. 47; K. 45—47=M. 41—43; K. 48—54=M. 48—

[1] Regarding the term *puṭṭi* see *above*, Vol. III. p. 93, note 1. *Kêsaripâṭi-puṭṭi* seems to mean the *puṭṭi* (used in the village) of Kêsaripâḍu, which cannot be traced on the map.

[2] See the preceding note.

[3] I have not found the word *varga* in any of the published lists of numerical words. The meaning of four is, of course, due to the *chaturvarga*.

[4] [He is styled *ûra-Dêcha*, 'the Dêcha of (this) village.'—E. H.]

[5] No. 255 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

54; K. 55=M. 44; K. 56=M. 57; K. 57=M. 59; K. 58=M. 58; K. 59=M. 60. M. 56, which is only a repetition of v. 37, occurs in K. once only. In neither case any principle seems to have been followed in arranging the verses. Under these circumstances I have thought it unnecessary to publish in full the text of this inscription; but I have given all the various readings which it presents in the notes on the text of the Mangalagiri inscription.

The last verse records that in the **Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1),** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1438), the minister **Appa** built a plastered hall (*maṇṭapa*) at the temple of **Agastyêśa** at **Nallapâṭi**. Nallapâḍu, the Nelapadu of the map, is 15 miles north of Guṇṭûr. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 75, there are several temples in that village. The map shows another Nallapadu 4 miles west of Guṇṭûr, but no remains of temples seem to exist at this place.

A.— Mangalagiri Pillar Inscription.

TEXT.[1]

First Face.

शुभमस्तु ।[।*] भव्यादादिवराहो वत्सरसमु-
द्धरन्महीं । निजांगसंगसंजातसांद्रस्वेदो-
दयामिव ।[। १*] कल्याणमाकलयतादयमादि-[2]
पोत्री धात्रीमुदरन्न[3] सरसां स रसातिरेकात् ।
संश्लेषसंभ्रमवशात्स्फुरसा[4] निर्दष्ट्र[5] दंतेन
किंचिददुनोदधरं धरायाः[6] ।[। २*] उरसि निहितल-
क्ष्मीबाहुवल्लीयुगेन स्वकरयुगळमेकीकृत्य केली-
विनोदे । कुवलयदळदामानर्घ्यमंदारमा-[7]
लां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ।[। ३*] श्रीरा-
म[:*] श्रियमातनोतु जगतां [8]वेदांत्तवेद्यो ह-
रि[9] । र्ज्ञानानंतसदात्मकोपि मघवत्कार्याय मा-
यातनुः । यं दृष्ट्वा रिपवोपि रावणमुखाः का-
लावसाने दिवं याता[:*] श्रीहनुमद्विभीषणमु-
खा जाताः कृतार्था[10] भुवि ।[। ४*] महेंद्रादिशिरोम-
णिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखारुणं भूषारत्न-
[11]भिदश्मरश्मिलहरीभृंगाळिभृंगारितं । मंजीर-
क्वणितैर्मराळवनितामंजुस्वनैरंचितं वंदे
रामपदारविंदमनघं वंदारुकल्पद्रुमं ।[। ५*]

[1] From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

[2] K. °माधि°.

[3] Read °मुद्धरन्, as correctly in K.

[4] In K. the *anusvâra* of °संभ्रम° is written twice.

[5] Read निर्दष्ट्र.

[6] K. दराया:, but perhaps corrected.

[7] Read °मह°.

[8] K. वेदांत°.

[9] Read रिर्ज्ञा°, as correctly in K.

[10] Read कृतार्था, as correctly in K.

[11] Read भिदश्मरश्मि°.

19 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणि: । राज-
20 न्यचूळिकारत्ननीराजितपदांबुज: ।[। ६*] श्रीकृष्णक्षिति-
21 पालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कवीनां गृहा नानारत्न-
22 विचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गता: । अब्दि:[1]
23 केवलनीरपूरनिलयस्संभाव्यते सज्जने । रं-[2]
24 भोधिर्जलधि: पयोधिरुदधिर्वारां निधिर्वारिधि[: ।][। ७*]
25 आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिपशोर्यूपस्समोका-
26 ध्वरे वैरिस्वांतनिखातशंकुरुदितो दीप्र: प्रता-
27 पांकुर: । पाताळाध्वरणो[3] वराहवपुषो दं-
28 ष्ट्रा विभियोन्नता श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपस्य भाति विजय-
29 स्तंभ: कळिंगांगणे ।[। ८*] महाप्रथान[4] श्रीसाळ्वति-[5]
30 म्मस्सचिवशेखर: । श्रीकृष्णरायनृपतेस्साम्राज्य-
31 मधितिष्ठति ।[। ९*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मसचिव:[6] कौंडिन्यकुल-
32 शेखर: । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्य-
33 नंदन:[7] ।[। १०*] विद्मो[8] नैकं[9] विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विद्वदग्रे-
34 सराणां पद्मावाणीविलासै: प्रगुणमणिगणै:
35 पक्ष्मलाक्षीसहस्रै: । रम्यप्रासादहर्म्यैरतुल-
36 परिकरैरश्वहस्त्यादियानैस्तम्यक्षेभ्यो विशेषं
37 समरविजयतस्साळ्वतिम्मस्य[10] नूनं ।[। ११*] पंकप्रवे-
38 शपरिमार्जनलज्जया किं पंकेरुहालयम-
39 पास्य भवन्मुखाब्जं । पद्माधितिष्ठति सह स्नुषया
40 च वाण्या चौहत्तमल्ल चतुरानन साळ्वतिं-[11]
41 म्म ।[। १२*] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तित्रितयचतुरुपायै-
42 कमंत्रीशसाळ्वे तिम्माख्ये कोंडवीद्यां गजप-
43 तिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटी-
44 माटीकमाने परनृपतिखगा: क्षुत्पिपासाति-
45 खिन्ना: शाकाब्दान् मार्गयंते गिरिपुरजलधि-
46 क्ष्मासु गूढं प्रलीना: ।[। १३*] १४३७ शकाब्दालु [।*] सुगू-

[1] Read चब्धि:.
[2] Read सज्जनैरं-.
[3] Read पाताळाध्वरणों; in K. a small *anusvâra* has been added afterwards.
[4] K. ममहा°; read महाप्रधान:.
[5] K. श्रीसाळ्वतिंम्म°.
[6] K. श्रीसाळ्वतिंम्म°.
[7] K. °यामा । त्यनंदन:.
[8] In K. between the *d* and *m* of विद्मो the subscript sign for *t* has been inserted.
[9] The *anusvâra* is very small, and has been inserted afterwards.
[10] K. °तिंम्मस्य.
[11] K. °तिम्म.

47 ढंप्रलीनाः अक्ष[र*]संख्ये[1] ।[।*] साळुवांकशकवत्सरग-
48 ण्याषाढशुध्दहरिवासरसौरौ[2] । साळ्वतिम्मसचि-
49 वेन गृहीतं कोंडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ।[। १४*] सा-
50 ळुवांक अब्दसंख्ये । १४३७ शकवर्षेषु ।[।*] पु-
51 ण्यारामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधि का-
52 व्यं चेह पपरत्र[3] सौख्यजनकास्संतानकास्स-
53 म तान् । आहृत्तान् गणनातिवर्ति कृतवानासेतु-
54 शीताचलं श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालमौळिसचिव[:*] श्रीसा-
55 ळ्वतिम्मप्रभुः ।[। १५*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो ना-
56 दिंड्लकुलशेखरः । अस्ति [4]तिम्मयमंत्रीशस्सम्य-[5]
57 यात्मविवेकधीः ।[। १६*] कृष्णांबारुंधती ख्याता
58 भर्तृवाक्यमरुंधती । अनसूयैव सर्व-
59 त्र सानसूयेति गम्यते ॥ [१७*]

Second Face.

60 नादिंड्लतिम्मयामात्यः कळत्री
61 कृष्णमांबया । तत्पुत्रावप्प-
62 [6]यामात्यगोपयामात्यशेखरौ ।[। १८*]
63 श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मसचिवभागिनेयौ कु-
64 लोद्वहौ । नादिंड्लयप्पयामा-
65 त्यगोपयामात्यशेखरौ ।[। १९*] अप्पो
66 नादिंड्लयप्पस्तावाप्यमूर्ति-
67 प्रचेतसौ । पश्चिमोदन्वदीशानद-
68 क्षिणोदन्वदीश्वरौ ।[। २०*] श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपा-
69 ल तिम्मसचिवात्पलंकिका[7] चाम-
70 रे ।[8] छत्रं[9] यो विनिकोंडगुत्तिकनक-
71 क्ष्माभृत्पुराध्यक्षतां[10] । मत्तेभाश्व-
72 पदातिसंकुलमहासेनाधिपत्यं
73 महत्तद्राज्यैकधुरंधरत्वमग-
74 मन्नादिंड्लयप्पप्रभुः ।[। २१*] जंभ-

1 K. अक्षरसंख्ये.
2 Read °शुद्ध; K. °सौरा.
3 Read परत्र, as corrected in K.
4 K. तिम्मय°.
5 Read °सम्य°, as correctly in K.
6 K. यामत्यगो°.
7 Read °किकां.
8 This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
9 K. छत्र ; read छत्रं.
10 Read °राध्यक्षतां, as correctly in K.

75 द्विट्कुंभिकुंभद्वयसचिवग्रवी-
76 चारवदभ्येजकुंभव्यक्तव्यासानु-[1]
77 लिप्तप्रत्नमरमक्षणचोदकर्पू-
78 रपूर: । यत्कोर्ति:[2] कार्तिकेंदु[3] प-
79 रिहसति निजै: [4]श्वेतमाद्वैतवादै-
80 स्सोयं नादिंडुयप्पप्रभुम-
81 णिरखिलस्तुत्यकोर्तिप्रताप: ।[। २२*] य-
82 [5]श्वाटीघोटकोटीखरखुरदलित-
83 क्ष्मातलोच्चूतधूळीपाळीपाता-[6]
84 ळकेळोन्नतधरणितले खड्गयुग्मस्य
85 बाहु: । जिह्वालाभोलभुज-
86 ङ्गजगपतिरिव प्रेक्षते युध्वरं-[7]
87 गे सोयं नादिंडुयप्पप्रभु-
88 रवनिभराक्रांतबाहुप्रतिष्ठ[: ।][। २३*]
89 गोपो नादिंडुगोपस्य तुल्यावि-
90 ति कथं स्तुम: । एकसंतानवा-[8]
91 न्पूर्वस्मसंतानवान् पर: ।[। २४*] ए-
92 के चाद्याविता[9] ये वितरणनिगमा-
93 न् वेधसा सिंधुचंद्रप्राया आ-
94 द्यं प्रपन्ना: कति च पद्मदृषद्वार-
95 जात्यातिमूढा: । धत्ते चाद्याप-[10]
96 यंस्तान्वितरणनिगमान् गोप-
97 यार्य:[11] करेब्विं कल्पद्रुं कामधे-
98 नुं हृदि वदनदृग्गोचंद्रचिंता-
99 मणो च ।[। २५*] [12]यद्वैरिक्षोणिपालप्रकर-
100 पुरमहाचंद्रशालाग्रहांत[:*]-[13]

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[1] Read °वचोज°, as correctly in K.
[2] K. यत्कीर्ति.
[3] Read कार्त्तिकेंदुं.
[4] Read श्वेतिमा°.
[5] Read घाटी°.
[6] Perhaps the actual reading is °लोच्छ्रत°, as in K.
[7] Read युद्ध° ; the *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[8] K. °संतान°.
[9] Read चाद्यापिता, as correctly in K.
[10] Read चाद्याप°, as correctly in K.
[11] Originally त्य had been engraved instead of यं, but it seems to have been corrected.
[12] The रि has possibly been corrected out of डि.
[13] K. °ग्रहांत-.

101 श्रीखंडस्तंभकुंभङ्गुजगपतिवृ-[1]
102 ढालोढदेहार्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छ-
103 न्मोहा[:*] स्खलंतः[2] सपदि गतविषा
104 वैनतेयेन सद्यो द्योमार्गं यां-[3]
105 ति सोयं दिनमणिविनुतो भा-
106 ति नादिंडुगोपः ॥ [२६*] श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपा-
107 लमौळिसचिव[:*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मप्रभु-
108 र्जामातयंवरे धुरंधरवहे[4] श्री-
109 गोपमंत्रीश्वरे । [5]प्राधत्ताखिलकों-[6]
110 डवोटिनगरीसाम्राज्यरौरेय-[7]
111 कां[8] मत्तेभाश्वपदातिसैन्यकलितां[9]
112 पल्लंकिकां चामरे ।[। २७*] श्रीकृष्णरा-
113 यनरनाथशिरःप्रतानश्रीसाळ्व-[10]
114 तिम्मसचिवेश्वरभागिनेयः । ना-
115 दिंडुगोपसचिवो नयतत्ववे-[11]
116 दी श्रीकोंडवोटिनगरैकधुरंधरो-
117 [भू]त् ।[। २८*] राघवायगणिते शकव-
118 [र्षे] राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्यां ।[12]
119 वप्रगोपुरमयैर्नव[ह*]र्म्यैर्गो-[13]
120 पमंत्रितिलकेन सपर्याः[14] ॥ [२९*]

Third Face.

121 राघवाय १४४२ मत्सरमंग्र ।[।*] शाकाब्दे पु-
122 रवेदवार्धिशशिभिर्गण्ये[15] वृषे वत्सरे फाल्गुन्यां
123 विधुवासरे शुभदिने श्रीकोंडवोटीपुरे । नादिं-
124 डुान्वयगोपमंत्रितिलक[:*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मप्रभोर्जा-

1 Read °भयंभङ्गुजगपरिवृ-, as correctly in K.

2 The subscript sign which I have read *kh* is rather indistinct, and may be meant for something else ; in K., however, the reading स्ख is quite certain.

3 The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

4 Read धुरंधरवरे.

5 Read प्रादत्ता°.

6 The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

7 Read °ज्यधौरेय-, as correctly in K.

8 Read तां, as in K., where तां seems to have been corrected out of कां.

9 The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

10 K. °प्रयान° ; read °प्रधान°.

11 Read °तत्त्ववे-.

12 The *anusvâra* and the sign of punctuation stand at the beginning of the next line ; K. °ताचपुर्यां.

13 K. °वहर्म्यै°.

14 Read सपर्या, as correctly in K.

15 K. °वार्दिश°.

125 माता रघुनायकस्य क्षतवान् सम्यक्प्रतिष्ठावि-
126 धिं ।[। ३०*] सुग्रोवलक्ष्मणविभीषणजांबवद्भिश्शत्रुघ्न-
127 युक्तभरतेन हनूमता च । सीतापतिं सप-
128 रिवारकमंगदेन रामं च गोपसचिवोक्षत सु-
129 प्रतिष्ठं ।[। ३१*] सीतारामसमन्विता सभरता चैषा
130 ह्ययोध्या तता[1] शत्रुघ्नाधिकलक्ष्मणा विजय-
131 ते श्रीकोंडवीटीपुरी । सुग्रीवो हनुमान्विभीष-[2]
132 ण इह श्रीजांबवत्वंगदो[3] रामं सावरणं प्र-
133 तिष्ठितमताचादिंङ्गोपप्रभुः[4] ।[। ३२*] श्रीकोंडवीटि-
134 पुरिनायक रामचंद्रः[5] किं चंद्रकां[6] समधि-
135 गत्य ग्रसः कळंकः । आयाति यावदिति साळुव-
136 केतनत्वं धत्से न चेत्कुत इदं गरुडध्वजस्य ।[। ३३*] द्वा-
137 सप्तत्यधिकां नियोगकलनां कर्तुं बुधग्रा-
138 मिणीः[7] । श्रीमत्साळुवराघवाय महितो ना-
139 दिंङ्गोपप्रभुः । प्रादादुब्बुवनामकं सु-
140 फलितं सोमाचतुष्कान्वितं ।[8] सर्वाक्रांततया[9]
141 समस्तमासमाष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं[10] ।[। ३४*] सालिवा-
142 हनशकांकयुवाब्दे सालिवाहनसमोप्य-
143 यमंत्रो । साळुवतिम्मसचिवादुदवापत्कों-
144 डवीटिनगराधिपलक्ष्मीं ।[। ३५*] शाकाब्दे नववह्निवा-
145 धिवसुधागण्येश्वरे वत्सरे सुचैत्रं विनिकोंड-
146 कुंतिसरितोर्मद्ये[11] कियन्माचतः । कृत्वा ग्राम-
147 वरं तटाककलितं चाप्पापुराख्यान्वितं ।[12] प्रा-
148 दादंगडिगोपिनाथहरये नादिंङ्गयप्प-
149 प्रभुः ।[। ३६*] अनंत्तगोपिनाथाय[13] रोंपिचर्ल्लनिवा-
150 सिने । प्रादाद्गोपवरं ग्रामं नादिंङ्गाप्पय-

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[1] Read तथा, as correctly in K.

[2] K. हनुमांच°.

[3] Read श्रीजांबवांस्त्वंगदो or श्रीजांबवस्त्वंगदो or श्रीजांबवदांगदौ.

[4] Read °सचाग्रा°, as probably corrected in K.

[5] K. पुरना°; read °चंद्र.

[6] Read चंद्रतां, as correctly in K.

[7] Read मणीः, as correctly in K.; the following sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

[8] This sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

[9] K. °क्रांततया.

[10] Read °मासमा°, as correctly in K.

[11] Read °मध्ये, as correctly in K.

[12] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[13] K. अनंत°.

151 मंत्रिराट् ।[। ३७*] महेरेलपुरमाधवित्रेष्ठि वप्रमिं-[1]
152 द्रजलदींदुगशावे[2] । पेषिमर्छिमहित्रात्यंपू-[3]
153 र्णं ग्राममावसुधमप्ययमंत्री ।[। ३८*] ब्रह्मा-
154 ग्निवेदशशिगण्यशकेश्वरेऽब्दे नादिंडुयप्पसचिवो वि-
155 निकोंडदुर्गे । रामेश्वराय घनमंटपवप्र-
156 सौधारम्यालयं[4] समतनोत्समतारसत्र: [।][। ३९*]
157 [5]शाकेशवह्निनिगमेंदुगदातृवर्षे[6] नादिंडुति-[7]
158 म्मसचिवात्मभवाप्पयार्य: । ओंकारनामस-
159 रिदंतिकनंदिपाटिग्रामे शिवालयमनर्घ्य-
160 मसावकार्षीत् ॥ [४०*] स्वच्छस्वच्छनखावळिच्छविशिखाके-
161 ळोमराळोद्वृतं भूषोद्गासिभुजंगपुंगवल-
162 सन्नाळामृणाशान्वितं[8] । वैरिव्रातशिरोमिळिंद-
163 वनितासंदोहसंध्यानितं ।[9] वंदे दक्षमखा-
164 रिपादकमलं बृंदारबृंदार्चितं ।[। ४१*] दक्षप्र-
165 जापतेर्मूर्धा मेषमूर्धायते क्षणात्[10] । यद्वीरकरुणा-
166 वेशात्स वो वीरेश्वरोवत्[11] ।[। ४२*] शाकाब्दे निधिरामवेदध-
167 रणीगण्येश्वरे वत्सरे श्रावण्यां विनिकोंडशोमनि[12] सु-
168 दालिप्त[13] शिलामंटपं । ग्रामे नंतुलपाटि-
169 नामनि महावीरेश्वरायादिशत् लक्ष्मीनायकसा-[14]
170 ळ्वतिम्मविभवे[15] नादिंडुयप्पप्रभु: ।[। ४३*] शाकाब्दे गग-
171 नाब्धिवेदधरणीगण्ये[16] च संवत्सरे विख्याते बहु-
172 दान्यनामनि[17] महानादिंडुयप्पप्रभु: । श्री-
173 जागस्त्यमहेश्वराय विपुलं रम्यं महामं-
174 टपं लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिम्मविभवे पुण्याय स-

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[1] The *guḍi* has been added afterwards; the *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line; K. indistinct.

[2] Read °जलधींदु°, as correctly in K.

[3] K. indistinct; read °ह्यरिपु-.

[4] Read सौधरम्या°.

[5] Read शाकेभव°, as correctly in K.

[6] Read °गधात्र°, as correctly in K.

[7] K. °तिम्म°.

[8] Read °मृणालान्वितं.

[9] Read °संधानितं, as probably correctly in K. The sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

[10] For the *aksharas* जाप° to क्षणा° something else seems to have been originally engraved.

[11] Read °वत्, as correctly in K.

[12] Read °डसोमनि, as correctly in K.

[13] Read धालिप्त, as correctly in K.

[14] Read °सक्ष्मी°.

[15] K. °तिंम्म°, or perhaps °तिंम°.

[16] Read नाब्धिवेद°.

[17] Read धान्य°, as correctly in K.; ना has been corrected from का.

175 त्वादिशत् ॥ [४४*] निधिशुचिनिगमक्ष्मागण्यशाकेश्वराब्दे प्रभु-
176 वरविनिकोंडादोशनादिंडुयप्प: । निजजनकजन-
177 न्योर्नित्यवैकुंठसिद्यै[1] करणिककरमेरान्[2] सर्वमान्या-
178 नकार्षीत् ।[। ४५*] शाकाब्दे निधिवह्निवेदधरणीगण्येश्वरे वत्स-
179 रे श्रावण्यां विधुवासरे शुभदिने[3] नादिंडुयप्पप्र-
180 भुः । प्रादात्सत्प्रवराग्रहारमचलं सर्वर्धिसंपू-[4]
181 रितं तद्ग्रामाधिपचंनकेशवरमानाथाय बो-
182 धात्मने ।[। ४६*] शाकाब्दे निधिवह्निवेदधरणीगण्येश्वरे वत्स-
183 रे वैशाख्यां विनिकोंडनामनि पुरे रम्यं महा-

Fourth Face.

184 मंटपं । प्रादादंगडिगोपिनाथ-
185 हरये प्राकारमत्युन्नतं लक्ष्मीना-
186 यकसाळ्वतिम्मविभवे[5] नादिंडुय-
187 प्पप्रभुः ।[। ४७*] महेरालपुरमाधवदेव्यै[6] [व*]प्र-[7]
188 मुन्नततरं प्रविधाय । नागवह्निज-
189 लधींदुगशाके वर्षे एनर्मादितोप्पय-[8]
190 मंत्रो ।[। ४८*] शाकाब्दे वसुवह्निवेदशशिगे वर्षे
191 च दाचाह्वये[9] नादिंडोपपदातुकू-
192 रूमखिलं कृत्वा स्वयं विप्रसात् । सं-[10]
193 ध्यास्नानजपाह्निकादिविषये तृष्य-
194 त्स्तटाकं[11] महत्[12] शाल्यारामवरेष्वसा-
195 धनमदात्नादिंडुयप्पप्रभुः[13] ।[। ४९*] उ-
196 [14]त्फुल्लाम्भोलवेल्लत्कमलवनमिळद्राजहं-[15]
197 सावतंसं क्रेंकारिक्रौंचचक्रक्रम-
198 गतिमिथुनक्रोडखेलामनोज्ञं[16] । पा-
199 रावारांककारं तटपुटघटितोत्ता-

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[1] Read °सिद्ध्यै ; K. illegible.

[2] The third क of this word is expressed by the old sign. K. seems to read °ककर° by correction.

[3] K. शुभ°.

[4] Read सर्वर्द्धि° ; K. illegible.

[5] K. probably °तिम°.

[6] Read °माधवि°.

[7] K. वप्र°.

[8] Read वर्षे एनमदितोप्पय-; in K. probably corrected.

[9] Read दाचा°, as correctly in K.

[10] The anusvâra stands at the beginning of the next line.

[11] Read तैष्यत्तटाकं, as correctly in K.

[12] Read महच्छा°.

[13] K. धनमधाद्ना°.

[14] Read त्फुल्ला°.

[15] The anusvâra stands at the beginning of the next line.

[16] Read °मिथुन°, as correctly in K.

200 लतालं तटाकं क्वत्वा नादिंड्डुयप्पप्र-
201 भुरक्वततरां विप्रसादातुकूरी:[1] [॥ ५०*]
202 शाकाब्दे गजरामवार्दिमह्निगी दाचा-[2]
203 ख्यवर्षे घन प्रासाद नवहेमकुं-[3]
204 भकलितं रम्यं महामंटपं । श्रोमग्मं-[4]
205 गळशैलनाथहरये नादिंड्डुयप्पप्रभु-[5]
206 र्ग्रामं मंगळशैलनामकमपि प्रादात्[6]
207 नृसिंहाय च ।[। ५१*] शाकाब्दे ब्रंह्मवह्निश्रु-
208 तिशशिगणिते चेश्वराख्ये वर्षे[7] रेंटूरिग्राम-[8]
209 [9]नीमन्यवयुतिकलनानिर्मिताप्पापुरा-
210 ख्यं । दत्वा[10] ग्रामं द्विजेभ्यस्तदुपक्वतिक्वते शा-
211 लि.सस्यादिसिद्धै[11] प्रादान्नादिंड्डुयप्पप्रभुर्मणि-
212 कदधिप्रख्यमेकं तटाकं ।[। ५२*] श्रप्पापुरे वार्दिसम-
213 स्तटाक[12] पद्माकरोयं द्विजराजवास: । यत्र[13] वनं
214 चाच्युतशालिधाम ग्रीष्मे पय:पूर्णत-
215 या नदोक[14] ।[। ५३*] नादिंड्डुसोम्नि कियतोमव-
216 युत्य भूमिमप्पापुरं च विरचा-[15]
217 य्य तटाकयुक्तं[16] [।*] नादिंड्डुयप्पस-
218 [चि]वोदित तधिृजेभ्यो[17] ब्रह्माग्निवार्धि-
219 शशिशाकगुणेश्वरेब्दे ॥ [५४*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-
220 मवेदधरणीगरण्येश्वरे वत्सरे येचूं-
221 रादवयुत्य[18] भूमिसुचितां प-
222 द्माकरालंक्वतं । ग्रामं केसरिपाटि-
223 [19]पुटिदशकप्रायं विधायादिशद्वे-
224 [चूं]यौंभळनारसिंहहरये ना-
225 [दिं]ड्डुयप्पप्रभु: ।[। ५५*] श्रनंन्तगोपिना-

[1] Read °कूरी, as correctly in K. [2] Read °वार्धिमह्निगी धाना-, as correctly in K.
[3] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[4] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[5] K. inserts a superfluous sign of punctuation after °प्रभु°.
[6] Read प्रादान्न°. [7] Read °ख्ये च वर्षे, as correctly in K. [8] K. रेंटूरि°.
[9] Read सीम°, as correctly in K. [10] Read दत्त्वा. [11] K. °सिध्यै ; read °सिद्धै.
[12] Read वार्धिसमस्तटाक:, as correctly in K. [13] Read यत्र.
[14] Read नदीक:, as correctly in K. [15] Read विरच-, as correctly in K. [16] K. °युक्तं।
[17] K. वद्विजेभ्यो ; read तद्द्विजेभ्यो. [18] Read राघव°. [19] Read पुट्टि°.

[था]य रौप्पिचर्लनिवासिने । प्रादाद्गो-
पवरं ग्रामं नादिंडुाप्पयमंत्रि-
राट्[1] ।[। ५६*] शाकाब्दे वसुवह्निवेदधरणीग-
ण्ये च दात्रब्दके[2] वैशाख्यां विनिकोंडसो-
मनि सुधो[3] नादिंडुयप्पप्रभुः । धा-
[त्रि]ष्ठाय च भर्तपूंडिमखिलं ग्रामं[4]
स्वनामांकितं प्रादाद्रायण-[5]
भास्कराय [6]निधुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं [॥ ५७*]
शाकाब्दे गजवह्निवेदशशिगे[7] वर्षे च दा-
त्राह्वय[8] श्रावण्यां विनिकोंडसोम्नि[9]
कृतधोर्नादिंडुयप्पप्रभुः । येचूं-
राववयुल्य गोपपुरमित्याख्यं [द्वि]-
जेभ्यादिग्न[10] ग्रामं कैसरिपाटिपुटिदग्न[कं]-[11]
प्रायं नटाकोज्वलं[12] ॥ [५८*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-[13]
मवर्गधरणीगख्येश्वरे वत्सरे कार्त्तिक्यां[14]
विनिकोंडसोम्नि सुकृती नादिंडुयप्प-
प्रभुः । प्रादाधन्नवराभिदं[15] च सकलं
ग्रामं स्वनामांकितं कौंडिन्यान्व-
[16]ययूरदेचविदुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं[17]
।[। ५९*] यावज्जह्नुसुतात्रियंबकसुता-[18]
[19]श्रीसंघ्रपुत्रोपय[:*]पूरास्ते सुनते भु-
वं च सकलां श्रीकोंडवीटोपुरीं । या-
वत्काव्यसुधांबुराशिलहरीहेलां
विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साळुवतिम्मकीर्तिलति-

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[1] This verse is a repetition of v. 37, and occurs in K. once only.

[2] K. धावब्दके । ; read धात्रब्दके.

[3] Read सुधीर्ना°, as correctly in K.

[4] The *anusvára* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[5] K. °दाभ्रा°.

[6] Read विदुषे°, as correctly in K.

[7] K. °वेधग्न°.

[8] K. धावह्नय । ; read धात्राह्वये.

[9] K. °कोंडसोमि .

[10] K. °जेभ्योदिग्न ; read °जेभ्योदिशद्ग्रामं.

[11] Read °पुट्टि° ; in K. a very small ट् seems to have been added afterwards.

[12] Read °कोज्ज्वलं.

[13] K. निदिरा-.

[14] K. °रे । का°; read कार्त्तिक्यां.

[15] K. प्रादाद्व° ; read प्रादादन्नवराभिधं.

[16] K. perhaps °देछ°.

[17] The *anusvára* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[18] In K. the ता of the first सुता appears to have been corrected from some other *akshara* ; °त्रियंबक°, perhaps corrected.

[19] In K. the *visarga* was inserted afterwards ; read श्रीसघ्र°.

250 का [1]पुष्पत्वजमं भुवि ॥ [६०*] [2]श्रीकृष्णक्षोणिपा-
251 लप्रभुरतरमहाराज्यधौरेयनो-
252 तिप्रागल्भ्यस्याढ्वतिंस्मप्रभुवरति-
253 लको राचयामात्यसूनुः । प्राच-[3]
254 द्रादित्यतारस्थिरतरमदिमल्कों-[4]
255 .डुकापूरिनामख्यातग्रामं[5] त्रि-
256 कूटेश्वरनिटसद्ध्री विश्वलोकेश्वरा-
257 य ॥ [६१*] श्री श्री श्रीं जेयुनु[6] ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Let there be prosperity!

(Verse 1.) May the primeval boar protect you, he who lifted the earth that was wet as if it (*were a woman that had fallen in love with him*[7] *and*) were in violent perspiration on account of the touching of his body!

(V. 2.) Let this primeval boar devise what is propitious! When he had lifted the wet earth from the flood of water, he held it with great force for fear lest it should slip down,[8] and (*thereby*) hurt a little the lower part of it with his tusk (*like a lover who, when he has lifted his mistress in excess of passion, bewildered by the contact with her body, squeezes her with great force and inflicts a little wound to her lower lip with his tooth*).

(V. 3.) The lord of Kâkuḷa who, in love's wanton sports, interlacing his own (*blue*) hands with the tender (*white*) arms of Lakshmî clinging to his chest, wears, as it were, a garland of *mandâra* flowers[9] entwined with strings of leaves of the blue water-lily, — may he exhibit the skill of fortune!

(V. 4.) The holy Râma (*who is identical with*) Hari, who may be known from the Vêdânta;[10] who, though his nature is knowledge, without end,[11] and existence, yet, in order to perform the duties of Maghavat,[12] wears an illusory body; at whose sight even his enemies, such as Râvaṇa and the rest, went to heaven[13] at the end of their time, and others, such as Hanumat and Vibhîshaṇa, felt perfect satisfaction on earth,— let him grant welfare to the worlds!

(V. 5.) I do homage to the sinless lotus-like foot of Râma, the tree of desires to those who worship it, which is reddened by the splendour of the crest-jewels of Indra and the other

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1 Read पुष्पास्व°.

2 The following verse is not in K.

3 The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

4 The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

5 The subscript sign of the first *akshara* of this line is very indistinct.

6 For the reading of K. see the text.

7 Both here and in the next verse the boar and the earth are represented as two lovers, and the words have to be taken in a double meaning.

8 Literally, 'on account of the unsteadiness of the contact.'

9 As Lakshmî is represented as being of white or golden colour, *mandâra* seems to be used here as a name of the white variety of *Calotropis Gigantea*, not of the scarlet-flowering *Erythrina Indica*.

10 Compare *Vêdânta-vêdy-âtmanê. . . Vishṇavê* in l. 135 of the Piṭhâpuram inscription of Pṛithvîśvara; above, Vol. IV. p. 46.

11 I have translated *ananta*, as this is the reading of both inscriptions. But I think it not unlikely that *ananta* is a mistake for *ânanda*. *jñân-ânanda-sad* corresponding to the well known *sach-chid-ânanda* which in such texts as the *Râmatâpanîya-Upanishad* is frequently applied to Râma-Vishṇu.

12 *I.e.* Indra.

13 *I.e.* obtained salvation.

(*gods*) bowing (*before him*) as (*the lotus is reddened*) by the early rays of the sun; which is embellished by the waves of light from the thunderbolt of the slayer of Vṛitra[1] as (*the lotus is embellished*) by flights of bees; and which is distinguished by the tinkling of its anklets as (*the lotus is distinguished*) by the sweet sounds of the female flamingoes.

(V. 6.) There is (*a king*) called the glorious **Kṛishṇarâya,** the head-ornament of kings, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes.

(V. 7.) Through the precious stones presented by the glorious king Kṛishṇa the houses of the learned and the poets have pavements sparkling with jewels of different kinds, and have (*thus*) become jewel-mines;[2] veracious people (*therefore*) speak of the ocean which is (*now*) only a receptacle of floods of water (*only in terms meaning water-receptacle, such*) as *ambhôdhiḥ, jaladhiḥ, payôdhiḥ, udadhiḥ, vârâṁ nidhiḥ, vâridhiḥ.*

(V. 8.) In the court of **Kaliṅga** is seen the pillar of victory of the glorious king Kṛishṇa, (*resembling*) a stake for (*tying*) the elephants of his enemies, a post for (*sacrificing*) his foes in battle like cattle at a sacrifice, a shaft thrust into the hearts of his enemies, a lofty radiant shoot of splendour, the tusk of the boar-bodied (Vishṇu) rising from the lower regions by piercing the earth.

(V. 9.) The great chancellor, the glorious **Sâḷva-Timma,** the best of ministers, rules the empire of the glorious king Kṛishṇarâya.

(V. 10.) The glorious minister Sâḷva-Timma, the best of the family of Kauṇḍinya, is the son of the minister **Râcha,** the son of the minister **Vêma.**

(V. 11.) We are not aware that the leaders of the learned differ in any way (*from* Sâḷva-Timma) as to their wealth (*obtained*) by donations, their sports with Padmâ[3] or Vâṇî,[4] the number of their excellent jewels, the thousands of their fair-eyed women, their beautiful mansions and palaces, their unequalled attendants or their carriages for horses, elephants, *etc.*; (*but*) verily, well we know how (*in one thing*) Sâḷva-Timma differs from them, for he is victorious in battle.

(V. 12.) Was it, because she was ashamed (*of being obliged*) to clean herself from the contact with the mud, that Padmâ gave up the dwelling in the mud-born (*lotus*) and abides in the water-born (*lotus*) of thy face, together with her daughter-in-law Vâṇî,[5] O Sâḷva-Timma! (*who on that account art both*) Chauhattamalla (*and*) Chaturânana?[6]

(V. 13.) When Sâḷva (*or the hawk*), surnamed Timma, the **one** chief minister on account of (*his knowledge of*) the **four** means and the **three** powers together with the **seven** constituents (*of government*),[7] after having captured the swan-like kings appointed by **Gajapati** in **Koṇḍavîṭi,** is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for **the Śaka years in the mountains (7), the towns (3),**[8] **the oceans (4) and the earth (1),** (*thus*) resembling birds which, flying off unnoticed, tormented by hunger

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[1] *I.e.* Indra.

[2] Or, oceans, *ratnâkara* being a common term for ocean.

[3] *I.e.* the goddess of riches.

[4] *I.e.* the goddess of learning.

[5] Vâṇî (Sarasvatî) is called here the daughter-in-law of Padmâ (Lakshmî), because, as a rule, learning and wealth agree as little with each other as, according to Indian ideas, a mother-in-law with her daughter-in-law.

[6] Sarasvatî is generally supposed to dwell in the mouth of Chaturânana (Brahman), while Lakshmî is the consort of Vishṇu. Chauhattamalla, therefore, seems to be used here as a name of Vishṇu, though I do not find it mentioned anywhere else. *Chauhatta* seems to be equivalent to the Sanskṛit *Chaturhasta*; compare *Chaturbhuja*, a common name of Vishṇu-Kṛishṇu.

[7] The four means (*upâya*) are *sâman*, *dâna*, *bhêda*, and *daṇḍa*; the three powers (*śakti*) are *prabhâva*, *utsâha*, and *mantra*; the seven constituents of government (*aṅga*) are *svâmin*, *amâtya*, *suhṛid*, *kôśa*, *râshṭra*, *durga*, and *bala*; compare *Amarakôśa*, II. 8, 17; 19; 20. The four numbers give the date 1437.

[8] I have found *pura* with the value of 3 only in the list of numerical words given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. It occurs in the same meaning in v. 30 below. *Pura* in this sense refers to the three cities built by Maya and destroyed by Śiva.

and thirst, are looking for herbs and (*rain-giving*) clouds in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth.[1]

(V. 14.) **On Saturday, the Harivâsara of the bright half of the month Âshâḍha, to be counted in the Śaka year marked by Sâḷuva (Sâḷuvâṅka),** the town of Koṇḍaviṭi, the excellent hill-fort,[2] was taken by the minister Sâḷva-Timma.[3]

(V. 15.) (*The procreation of*) a son, (*the planting of*) a grove, (*the construction of*) a tank, (*the consecration of*) a temple, the marriage (*of a girl*) to a Brâhmaṇ, (*the hoarding of*) a treasure, and (*the composition of*) a poem are the seven *saṁtânaka* acts which cause happiness in this world and in the next one; the glorious lord Sâḷva-Timma, the prime-minister of the glorious king Kṛishṇa, has so often performed them, from the Bridge to the snowy mountain, that one cannot count them.[4]

(V. 16.) There is, born in the lineage of Kauśika, the best of the family of **Nâdiṇḍla,** an excellent minister, **Timma,** who has the true knowledge of him whose nature is intelligence.[5]

(V. 17.) **Kṛishṇâmbâ,** renowned as Arundhatî,[6] because she does not oppose (*arundhatî*) the command of her husband, is regarded as Anasûyâ, because she is always free from spite (*anasûyâ*).

(V. 18.) The minister Nâdiṇḍla-Timma was married to Kṛishṇamâmbâ; his sons were the excellent ministers **Appa** and **Gôpa.**

(V. 19.) The sister's sons of the glorious minister Sâḷva-Timma, who continued his family, were the excellent ministers Nâdiṇḍla-Appa and (Nâdiṇḍla-)Gôpa.

(V. 20.) Appa,[7] who manifests himself in the waters and (*who bears the epithet*) Prachêtas, and **Nâdiṇḍla-Appa,** who is easily accessible[8] and intelligent, are the lords, the one of the western, and the other of the southern ocean.

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[1] In order to remove any doubt about the meaning of the words *giri-pura-jaladhi-kshmâsu gûḍhaṁ pralînâḥ* an explanation has been inserted at the end of the stanza: 1437 *Śak-âbdâlu* [1*] *su gûḍhaṁ pralînâḥ aksha*[*ra**]-*saṁjña*, *i.e.* '1437 Śaka years; *su gûḍhaṁ pralînâḥ* is a notation by letters.' We have therefore to take *s*(*u*) as 7, *g*(*û*) as 3, *ḍh*(*aṁ*) as 4, and *p*(*ra*) as 1. There is a slight irregularity in the last *akshara*. According to the established usage, in groups of consonants the last consonant only counts (compare Burnell, *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd ed., p. 79), whereas in this case *p* must have been intended to express the numeral, *r* having the value of 2. As the reading *pralînâḥ* is supported by both inscriptions as well as by the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), I have not ventured to alter the text, although the reading *pralînân* seems to me far better. In that case the meaning would be that the princes are searching for the Śaka years deeply hidden in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth, which, from an Indian point of view, would be an excellent pun, whereas in the text as it stands the words *gûḍhaṁ pralînâḥ* are quite superfluous.

[2] With *naga-râjaṁ* compare the terms *durggâṇâṁ sârvvabhaumaḥ* and *giri-varaḥ* applied to a hill-fort in an inscription of the time of king Bukka; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 167. The neuter form of the word, though not in accordance with grammar, is warranted also by the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

[3] Here again, at the end of the stanza a gloss has been inserted, stating that *Sâḷuvâṅka* is a chronogram: *Sâḷuvâṁka akshara-saṁjña* | 1437 *Śaka-varshâlu*. It appears that *s*(*â*) is 7, *ḷ*(*u*) 3, *v*(*âṁ*) 4, and *k*(*a*) 1. This again is not quite in accordance with the table given by Burnell, where *ḷ* has the value of 9. The author of the inscription apparently looked upon *ḷ* as equal to *ḍ* or *l*.

[4] The seven *saṁtânas* or *saṁtatis* are mentioned also in v. 24 below, in v. 43 of the Gaṇapêśvaram inscription of Gaṇapati, above, Vol. III. p. 88, in v. 9 of the Vânapalli plates and v. 17 of the Naḍupûru plates of Anna-Vêma, *ibid.* pp. 61 and 289; compare the notes of Dr. Hultzsch on the first two passages.

[5] *I.e.* Râma. With *chinmay-âtman* compare the epithets *jñân-ânanta-sad-âtmaka* and *bôdh-âtman* applied to Râma in vv. 4 and 46.

[6] This would be the literal meaning of the passage, but the author did not want to say that Kṛishṇâmbâ really was called Arundhatî. In the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3) *nûnam* has therefore been substituted for *khyâtâ*.

[7] *I.e.* Varuṇa.

[8] *Âpya-mûrti*, as applied to Nâdiṇḍla-Appa, seems to mean 'whose person is obtainable,' *i.e.* 'who is easily accessible.'

(V. 21.) It was the lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa who obtained from the glorious king Kṛishṇa and the minister Timma (*the right to use*) a palanquin, two *chauris*[1] and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of **Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti, and the city on the golden mountain (Mêru),**[2] of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom.

(V. 22.) (*The man*) whose fame— a swelling smooth cloud of pulverized camphor, anointing, covering and spreading on, the beautiful rounded breasts of Śachî[3] which resemble[4] the two frontal globes of the elephant of the slayer of Jambha[5]— derides the moon in the month Kârttika by asserting that it has not its equals in whiteness,[6]— that man is this excellent lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa whose brilliant fame (*therefore*) is to be praised by all men.

(V. 23.) (*The man*) whose arm, when it brandishes a sword on the battle-field on the surface of the earth which he has made (*appear*) like the Pâtâla world[7] by the clouds of dust whirled up from the ground crushed by the hard hoofs of millions of his war-horses, looks like the formidable licking lord of the serpents who supports the earth,— that man is this lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa whose arm (*therefore*) is the support on which the weight of the earth rests.

(V. 24.) How can we praise Gôpa and **Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa** as being alike to each other ? (*For*) the former has (*only*) one *saṁtâna*, while the latter has seven of them.[8]

(V. 25.) Some, (*although they were*) taught the rules of donation by the creator, are dull (*or* cold), such as the ocean and the moon, and some are exceedingly stupid, because they belong to the class of cattle, stone or wood; (*but*) the honourable Gôpa, teaching them the rules of donation, carries in his hand the ocean, in his heart the tree of desires and the cow of wishes, in his face the moon, and in his eye the stone of desires.

(V. 26.) Having their bodies licked by the lords of the serpents decorating the sandal-wood pillars in the large apartments on the top of the houses in the towns of the numerous kings hostile to *him*,[9] becoming totally insensible and faltering, (*but*) having instantly lost their poison through (*the presence of*) Vainatêya,[10] the horses of the sun are suddenly walking along the sky; —brilliant is he, this Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa who is praised by the sun.[11]

(V. 27.) The glorious lord Sâḷva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Kṛishṇa, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gôpa, the best among governors and

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1 [Compare above, Vol. IV. No. 4, verse 3.— E. H.]

2 [The city on the mythical mountain Mêru is Amarâvatî, the residence of god Indra. Here this poetical term is applied to Amarâvatî in the Kistna district.— E. H.]

3 The wife of Indra. 4 Literally, 'having for companions.' 5 *I.e.* Indra.

6 If my translation is correct, we should rather expect *nija-śvêtim-âdvaita-vâdaiḥ* instead of *nijaiḥ śvêtim-âdvaita-vâdaiḥ*, which, however, is supported also by the Koṇḍavîḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

7 Pâtâla is the abode of the serpents.

8 As to the seven *saṁtânas* compare the note on v. 15. In the case of Gôpa, *i.e.* Kṛishṇa, *saṁtâna* seems to refer to the one celestial tree which Kṛishṇa, on the advice of his wife Satyabhâmâ, carried off from Indra's heaven, though the name of this tree is generally given as Pârijâta. But the names of the five celestial trees are sometimes mixed up; compare *e.g.* v. 16 of the Vânapalli plates of Anna-Vêma, above, Vol. III. p. 62, where the Pârijâta tree takes the place of the Kalpa tree, or v. 3 of the Biṭraguṇṭa grant of Saṁgama II., *ibid.* p. 25, where Kalpa is used for the celestial trees in general; see also the note of Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on this passage. There is hardly any allusion to Saṁtâna-Gôpâla, one of the names of Kṛishṇa, when worshipped as giver of progeny.

9 Snakes are supposed to be fond of sandal-wood. The towns of Gôpa's enemies were deserted by their inhabitants and therefore abounded in snakes. The houses were so high that their tops touched the sun.

10 *I.e.* Garuḍa. This bird must have been the device on Gôpa's banner (compare v. 38 below) which had been planted on the top of the palaces of his conquered enemies.

11 The sun is grateful to Gôpa whose banner saved his horses.

an excellent minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of **Koṇḍavîṭi,** together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (*the right to use*) a palanquin and two *chauris.*

(V. 28.) The sister's son of the prime-minister, the glorious Sâḷva-Timma, the chancellor (*pradhâna*) of the glorious Kṛishṇarâya, the first among kings,—the minister Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa, versed in the principles of policy, was the sole governor of the excellent city of Koṇḍavîṭi.

(V. 29.) **In the Śaka year counted by Râghavâya** the excellent minister **Gôpa** showed his veneration for (*the god*) Râghava in **Achalapuri** by (*erecting*) new buildings adorned with a wall and a gate-tower.[1]

V. 30 records the setting-up of an image of Raghunâyaka.

(V. 31.) Râma, the husband of Sîtâ,[2] with a circle[3] consisting of Sugrîva, Lakshmaṇa, Vibhîshaṇa, Jâmbavat, Bharata together with Śatrughna, Hanûmat and Aṅgada, were duly set up by the minister Gôpa.

(V. 32.) Possessed of Sîtâ and Râma, Bharata, Śatrughna and Lakshmaṇa, this excellent city of Koṇḍavîṭi is flourishing (*like*) Ayôdhyâ; (*but*) here are (*also*) Sugrîva, Hanumat, Vibhîshaṇa, Jâmbavat and Aṅgada, (*for*) the lord Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa set up Râma with his circle.

(V. 33.) O Râmachandra, glorious lord of the city Koṇḍavîṭi, dost thou, having become a moon (*chandra*), assume the ensign of the hawk (*sâḷuva*), because thou thinkest that the hare comes in as a stain ? If not, why (*dost thou assume*) this (*ensign*) of him who has the Garuḍa as his emblem ?[4]

V. 34 records the grant of a village to Sâḷuva-Râghava.

(V. 35.) **In the year Yuvan, marked as Sâlivâhana-Śaka,**[5] the minister **Appa,** who is equal to Sâlivâhana, obtained the regentship of the city of **Koṇḍavîṭi** from the minister Sâḷva-Timma.

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[1] At the end of this verse we find, as before, the explanation of the chronogram '*Râghavâya 1442 akshara-saṁjña.*' This time it shows nothing peculiar, *r*(*â*) being 2, *gh*(*a*) 4, *v*(*â*) 4, and *y*(*a*) 1.

[2] This seems to mean 'with Sîtâ on his lap.'

[3] *Saparivâraka* is apparently the same as *sâvaraṇa* in the next verse. *Âvaraṇa* seems to be a technical term for the circles formed by the statues of Râma's followers round the statue of their master. Thus we read in the *Râmapûrvatâpanîya-Upanishad*, v. 48 ff., that Râma is surrounded (*âvṛita*, vv. 55, 56) by five circles, called *âvaraṇa* in Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ*. The third of these circles is formed by the son of the wind (Hanumat), Sugrîva, Bharata, Vibhîshaṇa, Lakshmaṇa, Aṅgada, Arimardana (Śatrughna) and Jâmbavat (vv. 53, 54), exactly the same persons as those mentioned above. Sîtâ is not mentioned in the description of the Upanishad, though in the preceding verse 47 she is represented as sitting on Râma's lap; compare also v. 26. That the author had in view some arrangement of statues similar to that described in the inscription, and not, as the commentator thinks, of figures drawn in a diagram, is probable from the fact that in describing the position of the figures he uses the terms *udag-dakshiṇayôḥ, agrataḥ* (v. 50), *paśchimê* (v. 51), *âgnêyâdishu* (v. 53), whereas in the description of the diagram (v. 58 ff.) he speaks only of *madhyê, tatpârśvê*, etc.

[4] *I.e.* either Vishṇu or Sâḷva-Timma. I am not at all sure that my translation of this verse is correct. Its principal object apparently is a pun on the name of the god, Sâḷuva-Râghava, mentioned in the next verse; compare vv. 41, 42 which in a similar way praise Śiva Vîrêśvara mentioned in v. 43. The name of the god is certainly connected in some way with that of Sâḷva-Timma, where, to judge from the analogy of such names as Nâdiṇḍla-Timma, *etc.*, the first part would seem to be properly a family name. Whether Sâḷva in this sense has anything to do with the tribal name of the Sâlvas or Śâlvas, must be left undecided; compare Winternitz, *Mantrapâṭha*, p. xlvii. On the other hand, in the titles *Gaṇḍa Kaṭṭâri Sâḷuva*, borne *e.g.* by Narasiṁharâya of Vijayanagara and Veṅkaṭa I. of Karṇâṭa (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 85, 131), and by the former king even with repetition of the last word (*Sâḷuva-sâḷuva* ; *ibid.* p. 132), *sâḷuva* is clearly only a *biruda*. According to Dr. Hultzsch it means 'the hawk,' and in this sense, and as a synonym of *Garuḍa*, it seems to have been used in the present case also.

[5] As to the chronogram see the remarks on p. 112 above.

Vv. 36-40 record various grants.

(V. 41.) I worship the lotus-like foot of the destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha,[1] which is revered by the hosts of the gods; which is covered by the brilliant rays of the lines of its exceedingly white nails, as (*a lotus is covered*) by ducks kept for pleasure; which is adorned with huge serpents glittering like ornaments, as (*a lotus is adorned*) with the floating fibres of its stalk; which is surrounded by the heads of the hosts of his enemies, as (*a lotus is surrounded*) by flights of female bees.

(V. 42.) Let that Vîrêśvara protect you whose deep compassion with heroes was the cause of Daksha-Prajâpati's head becoming quickly the head of a ram![2]

Vv. 43-49 record various grants.

(V. 50.) Having made at **Âtukûru** a tank, where lines of swans meet in the clusters of the widely opened water-lilies floating on the waves; which is charming, because the curlews are (*seen there*) striding in circles and sporting in pairs, (*pressing each other*) with their throats, (*at the same time*) uttering sharp cries; which is the rival of the ocean; where a loud dabbling noise originates in the cavities of the banks, the lord Nâdiṇḍla-Appa presented it completely to the Brâhmaṇs.[3]

Vv. 51 and 52 record two grants.

(V. 53.) This tank at **Appâpura**, resembling the ocean, which, abounding in lotuses, was the abode of the kings of birds,[4] became a forest, a field of rampant paddy, and in the hot season a stream, because (*even at that time*) it was full of water.

Vv. 54-59 record various grants.

(V. 60.) As long as the floods of the daughter of Jahnu, the daughter of Tryambaka and the holy daughter of Sahya are purifying the earth and the whole city of Koṇḍavîṭi,[5] as long as a poet is sporting in the waves of the nectar-ocean of poetry, so long shall the creeper of Sâḷuva-Timma's fame continually blossom on earth!

V. 61 records a grant by Sâḷva-Timma.

(L. 257.) Happiness! Happiness! May it cause happiness!

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[1] *I.e.* Śiva.

[2] This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva, irritated because he had not been invited to the sacrifice of Daksha-Prajâpati, the father of his wife Satî, decapitated his father-in-law, but afterwards, out of pity, revived him and gave him the head of a ram.

[3] I find it impossible to render the niceties of the text in my translation. The terms used are such as to convey the idea of an arena, where circles of kings (*râjahaṁs-âvataṁsa*) are assembled, where a wrestling (*mithuna-krôḍa-khêlâ*) takes place, where a champion (*aṅkakâra*) appears, and where loud applause (*uttâla-tâla*) is heard.

[4] *Dvijarâja* seems to be meant for *râjahaṁsa*.

[5] The daughter of Jahnu is the Gaṅgâ. The daughter of Tryambaka is the Gôdâvarî which rises on mount Tryambaka; compare the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaidyajîvana*, quoted by Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 318*a*:

Yatr=âgatâ Tryambaka-parvatâch=cha Gôdâvarî Sindhunadêna yuktâ |
tatr=âsti Gôdâ-taṭa-madhya-dêśê Shaṭkhêṭak-âkhyaṁ nagaraṁ suramyam ||

The Tryambaka forms part of the chain of mountains on the north-west side of the Peninsula which commonly are called Sahya; in the *Vâyupurâṇa*, I, 45, 104, the Gôdâvarî therefore appears in the list of rivers which rise on the Sahya. Here, however, the daughter of Sahya is the Kṛishṇâ, as shown by the corresponding verse in the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), where *Kṛishṇavennâ* has been inserted instead of *Sahyaputrî*. Rivers are frequently called the daughters of the mountains where they arise; even in the dry geographical description of the *Vâyupurâṇa* the rivers rising on mount Mahêndra are called his daughters (45, 106). The statement that the Kṛishṇâ purifies the city (*purî*) of Koṇḍavîḍu is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, the distance between Koṇḍavîḍu and the river being more than twenty miles.

B.— Kâzâ Pillar Inscription.

END OF THE TEXT.[1]

Fourth Face.

255 . . . . . [2]शाके वस्वग्निवेदें-[3]

256 दुगस्येगस्त्येममंटपं । मल्लपाटौ सु-

257 धात्रिमं छतवानप्यमंचिराट् ॥ [६०*] श्री

258 श्री श्रीं जेयुनू[4] [॥*]

No. 13.— TWO GRANTS OF DANDIMAHADEVI.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The two grants of which at Dr. Hultzsch's request I give an account here from excellent impressions supplied to him by Mr. Venkayya, were preserved in the office of the Collector of **Gañjâm** and will be deposited in the Madras Museum. There is no information as to where or by whom they were discovered. They have been briefly noticed already in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 32 f., Nos. 216 and 217;[5] and I have for years been in possession of rubbings of them which formerly belonged to the late Sir A. Cunningham. The grants record donations by a lady named **Daṇḍimahâdêvi**, whose ancestors are enumerated in both, in almost identical verses.

A.— DAṆḌÎMAHÂDÊVÎ'S GRANT OF THE YEAR 180.

This is a **single copper-plate** which measures about 1′ ¼″ broad by 10⅛″ high, and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a **seal**, half of which sticks to the plate, while the other half projects beyond it. This seal rests on an expanded lotus flower the petals of which enclose it; it is circular and measures 2¼″ in diameter. It bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the **legend** *śrîmad-Daṇḍimahadêvi*, in characters resembling those on the first side of the plate; above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its hips; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.— The **writing** is well preserved. The size of the letters is between ⅜ and $\frac{7}{16}$″ on the first side of the plate, and between about ¼ and ⅜″ on the second side. Both the general style of writing and the forms of individual letters shew that the two sides of the plate were written by different persons. The writer of the first side, who affects a monumental style of writing, apparently has taken some pride in his work and has done it fairly well; the writer of the second side, who writes in a current hand, has performed his task in a very slovenly manner and committed many blunders, some of which I am unable to correct. The **characters** on both sides belong to the northern part of Eastern India. They

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1 From an inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

2 Up to this, the text is practically identical with that of the preceding inscription.

3 The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

4 Read जेयुनु; after this comes a sign the meaning of which I do not know.

5 The prince 'Indulâlâ' of Mr. Sewell's account, to whom is ascribed the feat of having rescued his brother's throne, owes his existence to the epithet *vyûḍha-bhôgîndra-lîlaḥ* in verse 6 of the two grants. Most of the princes who are really mentioned in the grants have been omitted by Mr Sewell's informant.

may be classed together with those of *e.g.* the Naḍagâm (in Gañjâm) plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Saṁvat 979 (No. 357 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*), the Bâmanghâṭî (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja (*ibid.* No. 655), the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyâdharabhañja (*ibid.* No. 658), the Paṭṇâ, Kaṭak and Kudopali plates of Mahâbhavagupta I. and II. (*ibid.* Nos. 659, 660, 664 and 665), the Buguḍa (in Gañjâm) plates of Mâdhavavarman (*ibid.* No. 673), the Gañjâm plates of Pṛithivivarman (*ibid.* No. 672), and even the Assam plates of Ratnapâlavarman, Indrapâlavarman and Balavarman (*ibid.* Nos. 711-714). To prove this with full details would lead me too far here, but I may invite the reader's attention at least to the forms of the *aksharas ṭa* and *ṭṭa* used in the present inscription (*e.g.* in the word *khêṭa* in line 30, and in *Ummaṭṭa-* at the end of line 5), the type of which is equally found in all the eastern inscriptions enumerated,[1] while it is absent from the records of other parts of Northern India. Of peculiar forms of letters on the first side of the plate I would point out that of the letter *n* (*e.g.* in *nivâsi-*, l. 3, and *ânandaṅ=*, l. 4), which has found no place yet in our palæographic Tables; it also occurs in the Naḍagâm plates of Vajrahasta (above, Vol. IV. p. 189, and Plate, *e.g.* in *bhuvana-vinuta-*, l. 1). I may mention besides that in the word *charitârtha-* in line 12 the *r* of the *akshara rtha* clearly is written on, not above, the line. On the second side attention may be drawn, amongst other things, to the form of the letter *h* (*e.g.* in *mahiyasî mahîm=ahi-* in line 20), which also is absent from our palæographic Tables, but occurs *e.g.* in the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyâdharabhañja (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix.); to the form of the subscript *û*, *e.g.* in *chi[hna]-bhûtâ*, l. 21, and *vabhûva*, l. 22, which is the form of *û* constantly used in the Naḍagâm plates; to the medial *â* in *pathârha* (for *yathârhaṁ*), l. 28, in the *ṇâ* of *Dâṇâlavaḥ*, l. 40,[2] and in the *grâ* of *-grâmâ*, l. 41; to the fact that the letters *t*, *r* and *j* occasionally are turned the wrong way, as in *chiram=* and *sutâ tasyâ* in line 20, and °*dhirâja-*, l. 23; to the final *t* in *samvat*, l. 35, and *śrîmat*, l. 38; to the occurrence of the rare letter *jh* in *ajhêraṭa-* at the end of line 42;[3] and to the apparently very modern forms—peculiar, so far as I can see, to Orissa—of the letters *p*, *ph* and *sh* in the corrupt passage *mâ bhud=aphasanâ saḥ para-datishu* in line 37. Nor would I omit to mention that in line 26 the first *akshara* of the word which I have transcribed by *[sth?]ânântari[k]ân=* is denoted by a strange sign which bears no resemblance at all to the ordinary sign for *sth.*[4] But what in this inscription—a record which from its general appearance could hardly pretend to any great antiquity—seems to me most remarkable, is the employment of numerical symbols[5] in the date of it (in lines 35 and 36), which I have transcribed by *samvat 100 80 Mârgaśirsha-vadi 5 (?)*. In this respect, I can compare with the present grant only the Bâmanghâṭî (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja, in which the year of the date is similarly denoted by numerical symbols (for 200, 80 and 8).[6] It is noteworthy that both these grants come from the same part of India, where

[1] In some of these inscriptions it is difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ṭ* and *ṭṭ*, and there are some in which no difference at all is made between the two.

[2] The same sign for *ṇâ* is used in line 39, in the word transcribed by *[pû ?]ṇâ[kô]*. The medial *â* is occasionally written in the same manner in the Kudopali plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 258, Plate), in the *aksharas gâ, ṅgâ, ṭṭâ, dhâ* and *śâ* (and also in *ṇô*).

[3] The sign for *jh*, here employed, resembles the sign for the same letter used in the Assam plates of Vallabhadêva, above, Vol. V. p. 185, l. 41, in the phrase *sa-jhâṭa-viṭapa*. A similar sign for *jh* also occurs in line 11 of the Kudopali plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 258, where the actual reading, as I now see, is *sa-jhaṭa-viṭap-âranya* (for *sa-jhâṭa-viṭap-âraṇyaḥ*), not *sa-[vâ ?]ṭṭa-viṭṭap-âranya*.

[4] The sign employed by the writer is perhaps really meant for *thâ*, not *sthâ*.

[5] Above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 4, I have given the latest known copper-plate inscriptions with numerical symbols, the time of which can be fixed with certainty, and have stated that they are all anterior to A.D. 800. The only stone inscriptions with numerical symbols which are later than A.D. 800, so far as I know, are Nos. 501, 546 and 560 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*.

[6] See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XL. Part I. Plate ii. last line; and Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palæographie*, Plate IX. col. xviii., where (probably only in consequence of the numerical symbols) Raṇabhañja's plate is assigned to the 9th century A.D.

such symbols therefore would seem to have been longer in practical use than in other parts of the country. As regards the individual signs employed in this inscription, the symbol for 100 is something between *lva* and *lu*, just as the symbol for 200 in the Bâmanghâṭî plate is *lû*; and that for 80 is nearly identical in both plates. The exact form of the symbol—if it be intended as such—for the number of the *tithi* of the date I have not been able to trace elsewhere, and I am very doubtful whether I have correctly taken it to denote '5.'[1]—Excepting the description of the boundaries in lines 42 and 43, where some local dialect appears to be used, the **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit. The first part of the grant up to line 22, which gives the genealogy of Daṇḍîmahâdêvî, is in verse, but includes a short prose passage in line 3. The formal part of the grant, from line 22 to the end, is in prose, except that in lines 36-39 it contains some benedictive and imprecatory verses or fragments of verses—here, as in some cognate inscriptions, given very corruptly—as well as a verse which records the name of the composer of the *praśasti*, *i.e.*, as I take it, of the genealogical account. In respect of **orthography** the only general remarks called for are, that the letter *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the writer of the second side (like some Telugu writers) has found some difficulty in distinguishing between the vowels *i* and *î*. The second side of the grant, as I have intimated already, has been written so carelessly that it would be impossible here to point out all orthographical mistakes. On the first side it may suffice to call attention to the use of the *akshara tsa* instead of *chchha* in the word *saptatsada* (for *saptachchhada*) in line 2, which finds its counterpart in the common *saṁvachchhaa* (for *saṁvatsara*).—I regret that in the formal part of the grant there are several words or phrases regarding the exact reading and interpretation of which I am uncertain. They are the words transcribed by *pa[vâ?]ka-*, l. 27, *gôku[ṭa]-*, l. 29, *=lêkhari-pravêsanâs[t]iyâ*, l. 31, and *[pû?]nâ[kô]*, l. 39. I also am unable to interpret the greater part of lines 42 and 43, which, as stated already, are not in Sanskṛit.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ Mahârâjâdhirâja-Paramêśvarî* **Daṇḍîmahâdêvî** (l. 24), whose ancestors are enumerated in verses 2-9. There was a king named **Ummaṭṭasiṁha** (l. 5), from whose family sprang **Maṅgapâḍa** (l. 7) and other kings. In their family there was the king **Lôṇabhâra** (l. 9); his son was **Kusumabhâra** (l. 13); after him ruled his younger brother **Lalitabhâra** (l. 13); he was succeeded by his son **Śântikara** (l. 15), and he again by his younger brother **Śubhâkara** (l. 18). When the last of these princes died, his queen[2] ascended the throne, and afterwards her daughter **Daṇḍîmahâdêvî** (l. 20) 'ruled the earth for a long time.' This queen, a devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), from 'the camp of victory'—appropriately compared in verse 1 with the commencement of autumn (the season of war)—at **Guhêśvarapâṭaka** (l. 3), issues the following order to the present and future functionaries in the **Kôṅgôda-maṇḍala** (l. 24), *viz.* the *Mahâsâmantas, Mahârâjas, Râjaputras, Antaraṅgas, Kumârâmâtyas, Uparikas, Vishayapatis, Tadâyuktakas, Dâṇḍapâśikas, Sthânântarikas*[3] and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites;[4] and to the people, headed by the . . .[5] *Sâmantas* and *Sâmavâjins*,[6] who dwell in the eastern division of the **Varaḍâkhaṇḍa-vishaya** (l. 26):—

"Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, **on the occasion of a saṁkrânti** (l. 34), by means of a copper-charter

[1] The doubtful sign seems to me to bear some kind of resemblance to the symbol for 5 in the Chikkulla plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 197, l. 26, Plate.

[2] Her name is not given, but from the epithets applied to her in verse 9 we may suspect that it was Gaurî.

[3] I do not remember having met this term before; *sthânâdhikaraṇika* occurs above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 11 of the text, and *sthânâdhikṛita* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 179, l. 14.

[4] Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, *châṭa-bhaṭa-vallabhajâtiyâ*; instead of *vallabha* we have *râjavallabha* above, Vol. III. p. 342, l. 6; p. 347, l. 7; and elsewhere.

[5] See below, p. 138, note 25.

[6] The term *sâmavâji[n]* occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 258, l. 14; instead of it we have *sâmavâjika*, *ibid.* p. 200, l. 11; and *sâmavâyika*, above, Vol. III. p. 352, l. 27 (where the published text has *sâma[n*]t-âsika*).

with pouring out of water given, in the way of a perpetual endowment and free from taxes,[1] **the village of Villa** (l. 29) which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *uparikara*, with the *uddêśa*,[2] with[3] its weavers, *gôkuṭas* (?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets[3] (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places[4] *etc.* and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered[5] . . . . . . , in accordance with the maxim called *bhûmichchhidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure— to the door-keeper Dhavala (l. 34), the son of Vâs[u ?] . . and grandson of Apratiḍâghôsha, an immigrant from **Viṅgipâṭaka (?)**, belonging to the Viśvâmitra *gôtra*, with the *pravara* Dêvarâta and *anupravara* Andala, and student of the Kaṇva-*śâkhâ*. Wherefore, out of respect for what is right, you should preserve this our gift ! "

This order is followed (in line 35) by the date, **the 5th (?) of the dark half of Mârgaśirsha of the year 180**; and (in lines 36-38) by benedictive and imprecatory verses. Lines 38-40 repeat that this is a charter of **Daṇḍîmahâdêvî**; give the name of the author of the *praśasti*, the poet Jambhala, son of the great poet Jayâtman (?); and record the names of certain officials, *viz.* the *Râṇaka* Dâṇâlava who was the *dûtaka* (?) of the grant, the *Mahâkshapaṭalika* Nṛi[siṁha ?], the *Mahâsaṁdhivigrahin* Ugrâditya, and the *Mahâpratihâra* (?) Prahâsa.

Line 41 adds that a quarter (?) of **the village of Villa on the occasion of a saṁkrânti** was given by Dhavala to the Brâhmaṇs; lines 42 and 43, in which the names of the villages of **Hôṇḍala** and **Khaïrapaṭa** occur, apparently state the boundaries of the village granted ; and the inscription ends with the name of the engraver, Sambhaka.

Beyond saying that, judged by the writing, this inscription could hardly be older than the 13th century A.D., I do not venture at present to express any opinion regarding its age. I do not know to what era **the year 180 of its date** and the year 288 of the date of Raṇabhañja's grant should be referred, and can only trust that other inscriptions, similarly dated, will be obtained from the same part of the country, which may both help us to fix definitely the dates of these grants and throw more light on the general question of the employment of numerical symbols in Eastern India.

The place Guhêśvarapâṭaka from which the grant was issued, the villages mentioned in it, and the *vishaya* in which they were situated, I have not found on the maps. The name **Kôṅgôda**[6] of the *maṇḍala* to which the *vishayas* of both the grants A and B belonged I have from the first ventured to identify with the name **Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o)** of Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 206), and I am assured by Professor S. Lévi that from a linguistic point of view this identification is in every respect unobjectionable. As stated by

[1] The phrases *akaratvêna* and *akarîkṛitya* are very common in grants from the same part of India.

[2] Above, Vol. IV. p. 254, I have translated *sôddêśa* by 'with all their localities,' but *uddêśa* has probably a more specific meaning. *Sôparikaraḥ sôddêśaḥ* (which apparently is the proper reading also in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 125, l. 4 from the bottom) may be equivalent to the *sôdraṅgaḥ sôparikaraḥ* of other inscriptions.

[3] In the phrase which commences here the reading of the word *gôkuṭa* appears to be certain, but its meaning is not apparent. For some expressions (the exact meaning of which is uncertain), in which the word *prakṛiti* occurs, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 183, note 82. For the general import of the phrase here used I would compare above, Vol. V. p. 112, lines 65 and 66, where the village-artisans are stated to be included in the grant ; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 58, l. 52, and above, Vol. IV. p. 296, " We (*also*) gave the oil-mongers and the five (*classes of*) artisans as (*his*) slaves." For taxes on looms *etc.* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 88, 89, 103, 155 *etc.*

[4] Compare above, Vol. V. p. 52, last line of the text ("ferry-boats" *etc.*).

[5] The phrase commencing with *-lêkhast*(?)- I am unable to explain. It recalls, of course, such well-known expressions as *achâṭabhaṭapravêśa*, *achâṭabhaṭapravêśya*, *akiṁchitpragrâhya*, *ahastaprakshêpaṇîya*, *etc.*

[6] According to the grant B the Kôṅgôda-maṇḍala (or -maṇḍalaka) was in Dakshiṇa-Kôśalâ.— For a village or town named *Kaiṅgôda* see above, Vol. III. p. 42.

Mr. Beal, Sir A. Cunningham supposed Kong-u-t'o (hitherto transcribed by Kônyôdha) to be Gañjâm, and Mr. Fergusson took it as nearly certain that the small kingdom of Kong-u-t'o was 'somewhere between Kuttack and Aska' (in the Gañjâm district). Inasmuch as both our grants come from Gañjâm, either statement would tend to support my identification. On the maps I have searched in vain for a name like Kôṅgôda. In Hiuen Tsiang's account of the kingdom of Kong-u-t'o there is one point to which, in concluding these remarks, I may draw attention. The written characters of the people of that kingdom, he says, 'are the same as those of Mid-India.' In other words, they belonged to the northern alphabet, just as is the case with the characters of the grants here edited, grants which otherwise one would rather have classed with the southern inscriptions.

TEXT.[1]

First Side.

1 Ôṁ[2] [||*] Svasti[3] vyastajal-âbhra-vibhrama-haraiḥ[4] śvêtâ[tpa]tr-[5]ôtkarair=[6]avathîya-śrutichâmaraiś=va(cha) [7]bha(ha)sita-vyâkôśa-kâ-

2 śôdayair=uddâmair=mmada-saurabhaiś=cha kariṇâm=âkshipta-saptatsa(chchha)d-[8]âmôdaiḥ sannihitâṁ sad=aiva śara-

3 d-ârambha-śriyam=vi(bi)bhrataḥ || [1*] Śrîmad-Guhêśvarapâṭṭa(ṭa)ka-nivâsi-[9] vijayaskandhâvârât || Sarvv-âśâ-pa-

4 ripûraṇ-âdhika-ruchir=yas=tâpam=astan=nayann=ânandaṅ=kṛitavân(ñ)=janasya manasi [10]prâptam=pratishṭha(shṭhâ)ñ=chiraṁ [|*]

5 saddṛishṭi-pratirôdhi yêna cha tamô nirmmûlam=û(u)nmûlitaṁ śrîmân=indur=iv=âvanîpatir=abhûd=Ummaṭṭa-

6 siṅgh-âhvayaḥ[11] || [2*] Tad-vaṁśâd=abhavann=anindita-guṇâ muktâmayâḥ sadgatâḥ[12] sad-vṛittâḥ sukha-

7 sî(śî)talâḥ kshitibhṛitaḥ[13] śri-Madgapâḍ-[14]âdayaḥ | yê nîtâ hṛiday-ôgra-tâpa-sa(śa)manê dê-

8 v-âṅganâbhiḥ svayaṅ=kaṇṭhâślêsha-sukha[ṁ?] sthiti-praṇayinô hâr-âbhirâmâḥ kṛitâḥ || [3*] Ta-

9 d-vaṁśê=bhavad=ûrjjita[ḥ*][15] kṛita-vu(bu)dha-prîti[ḥ][16] pratît-ôdayô dêvaḥ śatruvadhû-mukhêndu-taraṇi[ḥ][17] śrî-Lô-

10 ṇabhârô[18] nṛipaḥ [|*] yasy=âkramya gurupratâpa-śikhinaḥ pṛithvîbhṛita[ḥ][19] prôdva(ddha)tân dûraṁ sarvva-

11 digantarêshu tarasâ[20] svairam=prasasruḥ karâḥ[21] || [4*] [22]Tasy=âtmajaḥ praṇata-pârthiva-chakra-chûḍâ-

12 nirvvyâja-rôpita-padaś=charitârtha-nâmâ [|*] vistâri-saurabha-guṇ-ôdaya-pûrit-âśas=tasmâ-[23]

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[1] From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Metre of verses 1-4: Śârdûlavikrîḍ ta.

[4] The grant B has *-vibhrama-dharaiḥ*.

[5] B has *svêtâtapratr-*; read *śvêtâtapatr-*.

[6] B has *astiya-*; read *aśvîya-*.

[7] B has *hasita-*.

[8] B has *saptachchhad-*.

[9] B has °*pâṭaka-vasita-vi*°; I should have expected °*pâṭak-âvâsita-vi*°.

[10] B has only *prâtaṁ chiraṁ*.

[11] B has *sih-âhvaya*; read *siṁh-âhvayaḥ*.

[12] B has *sadśatâḥ*; read *saṅgatâḥ* (or *saṁgatâḥ*). B omits *sad-vṛittâḥ*.

[13] B has *sthitibhṛitaḥ*.

[14] B has *śrîmadagapâḍ-*; read *śrî-Maṅgapâḍ-*(?).

[15] B has *=urjitaḥ*.

[16] The sign of *visarga* was originally omitted, but seems to have been inserted afterwards; B has *-sîtiḥ*.

[17] This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted.

[18] B has *-Lôṇahârô*.

[19] This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted.

[20] B has *tarshâ*.

[21] B has *karâ* |.

[22] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[23] Instead of *tasmâd* B has *śrîmân*, which is a better reading.

13 d=abhût=**Kusumabhâra** iti kshitîśaḥ || [5*] Abhṛita[1] **Lali[ta*]bhâraḥ** kshmâ-
bharam=bhûri-têjâs=tad=anu
14 tad-anujanmâ vyûḍha-bhôgîndra-lîlaḥ | anayad=amalimânaṁ yad-yaśaḥpûram=
uchai(chchai)r=api ripu-rama-
15 ṇînâm=añjan-ônmiśram=aśraḥ[2] || [6*] [3]Tasmin=nṛipê divam=upêyushi tat-
tanûjaḥ śâst=âvanêr=ajanê(ni) Śâ-
16 ntikar-âbhivâ(dhâ)naḥ [|*] yên=ôddhṛitêshv=akhila-durmmada-kaṇṭakêshva(shu)
rêmê [4]yavô(thâ)-sva(su)kham=apâsta-bhiyâ janêna || [7*] Tasya
17 prasa(śa)sya-charit-â[r*]jjita-bhûri-kâ(kî)rtti[r*]=vviśvambharâ-vibhur=abhûd=anujas=
tatô=pi [|*] śrêyôbhir=êka-padam=ity=a-
18 khilaiḥ śṛi(śri)t-âtmâ yaḥ śrî-**Śubhâkara** iti prathitô yavô(thâ)rthaṁ || [8*]
Tasya tripishṭapa-jusha[ḥ][5] paramêśvara-
19 sya dêvî samasta-janatâ-ma(na)ta-padêpadmâ[6] [|*] siṅghâsanaṁ[7] śaśikar-
âmala-kâ(kî)rtti-gaurî Gaur=îva gaurava-

Second Side.

20 [8]padaṁ chiram=adhyarôhataḥ[9] || [9*] Tatô[10] **Daṇḍimahâdêvî**[11] sutâ tasyâ[12]
mahi(hî)yasî [|*] mahîm=ahi(hî)-
21 nasâ(yâ)[13] matyâ chê(chi)ra-kâlam=apâlayata[14] || [10*]
[15]Avichchhâ[nn]âyatiprâ[s]au vaṁśê[ka]ra-mahibhritâṁ [|*] chi[hna]-bhûtâ pa-
22 tâk=êva yâ va(ba)bhûva vibhûshaṇaṁ || (|) lâvaṇy-âmṛita-niḥsyanda-[16]
sundaraṁ dadhatî vapuḥ |(||)[11*] Paramamâ-
23 hêsvari[17] mâtâpitṛi-pâdânudhyâtâ paramabha[ṭṭ]ârikâ mâ(ma)hârâjâdhirâja-
paramêśva-
24 ri(rî) śrîmad-**Daṇḍimahâdêvi**[18] kusalini |[19] **Kô[ṁ]gôda-mê(ma)ṇḍê(ṇḍa)lê**
vartamâ[na*]-bhavishyan-mâ(ma)hâ-
25 [20]sâmaṁtaṁ-mâhâraja-râjaputr-ântaraṅga-kumârâmâty-ôparikarikâ-[21]vishayapatita-
26 [22]dâtyukuka-daṇḍavâsika-[sthi?]ânântari[k]ân=anyân=[cha?][23] râjaprasâdina(nô)
bha[ṭa]-châṭa-valla[bha*]jâtinâ[24] **Varadâ-**
27 **khaṇḍa-vishayê** **pu(pû)rvva-khaṇḍê** pa[vâ?]ka-[25]sâmanta-sâmavâji-pramukha-
nivâsinô ja-

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[1] Metre: Mâlinî; B omits the first two words of this verse.
[2] Read =*aśru*, which is the reading of B.
[3] Metre of verses 7-9: Vasantatilakâ.
[4] B has *yathâ-suddham=*.
[5] This sign of *visarga* was originally omitted.
[6] Read -*pâdapadmâ*.
[7] B has *sihâsanaṁ*; read *siṁhâsanaṁ*.
[8] Above the *aksharas mâhâdêvi sutâ tasyâ* of this line 10 *aksharas* are engraved in small letters. So far as I can make them out, they are *sâmaṁtasya muḍamalapaja*; I do not understand their meaning.
[9] B has =*adhyarôt* (or °*rôta*); read =*adhyarôhat*.
[10] Metre of verses 10 and 11: Ślôka (Anushṭubh). Verse 11 contains six Pâdas.
[11] B has *Daṇḍîmahâdvî*; read *Daṇḍîmahâdêvî*.
[12] B has *tasya*.
[13] B has =*ahînasâ*.
[14] Read =*apâlayat*.
[15] Read *avichchhinn-âyati-prâptau* (?) *vaṁśakara-mahîbhṛitâm*.
[16] Read -*nisyanda*-.
[17] Read *hêśvarî*.
[18] Read -*Daṇḍîmahâdêvî kuśalinî*.
[19] This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the following name the sign of *anusvâra* is very faint in the impressions; in the grant B the name is written *Kôṅgôda*-.
[20] Read *sâmaṁta-mahârâja*-.
[21] Read -*ôparika*-.
[22] The second *akshara* of this line, transcribed by *tyu*, is really *tyâ* with the sign of *u* below it; of the 10th *akshara*, transcribed by *sthâ*, the sign for *sth* seems to be no proper letter at all. Read *dâyuktaka-dâṇḍapâśika*-. In B *sthânântarikân=* is quite clear.
[23] Read =*anyâṁś=cha*.
[24] Read °*jâtîyân*; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, and note 9.
[25] Read *pradhâna*-(?) or *râṇaka*- (?). For the following *sâmavâji* compare *ibid*. p. 258, l. 14, and note 16.

Ganjam Plate of Dandimahadevi.—The year 180.

First Side

J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ·60

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. HULTZSCH.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Second Side

28 naspadâna[1] pa(ya)thârha[m*] mânayati vô(bô)dhayatî(ti) [2]pramajñâpayati [|*] [3]Viyîtam=asu bhavâra-

29 tadashasamana-Villa-grâmas[h*][4] sya(sô)parikara[h*] sôthêshah[5] sa-tamtravâya-gôku[ṭa]-[6]saundi-[7]

30 k-âdi-prakutitaḥ sa-khêṭa-ghaṭa(ṭṭa)-nadi(dî)tarasthân-âdî(di)-gulmakaḥ sarvva-pîḍâ-va-

31 rjitô=lêkhari-pravêsanâs[t]iyâ[8] bh[û]michhîdr-âpivâna-[9]nyâyên=â-chandr-ârka-kshiti-sama-kâlaṁ ma(mâ)tâpitrô-

32 r=âtmanaḥ sarvva-sa[t*]tvânâ[ñ=cha] puky(ṇy)-â[bh]ivṛi[d*]dhayê Viṅginâṭaka-[10] vin[i]rgatâya Viśvâmitra-gôtrâya Dêva-

33 râta-pravarâya Audal-âta[11] anupravarâya Kaṇḍa(ṇva)śâkh-[â]ddhyâyi[12] Apratiḍâghôsha-pautrâya Vâs[u ?]-

34 [13] . . -putrâya pratihâra-Dhavalâya saṅkrântyâṁ hast-ôdakên=âsm[â]bhis= tâmvrasâsa[n]ikṛity=âkshapanivi-dha-[14]

35 rmêṇ=âkaratvêna pratiyâ(pâ)ditasad=[15]êsh=âsma-dati=ddharma-gauravâd=bhavadbhîḥ pariphalaniyâ[16] [||*] Samvat[17] 100

36 80 Mârgaśirsha-vadi 5(?) [||*] [18]Vahubhir=vasuddhâ [da*]ttâ | râjâna[19] Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhumiḥ tasya tasya

37 tadâ pâlaḥ [||*] Mâ[20] bhud=aphasanâ saḥ para-datishû pâ[tth]îvâ [||*] Sva-datâ para-datam=vâ yô harê vasuddharâ [|*] sa vishṭhâyâ

38 kṛimir=bhutvâ pitribhi saha pachyatêḥ |(||) [21]Śrîmat Daṇḍîmahâdêvyâ tâvachhâsanam=ast=îdaṁ | Prasasti[22] samasta-

39 vachasâ kavin=êha mâ(ma)hâkavêḥ [|*] kṛitâ Jambhala-nâmn=êyam=âtmajênaṁ[23] Jayatmanaḥ [||*] [24][Pû ?]ṇâ[kô]=pi râṇaka-śrî-

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[1] Read *-nivâsi-janapadân=cha* (?). [2] Read *samâjñâ°*.

[3] Read *Viditam=astu bhavatâm=êtad-vishaya-sambaddha-*.

[4] Of the name of the village (read by me *Villa-*) the consonant of the first *akshara* has a somewhat odd form, and the second *akshara* might possibly be *lga*; below, in line 41, the name is written either *Vila-* or *Vêla-*.

[5] Read *sôddêśaḥ*.

[6] B has distinctly *gôkuṭa*; in the present inscription the sign transcribed by *ṭa* differs somewhat from the sign for *ṭa* which elsewhere is used here.

[7] Read *-śauṇḍik-âdi-prakṛitikaḥ*.

[8] B has *=lêkhani-pravêśatay*[â]. I do not find a similar term (containing *lêkhani*) elsewhere, and am unable to suggest a suitable emendation.

[9] Read *bhûmichchhidr-âbhidhâna-*. [10] Read *Viṅgipâṭaka-*(?) or *Veṅgipâṭaka-*(?).

[11] Read *°rây=Audal-êty-anu°*.

[12] Read *-âddhyâyinê*, and compare above, Vol. IV. p. 253, l. 16 of the text. With the following name which is clear in the impression, compare *Kôighôsha* and *Vallabhaghôsha*, above, Vol. III. p. 344, l. 42 of the text.

[13] Here one *akshara* is mutilated and illegible in the impression.

[14] Read *tâmraśâsanîkṛity=âkshayanîvî-dha-*.

[15] Read *°ditas=tad=êsh=âsmad-dattir=*. [16] Read *°dbhiḥ paripâlanîyâ*.

[17] Read *saṁvat*; compare my introductory remarks.

[18] I consider it unnecessary to correct all the numerous mistakes in the following verses; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 23 ff., and p. 259, l. 22 ff.

[19] Read *râjânaḥ*, which actually occurs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 49, l. 13. Instead of it, we have *râjâna* also above, Vol. III. p. 19, l. 24, and Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 24; *râjanai* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 19; and *râjana* above, Vol. IV. p. 259, l. 21.

[20] Intended for *mâ bhûd=aphala-śaṅkâ vaḥ para-dattishu* (instead of the ordinary *para-datt=êti*) *pârthivâḥ*; compare *e.g.* above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 47. The second half of the verse, commencing with *svadânât*, is omitted here.

[21] Read *śrîmad-Daṇḍîmahâdêvyâs=tâvach=chhâsanam=*(?) or *=tâmra-śâsanam=*(?).

[22] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).— Read *praśastiḥ*; for the following *samasta-*, which is quite clear in the impressions, I cannot suggest a suitable emendation.

[23] Read *°jêna Jayâtmanaḥ* (?).

[24] The engraving is quite clear here, but I can read with confidence only the second *akshara* (*ṇâ*).— Read *dâtakô* (?).

40 Dâṇâlavaḥ mâhakâshapaṭala[1] śrî-Nṛi[2] | mâ(ma)hâsandhivigrahi(hî) śrî(śry)-Ugrâditya[ḥ*] || mâpratira[3] śri-P[r]ahâsaḥ [||*]

41 [4]Vila-grâmâ[5] chat[v]âr[ô?] bhâgâ[ḥ*] | tan-maddhê(dhyê) Dhavalêna vrâ(brâ)hmaṇânâ[dêsha ?][6] bhâga[ḥ*] saṅkrântyâ[ṁ*] hast-ôdakêna dataṁ[7] [||*]

42 [8]U[tta]ra-parvvata-śikhara sâddhi tivaḍisîgâḍi pôchâḍigâḍi hôṇḍimasigagâḍi sâddhî ajhêraṭa-

43 [ga]kagâḍi sâddhi **Hôṇḍala-grâma** sâddhi **Khaïrapaṭa-grâma** sâddhi cha[tu]-śim-ôpalakshita[9] [||*] Utkâṁṇṇa[10] Sambhakêna [||*]

B.—UNDATED GRANT OF DAṆḌÎMAHÂDÊVÎ.

This is another single copper-plate which measures $10\frac{1}{4}$" broad by from $8\frac{1}{2}$" to $8\frac{3}{4}$" high and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a circular seal, $2\frac{1}{2}$" in diameter, in the same manner as in the grant A. This seal bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrîmad-Daṇḍîmahâdêvî*, in the characters of the inscription;[11] above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its tail, and on each side of the bull what may be either an elephant-goad or a lampstand; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.— The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{5}{16}$". The characters furnish another specimen of the northern alphabet peculiar to Eastern India; they closely resemble those of the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyâdharabhañja, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix. The language of the inscription is Sanskṛit. Lines 1 to (the middle of) 20 are substantially identical with lines 1 to (the middle of) 21 of the grant A. The remainder of the text, which contains the formal part of the grant, is in prose, except that it includes a benedictive and imprecatory verse in lines 35-37. In respect of orthography, what strikes one most is the promiscuous employment of the three sibilants: *s* is often used for *ś*, and *ś* nearly as often for *s* (*e.g.* in *śalila*, l. 33, and *śakalam*, l. 36); *sh* for *ś* in *shâsana-darshanâd=*, l. 34; *ś* for *sh* in *puruśai* (for *purushaiḥ*), l. 37; and *s* for *sh* in *manusya-*, l. 36. The consonant *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and medial *û* by the sign for *u*. Besides it may be noted that *t* is used for *d* in *bhumichchhitr-*, l. 29, and *Autalya-*, l. 39; and that *upêjushi*, l. 14, is written for *upêyushi*; *-âpivirdhayê*, l. 33, for *-âbhivṛiddhayê*;[12] and *udârhita*, l. 36, for *udâhṛita*. In general, the formal part of this grant is less faulty than that of the grant A; its phraseology is about the same.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭârikâ Mahârâjâdhirâja-Paramêśvarî* **Daṇḍîmahâdêvî** (l. 21), the names of whose ancestors are given exactly as in the grant A. From 'the camp of victory' at **Guhêśvarapâṭaka** (l. 3) this queen issues the following order to the

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[1] Read *mahâkshapaṭalikaḥ*.

[2] Here part of the name (perhaps *siṁhaḥ*) has been omitted.

[3] Read *mahâpratihâraḥ* (?) *śrî-*.

[4] The reading of the name here may be either *Vila-* or *Vêla-*; compare above, l. 29, where the name apparently is written *Ville-*.

[5] Read *-grâmasya*. [6] Read °*ṇânâm=êka-*(?). [7] Read *dattaḥ*.

[8] The passage which begins here I do not understand. It apparently gives the boundaries of the village, but is not in Sanskṛit. The word *sâddhi* (or *sâddhî*), which occurs in it five times, is written in another (unpublished) Gañjâm grant both *śândhi* and *sândhi*; compare *sîmâ-sandhayaḥ* above, Vol. III. p. 223, l. 16.

[9] Read *chatuḥsîm-ôpalakshitaḥ*; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 13.

[10] Read *utkîrṇṇaṁ*. (The Gañjâm grant mentioned above, note 8, has the extraordinary word *udagirîtam* for *utkîrṇam*).

[11] According to Mr. Sewell's informant the legend is "*Śrî Mahâ Sômandthasvâmi* in Telugu characters." This statement is purely imaginary.

[12] In line 30 this word is written correctly.

various functionaries, as they may be present from time to time, in the **Kôṅgôda-maṇḍalaka** in **Dakshiṇa-Kôśalâ** (l. 22), *viz.* the *Mahâsâmantas*, *Mahârâjas*, *Râjaputras*, *Antaraṅgas*, *Kumârâmâtyas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Tadâyuktakas*, *Dâṇḍapâśikas*, *Sthânântarikas*[1] and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites; and also to the *Mahâmahattaras*, *Bṛihadbhôgins*,[2] *Pustakapâlas*, ... and other officials in the **Arttaṇi-vishaya** (l. 25):—

"Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of the **uttarâyaṇa**[3] (l. 32), with pouring out of water given, free from taxes, the village of **[Ga]rasâmbhâ** which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *uparikara*, with the *uddêśa*, with its weavers, *gôkuṭas*(?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places *etc.* and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered . . . . . . , in accordance with the maxim called *bhûmichchhidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure— to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Purushôttama, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, with the *pravaras* Kâśyapa, Avatsâra and Naidhruva, a member of the Vâjasanêya *charaṇa* and student of the Kâṇva *śâkhâ* (of that Vêda). Wherefore, seeing this order, out of respect for what is right and out of respect for ourselves, nobody should cause any obstruction!"

This order is followed (in lines 35-38) by a benedictive and imprecatory verse; by the names of the writer, the *Mahâkshapaṭalika* Bhôgaḍa, and of the engraver, the copper-smith [Kaṇṭha?]kaka; and by the statement that the village granted is (given as) contained within its well-known four boundary lines.

Lines 38 and 39 add that half of the village was given by the grantee Purushôttama to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* **Ravika**, of the Kauśika *gôtra*, with the *pravaras* Audalya, Viśvâmitra and Dêvarâta.

The inscription is not dated. Regarding the localities mentioned in it I can only refer the reader to my remarks on the grant A; the village granted by the present inscription, and the *vishaya* in which it was situated, I have not been able to identify.

TEXT.[4]

First Side.

19 . . . . [5]Tatô[6] Daṇḍimahâ[dê*]vî sutâ tasya[7] mahîyasî [|*]

20 mahîm=ahînasâ(yâ) matyâ chira-kâlam=apâlayata[8] || [10*] Para[ma*]mâhêśvarî mâta(tâ)pitṛi-pâdânudhyâtâ parama-

21 bhaṭṭârikâ mahârâjâdhira(râ)ja-paramêsva(śva)rî śrîmad-Daṇḍi(ṇḍî)mahâdêvî kuśalî(li)nî || tha[9] || Dakshiṇa-Kô-

22 śalâyâṁ Kôṅgôda-maṇḍalakê yathâkâl-âdhyâsinô

[1] For this term and some others in what follows see the notes on the preceding grant.

[2] I do not remember having met with the terms *bṛihadbhôgin* and *pustakapâla* in other grants; with *bṛihadbhôgin* one may compare the ordinary *bhôgapati*. I am not able to explain the term [*ku*]*ṭakôlasa-* of the text.

[3] I take *uttarâyaṇê* (like the expression *uttarâyaṇa-nimittê* of several Eastern Chalukya grants) to be used in the sense of *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântau*, 'on the occasion of the sun's entering upon his northern course.'

[4] From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

[5] Except for some various readings the most important of which have been given above under A, the preceding portion of the text is the same as in A, and need not therefore be published.

[6] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[7] Read *tasyâ*, which is the reading of A.

[8] Read *=apâlayat*.

[9] The same *akshara tha*, between two signs of punctuation, is used at the end of Vidyâdharabhañja's plates mentioned above. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 140, note 45, and Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palaeographie*, p. 85. There should have been no sign of punctuation after *kuśalinî*.

Second Side.

23 [1]bhavishyan-mahâsâmanta-mahârâja-râjaputr-ântaraṅgara-[2]kumârâmâty-u (ô) p a r i k a - vishayapati-tadâyu-
24 ktaka-dâṇḍapâśika-sthânântarikâ[n]=anyân=api râjaprasâdinaś=châṭa-bhaṭa-vallabhajâtîy[â]-
25 n=**Arttaṇi-vishayê**=pi mahâmatatura-[3]vṛi(bṛi)hadbhôgi-pustakapâla-[ku]ṭakôlas-âdy-[â]dhikaraṇa[4]
26 yathârha[ṁ*] mânayati vô(bô)dhayati śajñâpayati[5] cha [|*] Viditam=astu bhavata(tâ)m=êtad-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-[Ga]-
27 **rasâṁbhâ-grâmaḥ** sôparikaraḥ sôddêśaḥ sa-tavra(ntra)vâya-gôkuṭa-śô(śau)ṇḍi[k]-âdi-prakṛita(ti)kaḥ
28 sa-khêṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadi(dî)tarasthân-âdi-gulmakaḥ sarvê(rva)-pi(pî)ḍâ-vivarjitô=lêkhanî-pravêśatay[â][6]
29 [7]bhumichchhitr-âpidhâna-nyâyên=â-chandr-ârka-kshiti-sama-kâla[ṁ*] [8]mâtâpimâtâpi-
30 trôr=âtmanaḥ sarva-sa[t*]tvânâñ=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê Kâśyapa-gôtrâya Kâ-
31 śyap-Âvachchhâ-[9]Naidhruva-pravarâya [10]Vâjasêna-charaṇâya Kâṇvaśâkh-âyadhy[â]y[i]-[11]
32 nê bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-Purushôta(tta)mâya[12] ih=aiva **utrâyaṇê** datam[13] mâtâpitrô-
33 r=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âpivirdhayê[14] śaliladhârâ-purasarêna[15] chandr-ârka-kshi-
34 ti-sama-kâlam=akari(rî)kṛitya pratipâditô=smâbhir=yatâṁ(taḥ)[16] shâ(śâ)sana-darsha(rśa)nâ-
35 d=dharma-gô(gau)ravâd=asmad-gauravâch=cha na kênachit=paripanthinâ bhavitavyaṁ [||*] Iti[17] kama-
36 ladal-âmvu(mbu)vindu-lôlâ[ṁ*] śrî(śri)yam=anuchintya manusya(shya)-ji(jî)vitaṁ cha [|*] śa(sa)kalam=idam=udârhita[18] vu-
37 dhvâ na hi puruśai(shaiḥ) para-kî[r]tayô vilôpyâ[ḥ] || Lêkhakô mâ(ma)hâkshapaṭalika-Bhôgaḍaḥ | Utkîrnaṁ[19] taṁ-
38 [vâ ?]ra-[20][Kaṇtha ?]kakêna |(||) Grâmô=yaṁ prasidhdha-[da]taḥsîma[ś=cha ?][21] [||*] Asya grâmasy=â[r]ddhô bhâgaḥ Purushôta(tta)mêna Kau-
39 śika-gôtrâya[22] Autalya-Viśvâmitra-Dêvaraja-[23]pravara-bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-Ravikâya dattaḥ ardhdha[24] aṁnśaṁ [||*]

---

[1] Before this one misses the word *vartamâna*-.

[2] Read -*ântaraṅga*-. [3] Read *mahâmahattara*-.

[4] Officials named *pustakapâla* I have not found mentioned elsewhere; the following [*ku*]*ṭakôlas*- I am unable to explain; and instead of -[*â*]*dhikaraṇa* I should have expected -*âdhikaraṇikân*.

[5] Read *samâjñâpayati*. [6] See above, p. 139, note 8.

[7] Read *bhûmichchhidr-âbhidhâna*-. [8] Read *mâtâpi*- (only once). [9] Read -*Âvatsâra*-.

[10] See the same form of the word (*Vâjasêna* for *Vâjasanêya*) above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 14, and note 18.

[11] Read -*âdhyâyi*-. [12] Originally °*mâyaḥ* was engraved; read °*mây=êh=aiv=ôttarâyaṇê*.

[13] Read *dattô*; but this word and the following as far as °*virdhayê* should have been omitted.

[14] Read *puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê*; compare *pany-âpivirdhayô* above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 18; and *punya-yaśô-pivarddhaê ibid.* p. 259, l. 18.

[15] Read *saliladhârâ-puraḥsarêṇa* (for °*saraṁ*); compare above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 40; Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 19; and elsewhere. Some grants have *saliladhârâ-puraḥsarêṇa vidhinâ*.

[16] Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 21.

[17] Metre: Pushpitâgrâ. For the spelling of some words of this verse compare *ibid.* ll. 32 and 33.

[18] Read =*uddhṛitaṁ cha buddhvâ*. [19] Read *utkîrṇaṁ*.

[20] Read *tambâra*- (for *tâmrakâra*- ?); compare *kâṁsâra* for *kâṁsyakâra*.

[21] Read *prasiddha-chatuḥsîmaś=cha*. The last *akshara*, which I have given as *ścha*, looks in the original like *si*, preceded by part of the letter *ś*.

[22] Read -*gotrây=Audalya*-. [23] Read -*Dêvarâta*-.

[24] Intended for *ardhô=ṁśaḥ*, but these words are superfluous.

No. 14.—PLATES OF THE TIME OF SASANKARAJA; GUPTA-SAMVAT 300.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

These plates were received in February 1900 from Mr. H. D. Taylor, I.C.S., Acting Collector of **Gañjâm**, in whose office they had been lying unclaimed. It is not known where they come from. They will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

These are **three copper-plates**, the first of which bears writing on one side only, and the other two on both sides. But the second side of the third plate is so much worn that I have not been able to read the whole of it. The plates measure 5⅝″ in breadth and 2¼″ in height. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the writing. On the left side of each plate a hole is bored for passing through a ring, which is 3½″ in diameter and about ¼″ thick, and which was cut by Mr. Venkayya on receipt of the plates. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an elliptical **seal**, which measures 1″ by 1⅝″. In the depression of the seal are, in relief, a couchant **bull** facing the proper right, a vertical line across the breadth of the seal, and at the bottom the legend *Śrî-Sainyabhîtas[y*]a*.

The **alphabet** is the 'acute-angled type with nail-heads,' which forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nâgarî alphabet.[1] Two signs of interpunctuation are used, *viz.* a single horizontal line (ll. 1, 24, 27) which corresponds to the single vertical line of other records, and the usual double vertical line.— As regards **orthography**, I would note that the *upadhmânîya* occurs twice (ll. 5 and 17) and that *b* is throughout represented by the sign for *v*. In *saṅhâra* (l. 16) the guttural nasal stands for the *anusvâra*; in *nṛi(tri)bhuvana* (l. 17) the vowel *ṛi* takes the place of the syllable *ri*; and in *saṁhâta* (l. 5) *h* is an error for *gh*. The group *ddy* is simplified into *dy* in *udyôtita* (l. 15), while *t* is doubled before *r* in *śatattrayê* (l. 2), *mâtâpittrôḥ* (l. 21) and *gôttra* (l. 22). The *anusvâra* is generally changed into the corresponding nasal before consonants of the five first classes. Two cases of wrong *saṁdhi* are *paradattâm=vâ* (l. 27) and °*dât=mahârâja*° (l. 8).— The language of the inscription is **Sanskṛit**. The bulk of it is in prose; lines 24 to 29 contain four imprecatory verses; and after them there seems to have been a fifth verse of which I can read only the last word (l. 31). The Sanskṛit of the prose portion is not very correct. Thus in line 8 f. the words *priya-tanayô mahârâjâ(ja)-Yaśôbhîtaḥ* ought to stand in the genitive case and the following pronoun *tasya* ought to be omitted; in line 11 four words have to be transposed; line 16 contains a compound in which two superfluous synonyms are included; and in line 21 f. we find *arddhêna* and °*purassarêṇa* for *arthê* and °*purassaram*.

The inscription is dated in **the Gaupta year three hundred** (l. 2), *i.e.* in Gupta-Saṁvat 300 = **A.D. 619-20**, and during the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Śaśâṅkarâja** (l. 3). This king is probably identical with Śaśâṅka, the king of **Karṇasuvarṇa**, who, according to Hiuen Tsiang,[2] murdered **Râjyavardhana**, the elder brother and predecessor of the great king **Harsha** of Ṭhâṇêsar. In Bâṇa's *Harshacharita* the slaying of Râjyavardhana is attributed to the king of **Gauḍa** who, according to one manuscript of the *Śrîharshacharita*, was called **Narêndragupta**,[3] but who, according to the commentator on the *Harshacharita*,[4] was named **Śaśâṅka**. The translators of the *Harshacharita* very ingeniously find an allusion to king Śaśâṅka in the word *śaśâṅka-maṇḍalam*.[5] If the Śaśâṅka of the *Si-yu-ki* and of the *Harshacharita* is

[1] See Professor Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, § 23.
[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 210.
[3] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 70.
[4] Bombay 1892, p. 195.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 199, and Cowell and Thomas' translation, p. x and p. 275.

really identical with the Śaśâṅkarâja of this inscription, it follows that he must have continued to reign at least 13 years after the murder of Râjyavardhana and the accession of Harsha.

As, at the beginning of the inscription, Śaśâṅkarâja is mentioned as the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* ruling the earth, he must be understood to have been the sovereign of the prince who issued the grant. This was the *Mahârâja Mahâsâmanta* **Mâdhavarâja II.** (l. 17 f.) of the **Śilôdbhava** family (l. 10), the son of **Yaśôbhita** (l. 9) and grandson of **Mâdhavarâja I.** (l. 8). He was a worshipper of Śiva (ll. 14-17) and, to judge from the legend on the seal of his grant, bore the surname **Sainyabhita.** The only other inscription of the same dynasty, which has been published, are the Buguḍa plates of Mâdhavavarman, surnamed Sainyabhîta,[1] of the family of Śailôdbhava.[2] As the alphabet of these plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription, it follows that Yaśôbhîta's son Sainyabhîta Mâdhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates was a remote descendant of Yaśôbhîta's son Sainyabhîta Mâdhavarâja II., the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśâṅkarâja.

At an eclipse of the sun (l. 23) Mâdhavarâja II. granted to a Brâhmaṇa the village of **Chhavalakkhaya** (l. 18 f.) in the **Kṛishṇagiri-vishaya.** He issued his order 'from the victorious **Kôṅgêda**' (l. 8) on the bank of the **Sâlimâ** river (l. 7). None of these local names can be traced on the map at present. Kṛishṇagiri, the head-quarters of the *vishaya*, might be identical with its synonym **Nilagiri,** which is a name of Jagannâtha (Purî) in Orissa.[3] Kôṅgêda is mentioned in the form Kaiṅgôda as the residence of Mâdhavavarman in the Buguḍa plates (l. 29), and the Kôṅgôda-maṇḍala occurs in the two grants of Daṇḍîmahâdêvî. Professor Kielhorn identifies Kôṅgôda with the **Kong-u-t'o** of Hiuen Tsiang.[4]

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

1 ओं[6] स्वस्ति । चतुरुदधिसलिलवीचीमेखलानिलीनायां सद्वीपा-[7]

2 गरपत्तनवत्या वसुन्धरायां गौप्ताब्दे[8] वर्षशतत्रये वर्त्तमाने

3 महाराजाधिराजाश्रीशशाङ्कराज्ये[9] शासति गगणतल-

4 विनि[:*]सृतभगीरथावतारिताया हिमवद्गिरेरुपरि

5 पतना[द*]नेकशिलासंघातविभिन्नवहिᳶपातालात्तर्जलौघे[10]

6 सुरसरित इव विविधतरुवरकुसुमसञ्छन्नोभयतटा-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 न्तविनिपतितजलाशयायाः श[ा]लिमासरितः [11]कुला[प]कण्ठा-

8 [12]द्विजयकोङ्गेदान्महाराजमहासामन्तश्रीमाधवराजस्य प्रियतनयो

9 महाराज(ा)यशोभीतस्तस्यापि प्रियसूनुः स्वगुण[म]रीचिनिकर-

10 [13]प्रवोधितशिलोद्भवकुलकमलो विकोशनीलोत्पल-

---

1 In taking Sainyabhita (verse 9 of the Buguḍa plates) as a surname of Mâdhavavarman (v. 12 of the same plates) I differ from Professor Kielhorn, who understands Mâdhavavarman to have been the *son* of Sainyabhita.

2 Above, Vol. III. p. 41 ff.

3 See my *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, No. I. p. 59, note 3, and p. 69, No. 291.

4 See page 136 above.

5 From the original copper-plates.

6 Expressed by a symbol.

7 Read सद्वीपगिरिपत्तनवत्यां.

8 Read गौप्ताब्दे.

9 Read °राजश्रीशशाङ्कराज्ये.

10 Read °संघातविभिन्नवहिष्पातितान्तर्जलौघाया:(?).

11 Read कूलोप°.

12 Read °द्विजयकोङ्गेदान्महा°.

13 Read प्रबोधित.

Plates of the time of Sasankaraja.—Gupta-Samvat 300.

i.

ii a.

ii b.

E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·99 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

iii a.

iii b.

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11 प्रतिस्पर्द्धि(नी)खड्गधारानिशितनिश्शेषप्रतिहतरिपु-[1]

12 वलो[2] दीनानाथकृपणवनीपकोपभुज्यमानविभव: स्वभु-

13 जपरिचयुगलोपार्ज्जितनृपश्री[:*] कमलविमलरुथर-[3]

Second Plate; Second Side.

14 तनुर्ज्जगन्म[ङ्ग*]लमखण्डनश्रुतशौर्य्यधैर्य्यगुणान्वितो महावृषभपर्य्यङ्क-

15 [4]ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहोर्व्वालचन्द्रोद्योतितजटाकलापैकदे-

16 शस्य भगवतस्स्थित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयसृष्टिसङ्घारकारणस्य[5]

17 [6]त्रिभुवनगुरो>पादभक्त: परमब्रह्मण्यो[7] महाराजमहासा-

18 मन्तश्रीमाधवराज: कुशली कृष्णागिरिविषयसंवद्धच्छवल-[8]

19 कखयग्रामे [9]वर्त्तमानभविष्यकुमारामात्योपरिकतदायुक्तकानन्यांश्च[10]

20 यथार्ह[11] पूजयति मानयति च [।*] विदितमस्तु भवतामयं ग्रामो-

Third Plate; First Side.

21 स्माभिरर्व्वेण[12] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये सलिलधारापुर-

22 [13]स्सरेणाचन्द्रार्क्कसमकालीनाच्चयनीये[14] भरद्वाजसगोत्रायाङ्गि-

23 रसवार्हस्पत्यप्रवराय[15] छरम्पस्वामिने सूर्य्योपरागे प्रतिपादित[:*] ॥

24 उक्तञ्च स्मृतिशास्त्रे । [16]वहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि: [।*]

25 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमितस्य[17] तस्य तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-

26 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद: [।*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके

27 वसे[त्*] ॥ स्वदत्ता[18] परदत्ताम्वा (।) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म् ।*] स विष्ठायां

Third Plate; Second Side.

28 [कृमि]र्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥ मा [19]भुतफलशङ्का व[:] परदत्ते-

29 [ति] पार्थिव[ा:*] ॥ स्वदाना[त्*] फलमानन्त्य[20] (॥) परद[त्तानुपालने] ॥ . . .

30 . . . .

31 [प्र]यच्छति ॥

---

[1] निशित ought to stand before खड्गधारा, and प्रतिहत before निश्शेष.

[2] Read °वलो.

[3] Read रुचिर.

[4] Read °ककुदोपधानविन्यस्तवाहोर्व्वालचन्द्रोद्योतित°.

[5] Read संहार.

[6] Read त्रिभुवन.

[7] Read °ब्रह्मण्यो.

[8] Read संवद्ध.

[9] Read °भविष्यत्कु°.

[10] Read °न्यांश्च.

[11] Read यथार्हं.

[12] Read °स्मर्व्वेण.

[13] Read °स्सरमा°.

[14] Read °चोणोचयणीयो.

[15] Read वार्हस्पत्य.

[16] Read वहु°.

[17] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[18] Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा.

[19] Read भूदफल°.

[20] Read °मनन्त्यं.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Ôṁ*. Hail! **While the Gaupta year three hundred was current** (*and*) while the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious **Śaśâṅkarâja**, was ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities,— from the victorious **Kôṅgêda** near the bank of the **Śâlimâ** river, on both of whose banks, covered with the flowers of various excellent trees, pools of water have formed, (*and which therefore*) resembles the river of the gods (Gaṅgâ), which issued from the sky, which was brought down by Bhagîratha, (*and*) the streams of whose water are split and dashed outside by many masses of rock at (*her*) fall on the top of the Snowy Mountain,— the dear son of the *Mahârâja* **Yaśôbhita**, (*who was*) the dear son of the *Mahârâja Mahâsâmanta*, the glorious **Mâdhavarâja (I.)**,— the very pious *Mahârâja Mahâsâmanta*, the glorious **Mâdhavarâja (II.)**, who has caused to bloom the lotus— the **Śilôdbhava** family, by the mass of rays— his virtues; who has repulsed the armies of all the enemies by the sharp edge of (*his*) sword which rivals an unfolded[1] flower of the blue lotus; whose wealth is being enjoyed by the distressed, helpless, poor, and mendicants; who has acquired the prosperity of a prince by the pair of his bar-like arms; whose body is as spotless and as brilliant as a lotus; who possesses the virtues of learning, courage and constancy which adorn the whole world; (*and*) who is devoted to the feet of the blessed lord of the three worlds (*viz.* Śiva) who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction,[2] whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (*viz.* Nandi) as on the pillow of a couch, (*and*) whose matted hair is illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon,— being in good health, suitably worships and honours princes, ministers, officers, their subordinates, and others who are present or shall be present at the village of **Chhavalakkhaya** which belongs to the **Kṛishṇagiri-vishaya**, (*and informs them as follows*) :—

(L. 20.) "Let it be known to you (*that*), for the sake of (*our*) father and mother and for the increase of (*our*) own merit, with libations of water, **at an eclipse of the sun**, we have given this village, to last for the same time as the moon and the sun, to Chharampasvâmin who belongs to the *gôtra* of Bharadvâja (*and*) has the *pravaras* of Âṅgirasa and Bârhaspatya."

(L. 24.) And it is said in the Law-book (*Smṛitiśâstra*) :[3] [Here follow four of the customary verses, and perhaps a fifth verse which is obliterated.]

No. 15.— TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS AT AMARAVATI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These two inscriptions (Nos. 269 and 270 of 1897) are engraved on the four sides of a pillar at the southern entrance to the central shrine of the **Amarêśvara** temple at **Amarâvatî** in the Sattenapalli tâluka of the Kistna district. The **alphabet** is Telugu, and the **languages** are Sanskṛit and Telugu.

A.— Inscription of Kêta II.; Śaka-Saṁvat 1104.

This inscription contains 52 Sanskṛit verses. There are passages in Telugu prose in lines 108 to 127, 131 to 149, and 170 to 187.

The inscription opens with the mention of the city of **Śrî-Dhânyakaṭaka**, which contains the Śiva temple called **Amarêśvara**, and close to which is 'a very lofty *Chaitya*' of god **Buddha**

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[1] This meaning of *vikôśa* is not given in the dictionaries.
[2] The words *srishṭi* and *saṁhâra* are mere repetitions of *utpatti* and *pralaya*.
[3] In the Buguḍa plates (l. 44 f.) the same four verses are stated to be quotations from the Law of Manu.

(v. 1 f.). Dhânyakaṭaka is the old name of the present Amarâvatî;[1] the temple of Amarêśvara is the one in which the inscription is preserved; and the *Chaitya* of Buddha is the famous Amarâvatî Stûpa, which at the time of the inscription must have been still in good preservation. In that city, the inscription continues, was a royal family which claimed descent from the feet of the Creator (v. 3 f.), *i.e.* which belonged to the **Śûdra** caste. Four generations are mentioned, *viz.* **Bhîma I.** (v. 6), **Kêta I.** (v. 24), **Bhîma II.** (v. 28) whose wife was **Sabbamâdêvî** (v. 32), and **Kêta II.** (v. 33). Nothing of historical importance is related of any of these princes in the 43 Sanskṛit verses with which the inscription opens. The first passage in Telugu (l. 108 ff.) gives a list of the *birudas*[2] of Kêta II. He was styled the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Kôṭa-Kêtarâja,**— in which the word *Kôṭa*, 'the fort,' perhaps refers to the fort of Dharaṇikôṭa[3] near Amarâvatî,— 'the lord of the district of **six-thousand** (villages) on the southern (bank) of the **Kṛishṇaveṇṇâ** river, obtained through the favour of the glorious **Triṇayana-Pallava,**'[4] and 'the lord of **Śrî-Dhânyakaṭaka,** the best of cities.' Two further generations of the same family are known from the **Yenamadala** inscription of Gaṇapâmbâ,[5] which mentions Kêta (identical with Kêta II.), his son Rudra, and the latter's son Bêta who became the husband of the Kâkatîya princess Gaṇapâmbâ.

The grants recorded in the inscription were all made on **Thursday,** the **tenth** *tithi* of the **bright** fortnight of **Mâgha** in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1104.**[6] The grants are five in number. The 1st, 2nd and 5th are specified both in Sanskṛit verse and Telugu prose, while the 3rd and 4th are only worded in Telugu:— (1) **Kêta II.** granted to **Buddha** the village of Kranteṟu in the district of Kaṇḍravâḍi, and the villages of Mêḍukoṇḍûru and Ḍoṅkipaṟṟu in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi (v. 44 and ll. 121 to 124); (2) **Kêta II.** granted to **Buddha** 110 sheep, the milk of which had to be used for ghee to feed two perpetual lamps (v. 46 and the subsequent Telugu passage); (3) **Gasavi-Sûramadêvi,** one of the king's concubines, gave to **Buddha** 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp (l. 141 ff.); (4) a similar gift was made by **Prôlamadêvi,** apparently another of the king's favourites (l. 145 ff.); and (5) **Kêta II.** himself granted to Brâhmaṇas the following villages for the merit of his mother **Sabbamadêvi,**[7] of his father **Bhîmarâja,**[8] of his elder brother **Chôḍerâja,**[9] and for his own merit:— Kôkallu (v. 48) in the district of Goṇḍanâtavâḍi (l. 173); Giñjipâḍu, Challagarâ and Tâḍivâya (v. 49) in the same district (l. 176); Ammalapûṇḍi (v. 50) in the same district (l. 179 f.); Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapâḍu (v. 51) in the same district (l. 182); Sattenapalli, Chintapalli (v. 51), Kêtepalli and Eṟraguṇṭa (l. 184 f.) in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi (l. 183 f.); and Oṅkadona (v. 51) in the district of Doḍḍikaṇḍravâḍi (l. 185). The names of these villages were changed, respectively, into **Sabbâmbikâpuram** (l. 174) after the name of his mother; **Bhîmâvuram** (l. 177 f.) after that of his father; **Chôḍâvuram** (l. 180 f.) after that of his elder brother; and **Jagamechchugaṇḍapuram** (l. 185 f.) after one of his own surnames.

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[1] See above, p. 85 and note 4. The village of Viripara (*loc. cit.*) is perhaps the modern Vipparla (No. 95 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tâluka), 12 miles west of Amarâvatî.

[2] Four of these are not Telugu, but Kanarese, *viz. Kaligaḷa-mogada-kai, Bêḍvarig-iva-kai, Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* and *Nanni-mârtaṇḍa.*

[3] See Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 64.

[4] The same *biruda* occurs in the Yenamadala inscription; above, Vol. III. p. 95.

[5] Above, Vol. III. p. 94.

[6] This date is given five times: v. 44, ll. 119 to 121, v. 46, l. 133 f., and v. 47. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—"The date is incorrect. It would correspond, for Ś. 1104 current, to Saturday, the 16th January A.D. 1182; for Ś. 1104 expired, to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1183, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise; and for Ś. 1105 expired, to Tuesday, the 24th January A.D. 1184. I am of opinion that the year intended is Ś. 1104 *expired*, and that either the week-day or the *tithi* has been quoted incorrectly."

[7] Identical with Sabbamâdêvî (v. 32).

[8] Identical with Bhîma II. (v. 28).

[9] The same person is mentioned in No. 257 of 1897 as '(his) elder brother Kôṭa-Chôḍarâja' (*anna Gôṭa-Chôḍarâju*).

It appears from the foregoing abstract that the majority of the villages were granted to Brâhmaṇas, but that, in spite of that, and though Kêta II. and his predecessors were worshippers of Śiva-Amarêśvara,[1] he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two further lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription, that at the time of Kêta II. the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindû rulers of Amarâvatî. I hope I am not unjust to Kêta II. if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case of '*Cherchez la femme !*' The two *dêvîs* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upâsikâs* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god, though he professed the Śaiva creed. It may have been to atone for his apostasy that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to Brâhmaṇas, as recorded in the inscription.

The villages granted by Kêta II. belonged to four different districts:— Kaṇḍravâḍi, Doḍḍikaṇḍravâḍi, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi, and Goṇḍanâtavâḍi. **Kaṇḍravâḍi** is evidently the same as the Kaṇḍeṟuvâḍi-vishaya of the Eastern Châlukya inscriptions,[2] which also mention an Uttara-Kaṇḍeṟuvâḍi-vishaya.[3] **Doḍḍikaṇḍravâḍi** is perhaps meant for Doḍḍakaṇḍravâḍi, *i.e.* 'the great Kaṇḍravâḍi.' The district of **Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi** corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tâluka of the Kistna district; for, the villages of **Mêḍukoṇḍûru, Ḍoṅkiparṟu, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli** and **Eṟṟaguṇṭa**[4] are identical with the modern Medikondur, Dokiparru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Yerraguntapadu.[5] **Goṇḍanâtavâḍi** is identical with the Konnâtavâḍî-vishaya which was ruled over by Kêta II. according to the Yenamadala inscription.[6] It corresponds to the western portion of the Sattenapalli tâluka; for, the villages of **Giñjipâḍu, Challagarâ, Tâḍivâya, Kuṇṭimaddi** and **Uppalapâḍu**[7] are identical with the modern Gunjapalli, Challagaregi, Taduvaya, Kuntamaddi and Vuppalapadu.[8]

The date of the present inscription was probably the very day of the accession of Kêta II. to the throne.[9] Two other inscriptions of the Amarêśvara temple (Nos. 257 and 264 of 1897) are dated on the very same day. From the first of them we learn that **Sabbâ** (or Sabbamâ), the mother of Kêta II., was the sister of **Goṅka**,[10] who is probably identical with Goṅka III. of Velanâṇḍu.[11] Later inscriptions of Kêta II. at Amarâvatî and Peddacherukûru are dated in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1119, 1122 and 1131.**[12]

TEXT.[13]

East Face.[14]

1 ओं[15] [॥*] अस्ति श्रीधा[न्य]कटकं [पुरं सुरपुरा]द्वरं । यत्रामरेश्व-

2 रश्शंभुरमरेश्वरपूजितः ॥ [१*] बुद्धो देव[सु]-

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[1] See verse 3 and l. 113 f.

[2] See above, Vol. V. p. 119.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 127.

[4] Kêtepalli cannot be identified.

[5] Nos. 188, 186, 148, 22 and 154 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tâluka.

[6] Above, Vol. III. p. 102, v. 11.

[7] Kôkallu and Ammalapûṇḍi cannot be identified.

[8] Nos. 19, 20, 21, 18 and 51 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tâluka.

[9] See below, p. 155, note 2.

[10] No. 257 of 1897, ll. 29 to 33 :—

भूपालरत्नयुतसत्कुलवार्द्धिजाता गोंकक्षितीशशशिनो भगिनी गुणाढ्या ।
सब्बाह्वया कमलचारुकरा स्फुटं श्रीरस्याभवत्प्रियतमा पुरुषोत्तमस्य ॥

[11] See above, Vol. IV. pp. 35, 37 and 38.

[12] Nos. 261, 251 and 244 of 1897.

[13] From an inked estampage, prepared in 1897 by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

[14] All the verses of this face, with the exception of verse 2, are found also on the east face of No. 262 of 1897.

[15] Expressed by a symbol.

3 सान्निध्यो यत्र धात्रा प्रपूजितः । चै-
4 त्यमत्युन्नतं यत्र नानाचित्रसु-
5 चित्रितं ॥ [२*] अस्ति तत्र स्थिरैश्वर्य्यं राज्ञामाज्ञावतां
6 कुलं । अमरेश्वरदेवेन रक्षितं रक्षकं नृणां ॥ [३*] जातं सु-
7 रेंद्रदैत्येंद्रमुनींद्रगणवंदितात् । श्रेयसां[1]
8 भूयसां दातुर्धातुर्य्यश्चरणद्वयात् ॥ [४*] क्षो-
9 णीक्षेमंकरा भूपा यत्र शत्रुभयंकराः ।
10 शंकरास्साधुवृत्तानां शंकरस्य तु किंकराः ॥ [५*]
11 तत्रामरेशसंकाशो भीमो नाम नृपोभवत् ।
12 विश्वे विश्वंभराधीशा यत्पदांबुजषट्पदाः ॥ [६*]
13 उर्व्वीपतिषु सर्व्वेषु सदृक्षो यस्य नेक्षितः ।
14 प्रजानां पालने सम्यग्द्विषामुन्मूलने तथा[2] ॥ [७*]
15 चक्रे पवित्रचारित्रो भक्त्या शक्त्या च भव्यया ।
16 यश्शुरेशान्नरेशांश्च वरदान्करदानपि ॥ [८*] यो
17 भूरिभक्तिसुप्रीतशर्व्वस्सर्व्वमनोरथान् ।
18 क्षतवान्मित्रसंघस्य क्षत्तवाञ्छत्रुसंहतेः ॥ [९*]
19 विस्मापितजना यस्य विस्मारितरणांतरा ।
20 वीरपूरितजंभारिपुरा रणपरंपरा ॥ [१०*]
21 यस्य क्ष्माचक्रशक्रस्य चक्रिचक्रसमौजसा ।
22 चक्रेण विक्रम्य दिशां चक्रं चक्रे भृशं वशं ॥ [११*]
23 क्षिप्रं विपक्षवक्षांसि पाटयंतोतिपाट-
24 वात् । नृसिंहनखरेभ्योपि प्रखरा यच्छरा बभुः ॥ [१२*]
25 कांत्या पूर्ण्णो[3] रणे तूर्ण्णं[4] यद्धनुःप्रेरितैश्शरैः[5] ।
26 अर्द्धचंद्रैर्व्यलूयंत[6] वक्त्रचंद्रा विरोधिनां ॥ [१३*]
27 महामहीध्रागारोहन्यद्रणे विद्रुता द्विषः [।*]
28 तीक्ष्णै[:] क्षुण्णाः पुनश्शस्त्रैर्य्या भयातिशयादिव ॥ [१४*]
29 यत्कटोत्कटदोर्द्दंडचंडायुधविखंडिताः [।*]
30 अखंडविक्रमाश्शाक्रमाक्राममरयः पुरं [॥] [१५*]
31 पांसुव्राते समुध्भूते[7] यद्वयैस्समरोध्धतैः[8] [।*]

[1] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[2] No. 262 of 1897 reads तया.
[3] Read पूर्ण्णा.
[4] Read तूर्ण्णं.
[5] No. 262 of 1897 reads °तैश्शरैः.
[6] No. 262 of 1897 reads °चंद्रैर्व्य°.
[7] Read समुद्भूते.
[8] Read °रोद्धतैः.

32 व्योमव्यापिनि सङ्ग्रमं समुत्थपांसुसञ्चयः ॥ [१६*]
33 नमयंतो भुवं भीमाः पदन्यासेन यद्गजाः ।
34 दिग्गजानां रणे चक्रुर्द्दिग्गजानां च पीडनं ॥ [१७*]
35 चलयन्तो रणारंभेष्वचलानचलैस्सह ।
36 यद्बलैश्चतुरौर्व्वीणां चालनं लीलया कृतं ॥ [१८*]
37 प्राकारैः पातितैस्सम्यक्परिखाः परिपूर्य्य यः ।
38 प्रध्वंस[1] रिपुदुर्ग्गाणां प्रागभावसमं व्यधात् ॥ [१९*]
39 दूरस्था अपि वीरस्य यस्य भ्राजिष्णुतेजसः ।
40 आज्ञां कुर्व्वंति सर्व्वे स्म भूभृतः प्राभृतप्रभाः[2] ॥ [२०*]
41 येन धर्म्मप्रधानेन कारुण्योपेतचेतसा । पु-
42 त्रा इव परित्राताश्शत्रवश्शरणागताः ॥ [२१*]
43 चरित्रेण पवित्रेण विद्यया निरवद्यया ।
44 भूषितास्तोषिता येन भूसुरा भासुरान्वयाः ॥ [२२*]
45 विवेकेनारिषड्वर्ग्गंमरिवर्ग्गं भुजौजसा । जि-
46 त्वार्ज्जितचतुर्व्वर्ग्गो नृपवर्म्मो रराज यः ॥ [२३] *

North Face.

47 ◎ तस्य प्रशस्तचारित्र[ख्या]तः
48 केतनृपसुतः । पटुर्द्दीनार्त्तिहर[णे]
49 रणे वितरणे च यः ॥ [२४*] युद्धे यत्ते-
50 तिभिन्नारिकिरीटमणिभि[:*] श्रिता । घना-
51 हतोत्तप्तलोहस्फुलिंगैरिव भूर-
52 भात् ॥ [२५*] बहुशोभिमुखप्राप्तं
53 स्फुटाभ्यागमपर्व्वसु । राजमं-[3]
54 डलमग्रासि सम्यग्यद्बाहुराहु-
55 णा ॥ [२६*] सर्व्वसर्व्व[स]हाधीशगर्व्वपर्व्व-
56 तपाटने । पटुः प्रथीयान्[4] प्रथितो
57 यत्प्रतापपविर्भुवि[5] ॥ [२७*] तस्यासीन्नी-
58 मभूमीशस्तनयो विनयोन्नतः ।
59 यश्शोभाश्चनुभूपानां भानां
60 भानुरिवाहरत् ॥ [२८*] दूरपाता दृढा-

[1] No. 262 of 1897 reads प्रध्वंसं.
[2] No. 262 of 1897 reads °प्रदाः.
[3] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[4] Read प्रथीयान्.
[5] Read °पविर्भुवि.

61 धाता भीषणा रुक्मभूषणाः । अ-
62 मोघा यस्य बाणौघा रेजिरे स-
63 मराजिरे ॥ [२९*] विक्रमादक्रियंतो-
64 स्थैर्येण नानाधराधराः । अस्तम-
65 धुपरिक्षीबकुलाकुलगुहागृहाः ॥ [३०*]
66 कृताः पुण्यवता येन सर्व्वसंप-
67 त्समन्विताः । विबुधा भूमिविबु-
68 धा विबुधा इव विष्णुना ॥ [३१*] त-
69 स्यार्य्या सब्बमादेवी ख्याता-
70 भूद्भुवि वीरसूः । वंश्याश्शौ-
71 र्य्योन्नता यस्याः पित्रो[:*] श्वशु-
72 रयोरपि ॥ [३२*] तस्मात्तस्यां समु-
73 द्भूतः केतभूपः प्रतापवान् ।
74 सद्गुणैरुपमानानां योक्ता-
75 पींदुपमेयतां ॥ [३३*] नेता सम्य-
76 क्प्रजानां यो जेता युद्धेषु
77 विद्विषां । दातार्त्थिभ्योर्त्थितार्त्था-
78 नां त्राता [च] शरणार्त्थिनां ॥ [३४*] य[:]
79 प्रह्वीकृतभूपालो भूपाल-
80 नयपंडितः । पंडितस्तुत-
81 सद्वृत्त[:*] सद्वृत्तजनवत्सलः ॥ [३५*] येन
82 ध्वस्तविभूतीनाममरातीनाम-
83 भून्मुखं । ध्वंतस्संतापसमा-
84 च्छिन्नमेनेव मलीमसं ॥ [३६*] बा-
85 णैः किरणदेश्योयैर्ध्वांतदेश्यावि-
86 पुद्विपान् । तिग्मांशुकल्पा भिंद-[1]
87 ति यच्छटा[स्स]मरोत्कटाः ॥ [३७*] चित्तस्थ-
88 शिवमौळींदुसुधार्द्रा इव यद्गिर[: ।]
89 मधुरा नित्यमानंदममंदं तन्व-
90 ते सतां ॥ [३८*] प्रतिग्रामं प्रतिपुरं प्र-
91 त्योकः प्रतिचत्वरं । प्रतितीर्त्थं प्रति-

[1] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

92 सभं यस्यौदार्य्यं प्रशस्यते ॥ [३९*]
93 चित्रैस्सत्रालयैर्य्यस्य पृथिव्यां [प्र]-
94 थितं यशः । बुभुक्षु[भिक्षुसं]-
95 घातप्रभूतप्रीतिहेतु[भि]ः [॥ ४०*] [◎]

West Face.

96 ◎ अनंतप्राणिसुप्रीतिकारिभिर्भूरिवा-[1]
97 रिभिः । तडागैस्सागराभोगैर्य्यो विभूषि-
98 तभूतलः ॥ [४१*] आरामान्योतनोदारान्स-
99 रोभिश्शोभितांतरान् । उत्फुल्लकंजकिंज-
100 ल्कपुंजपिंजरितांतरैः ॥ [४२*] देवालयै-
101 स्सुधाशुभ्रैस्सुवर्णकलशांकितैः[2] । पता-
102 काचुंबिताभोगैर्य्यश्शर्म्मो नीत उन्नतिं ॥ [४३*]
103 शाकाब्दे युगखेंदुरूपगणिते माघे
104 दशम्यां तिथौ शुक्लायां गुरुवासरे
105 गुणनिधिस्संप्राप्तराज्योन्नतिः । श्रीम-
106 ल्लोतनृपस्समस्तगुरवे ग्रामान्वरेण्यान्ब-
107 हून्संप्रादात्सुगतेश्वराय विपुल-
108 श्रीधर्म्मसंवृद्धये ॥ [४४*] ◎ ◎ ◎ स्वस्ति चतुस्समु-
109 द्रमुद्रितनिखिलवसुंधरापरिपालकश्री-
110 मत्त्रिणयनपल्लवप्रसादासादितकृष्णावेण्णा-[3]
111 नदीदक्षिणषट्सहस्रावनीवल्लभ भयलोभ-
112 दुर्ल्लभ चोडचाळुक्यसामंतमदानेक[प]-
113 मृगेंद्र विभवामरेंद्र श्रीमदमरेश्वरदेव-
114 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाधक
115 श्रीधान्यकटकपुरवराधीश्वर प्रतापलंके-
116 श्वर कलिगळमोगदके वेङ्गुरिगोवके गंडरगं-
117 ड गंडभेरुंड जगमेच्चुगंड नन्निमार्त्तं-[4]
118 ड नामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं श्रीमन्महा-
119 मंडलेश्वर कोटकेतराजुलु शकवर्षंबुलु
120 ११०४ गुनेंटि माघ शुद्ध १० गुरुवारमु-

[1] Read °भिर्भूरि°. [2] Read °सुवर्ण°. [3] Read कृष्णवेण्णा.
[4] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

121 न श्रीमद्बुद्धदेवरकु सुंकसुलोनुगा सर्व्वा-
122 यसुलतोनाचंद्रार्क्कसुगानिच्चिन जड्लु कंद्र-
123 वाडिलोनि क्रंतेꠡ कोंडपडुमटिलोनि मेडु-
124 कोंडूरनु डोंकिपꠡꠡनु [॥*] ई ध[र्म्म]म नडप-
125 निवार पंचमहापातकमुलु सेसिनवा-
126 र वारणासि व्रच्चिनवार तम पेद्द कोडुकु क-
127 पालमुनं गुडिचिनवार [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
128 वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टिं वर्षस-
129 हस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [४५*] ◎ ◎ ◎
130 ❁ वेदाग्नेंदुमिते शाके माघे शुक्ले गुरोर्हिने । दशम्यां[1]
131 केतभूपालो दीपौ बुद्धाय दत्तवान् ॥ [४६*] स्वस्ति सम-
132 स्तप्रशस्तिसहितं श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर कोटकेतरा-
133 जुलु शकवर्षंमुलु ११०४ गुनेंटि माघ शुद्ध १०
134 गुरुवारमुनं दमकु धर्म्मार्त्थंमुगा श्रीमद्बु-
135 द्धदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिंदीपमुलु रेंटिकिने इच्चिन इ-
136 न्पएड्लु ११० [।*] वीनिलोन दामकमरेबोयुंडु [एं]भदेनु गो-
137 ꠡयलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्क्कमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन
138 नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वोयंगलवांडु ॥ जटुकूरि के-
139 तेबोयुंडु एंभडेनु[2] गोꠡयलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्क्कंमु-
140 गां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वो-
141 यंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ भोगस्त्रीललोनं गसविस्तूरमदेवुलु द-
142 नकु धर्म्मार्त्थंमुगा श्रीमद्बुद्धदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिंदीपमु-
143 नकिच्चिन इन्पएड्लु ५५ [।*] वीनिं जेकोनि सब्बकमारेबोयुंडु
आचंद्रा-
144 र्क्कंमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वोयं-[3]
145 गलवांडु ॥ भंडार्वुं प्रोलमदेवुलु दनकु धर्म्मार्त्थंमुगा
146 श्रीमद्बुद्धदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिंदीपमुनकिच्चिन इन्पएड्लु ५५ [।*]
147 विनिं[4] जेकोनि चेंबꠡ कोम्मनबोनि कोड्कु माचेनबोयुंडु
148 आचंद्रार्क्कंमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु
149 सेसि नेयि वोयंगलवांडु ॥ ❁ ❁ ❁ श्री श्री श्री [॥*]

[1] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[2] Read एंभदेनु.

[3] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[4] Read वीनिं.

South Face.[1]

150 ❁ शाक[ाब्दे] वार्द्धि[ता]रा[पथ]शशिवसुधासम्मि[ते]
151 मा[घ]मा[से शुक्ले प]क्षे दशम्यां श्रि[दि]वपरिवृढा-
152 चार्य्य[वा]रे वरेण्ये । सोयं संप्राप्तराज्यस्सकल-
153 गुणनिधिः केतविश्वंभरेशो ग्रामान् विख्यातसीमा-
154 न् प्रथितगुणगणान्[2] प्राददाद्ब्राह्मणेभ्यः ॥ [४७*]
155 ग्रामं [को]कनुनामानं प्रशस्तं सस्यसंप-
156 दा । विद्वद्भ्यो द्विजवर्य्येभ्यो जनन्या[:*] श्रेयसेद-
157 दात् ॥ [४८*] गिंजिपाडुं चन्नगरां ताडिवाय[3]
158 च शोभनान् । ग्रामान्द्विजत्रा[4] कृतवान्भूय-
159 से श्रेयसे पितुः ॥ [४९*] सम्यगम्मलपूं[डिं*] च ग्रामं[5]
160 भूमिगुणान्वितं । विप्रसात्कृतवान्भ्रातु-
161 र्ज्यायसे[6] श्रेयसे मुदा ॥ [५०*] सत्तेनपल्लिं प्रा-
162 दिशदुप्पलपाडुं[7] च चिंतपर्त्तीं च तथा[8] ।
163 शोंकदोनकुंटिमट्टी धर्म्मार्त्थं स्वस्य स
164 द्विजेभ्यो ग्रामान् ॥ [५१*] व्रीहिव्रातैस्सुजातै-
165 रलघुफलभरैश्शालिसस्यैः प्रशस्यैरन्ना-
166 [ढै]स्सुप्ररूढैस्तिलयवच[ण]कैर्म्मुद्ग-
167 माषैस्सपोषैः । धान्यैश्चान्यैसमृद्धा[9]
168 दिशि दिशि लसिताश्शोभनैश्शाकवाटैश्शोभं-
169 तां श्रीसमेतास्सकलजनदृशासुत्स-
170 वाश्शश्वदेते ॥ [५२*] ◎ स्वस्ति समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं
171 श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर कोटकेतराजुलु त-
172 म तल्लि स[ब्ब]मदेवुलकु धर्म्मार्त्थमुगा श्रीम-
173 द्ब्राह्मणो[त्त]मुलकुं गोंडमातवाडिलोनिश्चिन यू-
174 रु कोकासु दीनि पेरु सर्व्वांबिकापुरमु [।*] तम तं-
175 ड्रि भीमराजुनकु धर्म्मार्त्थमुगा श्रीमद्ब्राह्म-
176 णोत्तमुलकुं गोंडमातवाडिलोनिश्चिन यू[ड्लु]

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[1] Verses 47 to 52 are found also on the south face of No. 264 of 1897.

[2] No. 264 of 1897 reads प्रथितपृथुगुणान.

[3] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[4] See Pâṇini, V. 4, 55.

[5] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[6] Read °ज्यायस:.

[7] No. 264 of 1897 reads °दुप्पुलपाडुं.

[8] No. 264 of 1897 reads तथा.

[9] No. 264 of 1897 reads °श्चैस्सुमृद्धा.

177 मिंजिपाडु चल्लमरा ताडिवाय इवि भीमा-
178 वुरमुलु [।*] तमक चोडराजुनकु धर्म्मार्त्थमु-
179 गा श्रीमन्महाप्रधानोत्तमुलकुं गोंड्नातवा-
180 डिल्लोनिच्चिन यूरु चम्मलपूंडि दोनि पेरु चो-
181 डावुरमु [।*] तनकु धर्म्मार्त्थमुगा श्रीमन्महा-
182 प्रधानोत्तमुलकुं गोंडनातवाडिल्लोनिच्चिन
183 यूल्लु कुंटिमद्दि उप्पलपाडु कोंडपडु-
184 मटिलो सत्तेनपल्लि चिंत्तपल्लि केतेपल्लि एल्लिगुं-[1]
185 टलु दोङ्किकंब्रवाडि पंदु पोंकदोन इवि ज-
186 गमेल्लुगंडपुरमुलु [।*] ईयग्रहारमु-
187 लु सर्व्वक(ा)रपरिहारमुगा मन्निच्चितिमि ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ. (Verse 1.) "There is a city (*named*) **Śrî-Dhânyakaṭaka,** which is superior to the city of the gods, (*and*) where (*the temple of*) Śambhu (Śiva) (*named*) **Amarêśvara** is worshipped by the lord of gods (Indra);

(V. 2.) "Where god **Buddha,** worshipped by the Creator, is quite close, (*and*) where (*there is*) a very lofty *Chaitya*, well decorated with various sculptures.

(V. 3.) "In that (*city*) there is a family of powerful kings, enjoying uninterrupted prosperity, protected by the god **Amarêśvara,** (*and*) protecting men;

(V. 4.) "Which (*family*) was born from the pair of feet— worshipped by the crowds of lords of gods, lords of demons, and lords of sages,— of the Creator, the bestower of great bliss."

In this family was born **Bhîma (I.)** (v. 6). His son was **Kêta (I.)** (v. 24). His son was **Bhîma (II.)** (v. 28), whose wife was **Sabbamâdêvî** (v. 32). Their son was **Kêta (II.)** (v. 33), a worshipper of Śiva (v. 38). He built alms-houses (*sattrâlaya*, v. 40) and constructed tanks (*taḍâga*, v. 41), gardens (*ârâma*, v. 42), and temples (*dêvâlaya*, v. 43).

(V. 44.) "In the **Śâka year** reckoned by the *Yugas* (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and *rûpa* (1),— (*i.e.* **1104**),— in (*the month of*) **Mâgha,** on the **tenth** *tithi* of the **bright** (*fortnight*), on a **Thursday,**— the glorious king **Kêta,** a treasury of virtues, possessing great prosperity, having been raised to the kingdom,[2] gave, for the increase of (*his*) merit, many excellent villages to the preceptor of all (*men*), the lord **Sugata** (Buddha).

(Line 108.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Kôṭa-Kêtarâja,** who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the lord of the **district of six-thousand (villages)** (*Shaṭsahasrâvanî*) **on the southern (bank) of the Kṛishṇavêṇṇâ river,** obtained through the favour of the glorious **Triṇayana-Pallava,** the protector of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans; inaccessible to fear and greed; the lion to the rutting elephants—the **Chôḍa** and **Châḷukya** *Sâmantas*; resembling the lord of gods (Indra) in power; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of the holy god **Amarêśvara**; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lord of **Śrî-Dhânyakaṭaka,**

[1] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[2] This seems to imply that the date of the grant was that of the king's accession to the throne. A similar statement occurs in verse 47.

the best of cities; resembling the lord of Laṅkâ (Râvaṇa) in valour; he whose hand closes with[1] heroes; he whose hand gives to suppliants; the hero of heroes; the double-headed eagle (*Gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa*); the hero praised by the world (*Jagamechchugaṇḍa*); and the sun of truth,— in the **Śaka year 1104**, on the **10th** (*tithi*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Mâgha**, on a **Thursday**,— gave to the holy god **Buddha** the (*following*) villages, together with all revenue including tolls, for as long as the moon and the sun shall last:— **Kranteṛu** in (*the district of*) **Kaṇḍravâḍi**, and **Mêḍukoṇḍûru** and **Ḍoṅkipaṛṛu** in (*the district of*) **Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi**. Those who do not keep up this charity, will have committed the five great sins, will have destroyed Vâraṇâsi, (*and*) will have eaten from the skull of their eldest son." Here follows an imprecatory verse (45).

(V. 46.) "In the **Śâka** (*year*) measured by the *Vêdas* (4), the directions (10), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* **1104**),— on the **tenth** *tithi* of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Mâgha**, on a **Thursday**,— king **Kêta** gave two lamps to **Buddha**.

(L. 131.) "Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Kôṭa-Kêtarâja**,— in the **Śaka year 1104**, on the **10th** (*tithi*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Mâgha**, on a **Thursday**,— gave for his own merit to the holy god **Buddha** 110 sheep[2] for two perpetual lamps. Having received fifty-five sheep among these, Dâmaka-Amare-Bôya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *mâna*[3] of ghee as long as the moon and the sun shall last. Having received (*the remaining*) fifty-five sheep, Kête-Bôya of **Ûṭukûru**[4] with his sons and further descendants has to supply *etc.*

(L. 141.) "**Gasavi-Sûrama-dêvi**, (*one*) among the concubines (*of the king*), gave for her own merit to the holy god **Buddha** 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Sabbaka-Mâre-Bôya has to supply *etc.*

(L. 145.) "**Prôlamadêvi**, (*who was in charge*) of the treasury, gave for her own merit to the holy god **Buddha** 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Mâchena-Bôya, the son of Kommana-Bôya of **Chembaṛti**, has to supply *etc.*

(V. 47.) "In the **Śâka year** measured by the oceans (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and the earth (1),— (*i.e.* **1104**),— on the **tenth** *tithi* of the **bright** fortnight of the month of **Mâgha**, on an excellent **Thursday**,— that treasury of all virtues, king **Kêta**, who had obtained the kingdom, gave villages whose boundaries were well known, (*and*) whose numerous advantages were famous, to Brâhmaṇas."

He granted to Brâhmaṇas the village of **Kôkallu** for the merit of his mother (v. 48); **Giñjipâḍu, Challagarâ** and **Tâḍivâya** for the merit of his father (v. 49); **Ammalapûṇḍi** for the merit of his elder brother (v. 50); and **Sattenapalli, Uppalapâḍu, Chintapalli, Oṅkadona** and **Kuṇṭimaddi** for his own merit (v. 51).

(L. 170.) "Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Kôṭa-Kêtarâja**, gave, for the merit of his mother **Sabbamadêvi**, to the best of holy Brâhmaṇas the village of **Kôkallu** in (*the district of*) **Goṇḍanâtavâḍi**, (*changing*) its name (*into*) **Sabbâmbikâpuram**. For the merit of his father **Bhîmarâja**, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brâhmaṇas the villages of **Giñjipâḍu, Challagarâ** (*and*) **Tâḍivâya** in (*the district of*) **Goṇḍanâtavâḍi**, (*changing*) their (*names into*) **Bhîmâvuram**. For the merit of his elder brother **Chôḍerâja**, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brâhmaṇas the village of **Ammalapûṇḍi** in (*the district of*) **Goṇḍanâtavâḍi**, (*changing*) its name (*into*) **Chôḍâvuram**. For his own merit, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brâhmaṇas the villages of **Kuṇṭimaddi** and **Uppalapâḍu** in (*the district of*) **Goṇḍanâtavâḍi**; **Sattenapalli, Chintapalli, Kêtepalli** and **Eṛraguṇṭa**

[1] See Dr. Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, s.v. *moge* 5.

[2] In modern Telugu *eḍlu*, the plural of *eddu*, means 'bullocks'; but *inpa-eḍlu* (ll. 135 f., 143 and 146) or *inup-eḍlu* (below, p. 158, l. 218) must be synonymous with *goṛiyalu*, 'sheep,' in ll. 136 f. and 139.

[3] According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this measure is the sixteenth part of a *tûmu*.

[4] This is perhaps the modern Vutukur, No. 76 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tâluka.

in (*the district of*) **Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi**; and **Oṅkadona** in (*the district of*) **Doḍḍikaṇḍravâḍi**, (*changing*) their (*names into*) **Jagamechchugaṇḍapuram.**[1] We have exempted these *agrahâras* from all taxes."

B.— Inscription of Bayyamâmbâ;

Śaka-Saṁvat 1156.

This inscription is engraved on the south face of the pillar, below the end of the inscription of Kêta II. It consists of 12 Sanskṛit verses and a passage in Telugu prose (ll. 215 to 220).

This is another grant to god **Buddha** at **Śrî-Dhânyaghâṭi** (*i.e.* Amarâvatî), made on **Thursday**, the **eleventh** *tithi* of the **bright** fortnight of **Jyêshṭha** in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1156** (expired), the cyclic year **Jaya**. According to Prof. Kielhorn, "the date corresponds to **Thursday, the 11th May A.D. 1234,** when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise." The donor was **Bayyamâmbâ** (v. 11) or **Kôṭa-Bayyalamahâdêvi** (l. 216), the daughter of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Rudradêva-Mahârâja** (l. 215 f.), the son of **Budda** (v. 5) and grandson of **Durga** (v. 4), who belonged to the Chaturthakula (*i.e.* the **Śûdra** caste) and resided at **Maḍapalli** in the district of **Nâthavâḍi** (l. 215) or **Nâthavâṭi**[2] (vv. 1 to 3). From the word *Kôṭa*[3] which is prefixed to the name of Bayyalamahâdêvi in l. 216, it may be concluded that she was married to one of the chiefs of Amarâvatî. Verse 12, which is mutilated, contains the name of **Manma-Gêta,** *i.e.* 'the grandson[4] Kêta.' This seems to refer to **Kêta II.** of Amarâvatî, the grandson of Kêta I. Very probably Bayyamâmbâ was one of the wives of Kêta II.

TEXT.

South Face (continued).

188 ओं[5] [॥*] अस्ति स्वस्तियुतो देशो नाथवाटीति विश्रुतः । पूगपुन्नागवकुळ-
189 निचुळाळिमनोहरः । [१*] तत्र श्रीमत्पुरवरं मडपल्लिपुरं परं ।
190 परैरभेद्यसुद्योतविद्योतितदिगंतरं[6] । [२*] धातुस्समस्तजगतां[7] क-
191 र्त्तुश्चरणपंकजात् । जातं विशिष्टं तत्रास्ति चतुर्त्थकुलमत्तमं[8] । [३*] त-
192 त्राभवत् पृथुयशाः [9]परिमातदोषो द्युंभोजबंधुरिव नंदि-
193 तसर्व्ववर्ग्गः । [10]शौर्य्यादिवर्य्यगुणगर्व्वितभृत्यवर्ग्गो दुर्ग्गाख्यितो-
194 [य इ*]ति सुप्रथितः प्रिथिव्यां[11] ॥ [४*] तस्यासीत्तनयः प्रभूतविनय-
195 . . क्षितश्रीयुतो [12]नानासद्द्विजमुख्यपोषणरतस्थान-
196 . . गाश्रयः । प्रत्यर्त्थिप्रबलप्रदृप्तनरकच्छेदो विधेयस्स[दा]
197 [आ*]तो विष्णुरिवापरो [13]गुणनिधिर्ब्बुद्दसमावल्लभः ॥ [५*] [त]-
198 [स्य](ा) पत्नी सुप्पमांबा पुरारिचरणांबुजे । जातकौतुकसा-
199 कूतव्रितिः[14] पतिपरायणा ॥ [६*] सुप्पमाबुद्ददंपत्योर्ज्जातो

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[1] This name was derived from his surname Jagamechchugaṇḍa; see l. 117.

[2] Regarding these two geographical names see p. 159 below.

[3] See p. 147 above.

[4] See Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, s. v. *manamaḍu*.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read °सुद्योत°.

[7] Read °मस्त°.

[8] Read °मुत्तमं.

[9] Read परिहृत°.

[10] Read शौर्य्यादि°.

[11] Read पृथिव्यां.

[12] Read °सद्द्विज°.

[13] नि of निधि is entered above the line.

[14] Read °वृत्तिः.

200 रु[द्र]नरेश्वरः । विश्वविश्वंभराधीशो योसौ धर्म्म इवापर[:] [॥ ७*]
201 तस्य पत्नी मैलमांबा धर्म्मकीर्त्तिरिति श्रुता । विश्रुतश्रु[त]-
202 संपन्नविद्वचिंत्तामणि[:*][1] स्वयं ॥ [८*] अजीजनत्सुतान्[2] अ-
203 ष्टौ विष्टपे शिष्टसन्नतान्[3] । लोकपालप्रतीकाशान् या म-
204 हिम्नेव भूयसो ॥ [९*] चातुर्य्यौदार्य्यभूमिस्त्रिभु-
205 वनविवरख्यातसौ[भाग्य*]भाग्या या च श्रीकीर्त्तिसुर्त्ति[:*][4] सकल-
206 गुणिगणानंदसंदोहदात्री । [5]इष्टापूर्त्तादिकर्म्मप्रतिप-
207 दमुदिताखर्व्वगीर्व्वाणगर्व्वा सर्व्वोर्व्वीवक्रवालस्फुर[दु]रु-[6]
208 महिमाक्रांतलोकावकाशा ॥ [१०*] तत्पुत्री बय्यमांबा प्र-
209 [7]धितगुणगणा सत्कलापूर्नवर्ना[8] (।) [9][शि]ष्टार्व्वाप्रासकीर्त्ति[:*] स्वयमपि
विदु-
210 षामग्रणीरग्रगण्या । वि[द्व][त्*]पद्माकराणां तरणिरु[चि]रसौ या च
211 सौजन्यसिंधोरुल्लासा[येंदु]रेखा निखिलज[न]नुतालंक्रि[ति]र्म्मूर्त-[10]
212 धाय्याः ॥ [११*] शाकाब्दे तर्क्कबाणक्षितिरशिगणिते[11] वत्सरेस्मिंज-
याख्ये ज्ये-
213 ष्ठे मा[सी]ज्यवारे सुररिपुदिवसे शुक्लपक्षे प्रश[स्ते] । प्रादा[तु][12] श्री-
214 [धान्यघा]टीस्थितिज्ञतरुचये [13]बुधदेवाय भूम्ने सा [दे]वी मन्मगेत-
215 . . . . [॥ १२*] श्रीमन्म(म)हामंडलेश्वर
नाथवा[डि] रु-
216 द्रदेवमहाराजुल कूंतु(ఙ్ఙు) कोटबय्यलमहादेविधमं-[14]
217 गाव [द]नुकु[15] धर्म्मार्त्थमुगा [16]श्रीमद्बुधदेवरकुनाचंद्रा-
218 र्क्कमखंडदीपमुनकुनिचिन[17] इनुपेड्लु ५५ [।*] वीनिं जेको[नि]
219 गुंटिमनेबोयुंडु [द]न पुत्रानुपवुत्रिकमु नित्य
220 [मा]नेंडु नेयि पोयंग[ल*]वांडु ॥ श्रीं[18] [॥*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ôm. In the district (*dêśa*) of **Nâthavâṭi**, in the town of **Madapalli**, in the **Chaturthakula** which was produced from the foot of the Creator, was born **Durga** (vv. 1 to 4). His son was **Budda**, whose wife **Muppamâmbâ** was devoted to Śiva (v. 5 f.). Their son **Rudra** married **Mailamâmbâ** and had by her eight sons (vv. 7 to 9) and a daughter, **Bayyamâmbâ** (v. 11).

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1 Read °विद्वच्चिंता°.
2 Read °तानष्टौ.
3 Read °सम्मतान्.
4 Read °मूर्त्तिः.
5 Read इष्टा°.
6 Read चक्रवाल.
7 Read प्रथित°.
8 Read °पूर्णवर्णा.
9 Read शिष्टार्च्चा°.
10 Read °लंकृति°.
11 Read °शशि°.
12 Read प्रादाच्छ्री°.
13 Read बुद्ध°.
14 Read धर्म्मं°; the *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
15 Read दनकु.
16 Read श्रीमद्बुद्ध°.
17 Read °मिच्चिन.
18 Expressed by a symbol.

(V. 12.) " In the **Śâka year** reckoned by *tarka* (6), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* **1156**),— in this (*cyclic*) year called **Jaya,** in the month **Jyêshṭha,** on a **Thursday,** on **the day of Mura's enemy** (Vishṇu),[1] in the auspicious **bright** fortnight,— this queen [the wife of] **Manma-Gêta** . . . . gave, for the sake of (*her*) prosperity, [a lamp] to god **Buddha** who is pleased to reside at **Śrî-Dhânyaghâṭi.**

(L. 215.) " **Kôṭa-Bayyalamahâdêvi-amma,** the daughter of the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Rudradêva-Mahârâja** of **Nâthavâḍi,** gave for her own merit to the holy lord **Buddha** 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and the sun. Having received these, Guṇṭi-Ane-Bôya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *mâna* of ghee. *Ôṁ.* "

POSTSCRIPT.

In connection with the preceding inscription of Bayyamâmbâ, I publish below a short Telugu inscription of her father on a pillar of the ruined *Kanakadurgâ-maṇḍapa* at the foot of the Indrakîla hill at **Bezvâḍa** (No. 279 of 1892). It records the gift of a lamp to the **Mallêśvara** temple at Bezvâḍa by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Rudradêvarâja** of **Maḍapalla** in **Nâtavâḍi,** the son of **Buddarâja,** who was the brother-in-law of the **Kâkatiya** king **Gaṇapati.**[2] The date of the grant was **Thursday,** the **15th** *tithi* of the **bright** fortnight of **Vaiśâkha** in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1123** (expired), the cyclic year **Durmukhi,** which is a mistake for **Durmati.** According to Prof. Kielhorn, " the date corresponds to **Thursday, the 19th April A.D. 1201,** when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half *commenced* 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise."

The town of Maḍapalla and the district of Nâtavâḍi are identical with **Maḍapalli** and the district of **Nâthavâḍi** or **Nâthavâṭi** in the inscription of Bayyamâmbâ.[3] Mr. Ramayya identifies Maḍapalla or Maḍapalli with a village near Madhira, a station on the Nizam's State Railway, and Nâtavâḍi with the district of **Nat[ṛi]paṭi** in the Chikkulla plates.[4] As, however, Ḷenduḷûra, whence the Chikkulla plates were issued, is the modern Dendulûru near Ellore, Maḍapalla or Maḍapalli might as well be the same as the village of ' Madapulli ' which is mentioned in the *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle*, p. 746, as being situated near Ellore.

TEXT.[5]

1 ओं[6] स्वस्ति [।*] शकवर्षंबुलु[7] ११२३ [ऊ]गु दुर्मुखिसंवत्सर वै-
2 शाख शुध्ध[8] १५ गुरुवारमुन स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहा-
3 शब्दमहामंधलेश्वर[9] मडपल्लपुरवराधीश्वर चाळुक्य-
4 राज्यमूलस्तंभायमान शिष्टे[ष्ट]निदान श्रीम[त्*]त्रिभुवना-
5 धीश्वरपादाराधक परबलसाधक नामादिसमस्तप्रश-
6 स्तिसहिंत[10] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर नातवाडि रुद्रदेवराजु-
7 लु समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितुलै[न] काकतियगणपतिदेव[म]-
8 हाराजुल मఱंदि तम तंड्रि बुद्दराजुलकु सुकृतिगानु

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[1] *I.e.* the eleventh *tithi*.

[2] See above, Vol. III. p. 95; Vol. V. p. 142 f.; and Vol. VI. p. 39.

[3] See p. 157 above.

[4] See above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v f.

[5] From an inked estampage.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Read °वर्षंबुलु.

[8] Read शुद्ध.

[9] Read °मंडलेश्वर.

[10] Read °सहितं.

9 बेजवाड मल्लेश्वरश्रीमहादेवरकु आ[चं]द्रार्क्कस्थायि-[1]
10 [ग]ा एत्तिन अखं[ड]दी[प]मुनकिच्चिन मेंक[लु] ५५ [।*] वीनिं
जेको[नि] कों-
11 [ड]सूरेबोयंडु तन पुत्रपौत्रानुक्रमसुन नित्य नं-[2]
12 द्दिमानेंडु नेयि मडपंगलवांडु ॥

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ. Hail! On **Thursday**, the **15th** (*tithi*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśâkha** in the **Śaka year 1123**, the **Durmukhi**-*saṁvatsara*,— Hail! the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Rudradêvarâja** of **Nâtavâḍi**, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of **Maḍapalla**, the best of cities; the chief pillar, as it were, of the **Châḷukya** kingdom; the end of (*i.e.* fulfilling) the desires of holy men; the worshipper of the feet of the holy lord of the three worlds; and the destroyer of hostile armies, gave— for the salvation of his father **Buddarâja**, the brother-in-law of **Kâkatiya-Gaṇapatidêva-Mahârâja** who was possessed of all glory,— 55 goats for lighting a perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun shall last, before the god Mahâdêva of the **Mallêśvara** (*temple*) at **Bejavâḍa**. Having received these, Koṇḍa-Sûre-Bôya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *mâna*, (stamped with) a Nandi, of ghee.

No. 16.—SOME RECORDS OF THE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS OF MALKHED.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This is the first of some papers which will deal with **some selected records of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings of Mâlkhêḍ.** The records have been chosen, partly because of the **general historical interest** that attaches to them, and partly in order to illustrate **the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.**[3] As regards the latter point, I cannot undertake to deal fully with all the palæographic details: to do so, would be beyond my particular sphere of work, and would occupy time which I prefer to devote to other matters of wider interest; and I must leave that line of inquiry to be dealt with, in its minute particulars, by anyone who is more concerned than I am with the special illustration of Indian palæography. I shall notice a few details that may seem of particular interest. But, for the most part, I shall only deal, on somewhat broad lines, with **certain characters which furnish leading tests** in determining the sequence and approximate dates of undated genuine records which belong to the period in question or may fall within about half a century before it, and in arriving at some conclusion as to the order in which certain spurious records were fabricated and the periods to which they are really to be referred.

A.—Hatti-Mattûr inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa I.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1882.

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[1] The *r* of *rkka* is indistinct. [2] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line; read नंद्दि°.
[3] See some remarks on pages 74, 77, above.

Hatti-Mattûr, or "cotton-Mattûr,"— evidently so called to distinguish it from a neighbouring village, which seems to be known either as simply Mattûr, or as Ḍombara-Mattûr, "Mattûr of the Ḍôms or Gipsies,"— is a village about six miles N.-N.-W. from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tâluka of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Huttee Muttoor.' It is mentioned, by its full appellation, in the Bhairanmaṭṭi inscription of the period A.D. 1069 to 1076, which speaks of the (measuring)-rod of **Pattiya-Mattaüra.**[1] The present record mentions a village named **Maḷtavur**, which may be either Hatti-Mattûr itself, or the other Mattûr, which is three miles and a half S.-E.-by-E. from Hatti-Mattûr. The **inscription** is on a *vîrgal* or monumental tablet, on the bank of the tank at Hatti-Mattûr.

The upper part of the stone is occupied by **sculptures**, which shew, in the centre, a *liṅga*, with a priest standing to it; on the proper right, the bull Nandi, with the sun above it; and on the proper left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them.— The **writing**, which is in a state of good preservation, covers an area about 1′ 11½″ broad by 1′ 5½″ high.— The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them[2] ranges from about 1″ in the *ê* of *êṛidor*, line 4, to about 1⅝″ in the *i* of *ivu*, line 5; and the *śrî* in line 1 is about 3⅜″ high. The characters include final forms, or forms with the *virâma* attached, of *r* in lines 3 and 4, and of *ḷ* in lines 3 and 5. As regards the palæography,— the *kh* does not occur. The *j* and the *ṅ* occur in *râjyaṅ*, line 2, Nos. 4 and 5; and they are both of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs in *irbbara*, line 5, No. 6, and is, similarly, of the old square type, closed. The *l* occurs three times: it, also, is of the old square type, but with rather a marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke with which the formation of the character ended; this feature, which was the first step in the development of the later cursive type of the character, can be seen very clearly in the *la* of *Akâla*, line 1, No. 6, and also in *âlayake*, line 4.— The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose.— The **orthography** does not present anything calling for comment.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of a **king Akâlavarsha**, who, because of the locality to which the record belongs and of the standard of the characters, is to be identified with **the Râshṭrakûṭa king** Akâlavarsha-Śubhatuṅga-**Kṛishṇa I.**[3] The object of it is to record the death, in some local affray, of two heroes named **Dâsamma** and **Eṛeya.**

The record is not dated. But it is to be placed after A.D. 754, which date we have for Dantidurga, the predecessor of Kṛishṇa I., and before A.D. 783-84, which date we have for his successor. And we may place it roughly **about A.D. 765.**

TEXT.[4]

1 Svasti Śrî-**Akâlavarisha**-bhaṭarara[5] pṛi-
2 thuvi-râjyaṅ-geye **Surageyurâ Dâ-**
3 **samm-Eṛeyar Maḷtavurâ** ûr-aḷivinoḷ
4 iṛidu sattu svargg-âlayake[6] êṛid[or] [||*]
5 Ivu tammutt[7]-irbbara kalgaḷ [||*]

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[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 231.

[2] See page 41 above.

[3] For an account of him, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 390.

[4] From the ink-impression.

[5] Read *bhaṭârar*.

[6] We have here the use of the dative for the accusative; see page 43 above, note 5. It occurs again in line 4 of the Naregal inscription, B. below.

[7] Mr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary gives this word with only the single *t*,— *tammutu*. It is presented again with the double *tt* in *tammutt-irbbor* in an inscription at Kûragallu (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92).

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the *Bhaṭâra*,[1] the glorious **Akâlavarsha-(Kṛishṇa I.)**, was reigning over the earth:— In the destruction[2] of the village of **Maḷtavur**, **Dâsamma** and **Eṟeya**, of the village of **Surageyur**,[3] pierced (*some of their foes*) and died[4] and ascended to heaven. These are the stones of those two men themselves.[5]

B.— Naregal inscription of the time of Dhruva.

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1895 or 1896, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 394, note 3. It is now edited for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype is given, from a plain uninked estampage sent to me in 1882 by Mr. Govind Gangadhar Deshpande.[6]

Naregal is a village about eleven miles E.-N.-E. from Hângal, the head-quarters of the Hângal tâluka of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Neirgul.' The record gives its old name in the form of **Nareyaṁgal**, and tacitly places it in the **Banavâsi twelve-thousand province**. The **inscription** is on a *vîrgal* or monumental tablet, found on, and apparently built into the wall of, the sluice of the tank.

I have no information as to whether there are any **sculptures** on this stone.— The **writing** covers an area about $2' 2\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $1' 0''$ high, and is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.— The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about $\frac{7}{8}''$ in the *th* of *prithuvi*, line 1, to about $1\frac{3}{4}''$ in the upper *t* of *sattu*, line 4; and the *rgg* of *svargg*, line 4, is about $3\frac{7}{8}''$ high. The characters include final forms of *n* (damaged) in line 4, and of *ḷ* in line 3; and the distinct form of the lingual *ḍ*[7] is clearly recognisable in *Kâḍavaṁ*, line 4. As regards the palæography,— the *kh* and *ṅ* do not occur. The *j* occurs in *râjyaṁ*, line 1, No. 11, and is of the old square type, closed; and so, also, is the *b*, which we have in *Bbanamâsi*, line 2, No. 5. The *l* occurs in three syllables, and is perhaps seen most clearly in the *lo* of *puyyaloḷ*, line 3, No. 13: it, also, is of the old square type; it does not present, here, the marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke which we have met with in the Hattî-Mattûr inscription, A. above; and the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, towards the bottom. As regards the way in which the vowel *o* is formed in the same word, *puyyaloḷ*, see page 164 below.— The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record gives us, in line 4, *Domma*, as another form of *Domba*, = *Ḍomba*, 'a

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[1] This word,— a title of paramount sovereignty, as used here,— occurs sometimes with the double *ṭṭ*, *bhaṭṭâra*, in which form, only, it is given in Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, new edition, with the meanings of 'a noble lord (=*pûjya*); honourable.' For other instances of the use of the title, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 368, 393, 394, 402.

[2] Compare the Baṭgere inscription of A.D. 888— (in a continuation of this paper),— which describes Sâdêva as "destroying" Baṭṭakere. The expression *ûr-aḷivu*, 'village-destruction,' occurs again in a record of A.D. 1092 at Srîraṅgpur in the Beḷgaum district, which mentions *Jakkirêḍad-ûr-aḷivu*, "the village-destruction of Jakkivâḍa." And we have it, practically, again in an inscription at Kuḍakûru (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 60), where, however, the translator has confused *aḷivu* with *aḍavi*, *aḍivi*, and has rendered *Peḷtiyûr=aḷivinoḷ* by "in the Peḷtiyûr forest."

[3] This is, perhaps, the modern 'Surangi,' which the Bombay Postal Directory places somewhere in the Karajgi tâluka.

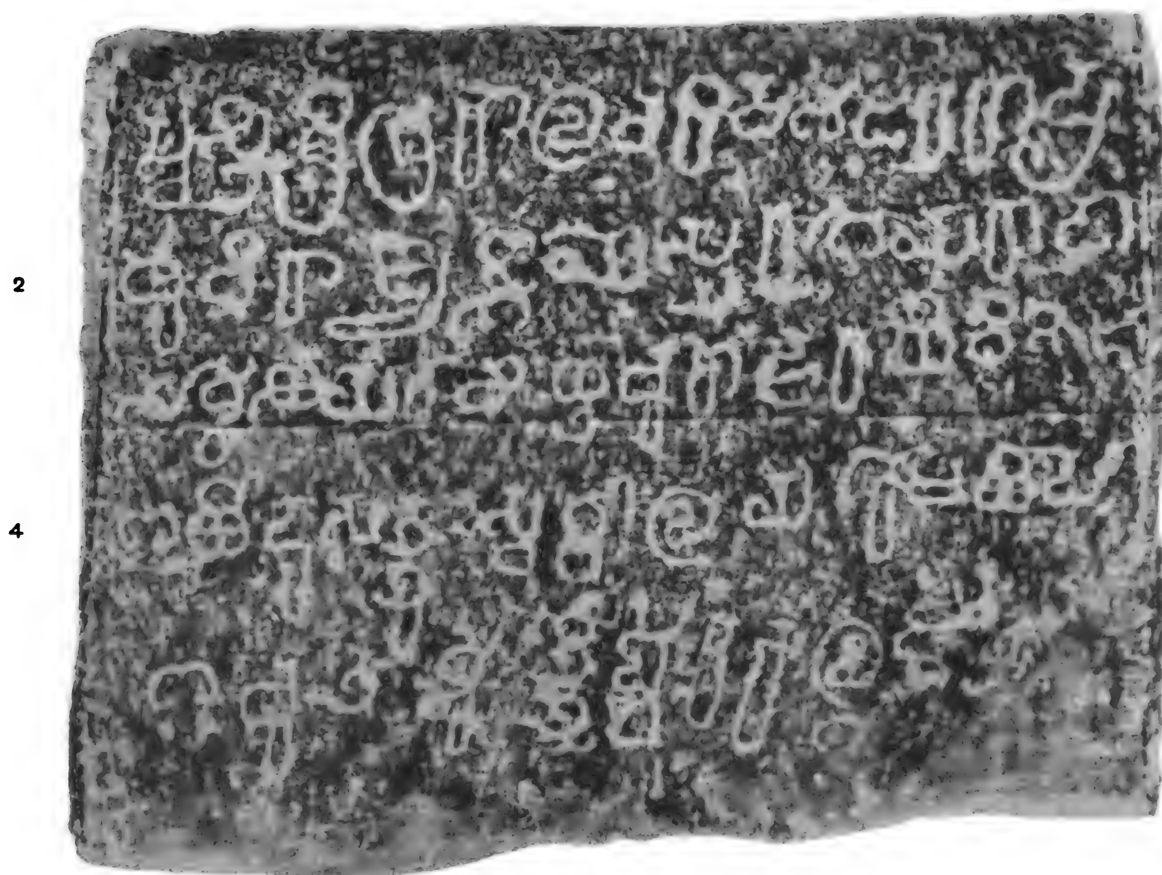
[4] Or "were pierced and died."

[5] There are or were, then, two memorial tablets at this place,— the second of them perhaps without any writing on it.

[6] I regret that I had forgotten this, and did not turn up my note of it in time to indicate the fact below the collotype.

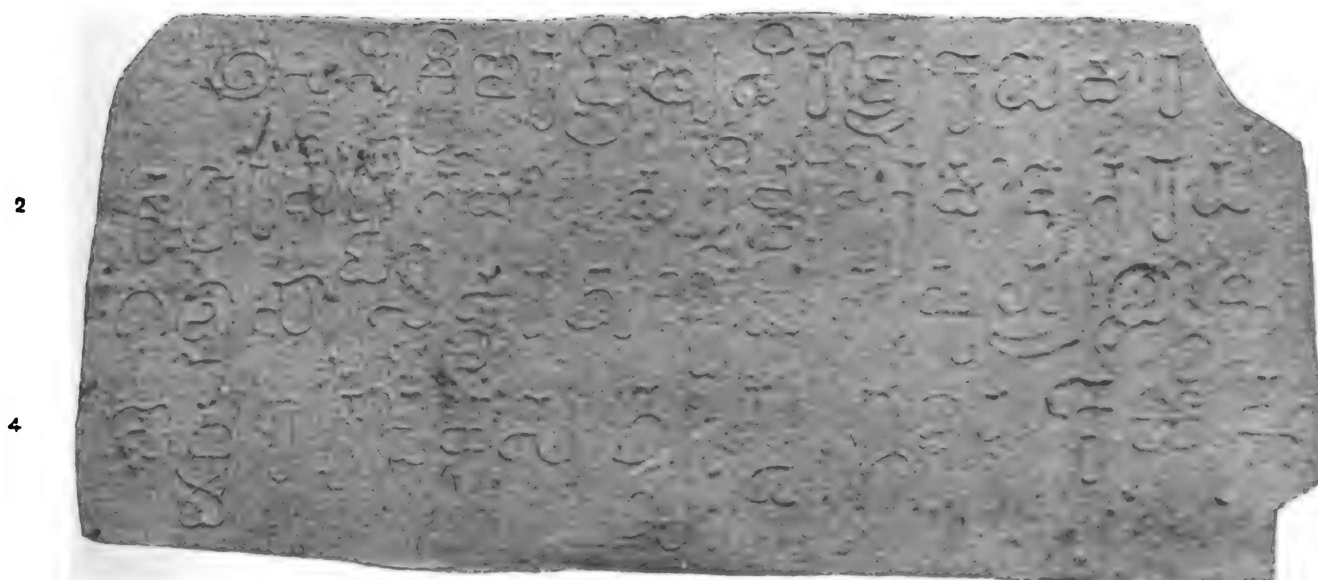
[7] See page 41 above.

A.—Hatti-Mattur Inscription of Krishna I.



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B.—Naregal Inscription of Dhruva.



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W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

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tumbler, a man of low caste, a Ḍôm or Gipsy;'[1] and—(unless we should take *turupina* to be a mistake for *turuvina*)—in line 3 it gives us *turupu*, either as a variant of *turu*, 'a cow, kine,' or as the Kanarese form of some original Drâviḍian word which has given us, in Tamiḻ, *toruvu*, 'a crowd, a herd of cows.'—The **orthography** does not present anything calling for comment.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **a king named Dôra**, who is to be identified with **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva**, son and successor of Kṛishṇa I.:[2] his name occurs in the Prâkṛit form of **Dhôra** in, for instance, the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807;[3] and the form Dôra, which we have in the present record, is to be taken as a corruption of Dhôra.[4] The record mentions also a certain **Mârakkarasa**, who was governing **the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province**,—of course, as a feudatory of Dhruva. The object of the inscription is to commemorate the death, on the occasion of a cattle-raid, of a local hero named **Dommara-Kâḍava**, "Kâḍava of the Dombas or Gipsies."

The record is not dated. But, as we have for Dhruva the date of A.D. 783-84,[5] it may be placed roughly **about A.D. 780.**

TEXT.[6]

1 Ôm[7] Svasti Śrî-**Dôraṁ** prithuvi-râjyaṁ-keye **Mâra-**[8]
2 **kka-arasar-Bbanamâ(vâ)si**-pannirchchârasinum[9]=âḷe **Nareyaṁ-**
3 **galla** sâsirvvara tuṛupina puyyaloḷ
4 **Dommara-Kâḍavaṁ** sattu svargg-[â*]layakk[10]=êṛidan [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! While the glorious **Dôra** was reigning over the earth, and while **Mârakkarasa** was governing **the Banavâsi twelve-thousand**:—In the fight[11] about the cows[12] of the thousand (*Mahâjanas*)(?) of **Nareyaṁgal**, **Dommara-Kâḍava** died and ascended to heaven.

C.—Lakshmêshwar inscription of the time of Śrîvallabha.

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1882, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 156, from an indistinct ink-impression which led me to speak of it then as only a fragment not capable of being edited. It is now edited for the first time. I edit it from a plain uninked estampage and an inked impression obtained by me in 1892. The collotype is from the estampage, which is better adapted for reproduction than is the ink-impression. In the title of the collotype, "Śrîvallabha" should be substituted for "Gôvinda III."[13]

[1] The word *domba*, *ḍomba*,—which, through the form *ḍôma*, gives the origin of the Gipsy expression Romany-Rye, "a Gipsy gentleman," = *Ḍômani rây*, "a king of the Ḍôms" (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 15),—occurs with both the lingual *ḍ* and the dental *d*; but more usually, I think, with the lingual *ḍ*. In the present case, however, we seem to have clearly in *domma* the dental *d*. A Ḍomma figures in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of A.D. 1163, among the foes of the Kâkatya king Rudradêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 10, 17).

[2] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 393.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6.

[4] Compare the name Dôrayya,—equivalent to Dhôrayya,—in an inscription at Kuḍakûru (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 50).

[5] See page 195 ff. below.

[6] From the estampage.

[7] Represented by a plain symbol.

[8] Nothing is wanting after this syllable. The irregular corners of the estampage, here and at the bottom, are apparently due to projecting masonry work.

[9] Read *pannirchchâsiraman*. The *n* of the last syllable is quite clear in the estampage, though it is hardly recognisable in the collotype.

[10] See page 161 above, note 6.

[11] *Lit.* "in the beating, striking, *etc.*"

[12] See at the top of this page.

[13] See page 165 below, and note 3.

Lakshmêshwar is a well known town, the head-quarters of the Lakshmêshwar subdivision of the Senior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Lukmeshwur,' in lat. 15° 7′, long. 75° 31′. The record mentions it by the old name of **Purigere.** The **inscription** is on a stone which is stored, with various other inscribed stones, at the kachêri. I have no information as to where it was found. And there is nothing to explain why a stone of so irregular a shape should have been used for a formal record.

There are not any **sculptures** on this stone.— The **writing** covers an area ranging from about 5″ broad in line 1 to about 9″ in line 10 and about 1′ 6½″ high, with blank spaces at the top and bottom as if for the purpose of setting it in a wall. It is in a state of fairly good preservation.— The **characters** are Kanarese, well formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ½″ in the *ya* of *Bâraṇâsiya* in line 11 to about ¾″ in the *n* of *nâlvattu*, line 6; and the *śrî* in line 1 is about 2¼″ high, on the slant. They include a final form of *m*, in line 12, which, however, is damaged and does not appear clearly in the collotype. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is clearly recognisable in *kiḍisido*, line 10. As regards the palæography,— the *kh* does not occur. The *j* occurs in the word *râjyaṁ*, line 2, No. 6, and is of the old square type, closed. The *ṁ* occurs in the same word, and again in *mûṟuṁ*, line 4; it presents the old square type, closed, corresponding to the *j*, and shews a somewhat unusually marked extension, to the right, of what is ordinarily only a very slight projection or knob in the centre of the letter: it is seen most clearly in the *ṁkê* of *mûṟuṁ-kêriyâ*, line 4, No. 3. The *b* occurs in line 1 in *ballahaṁ*, and again in line 10 in *Bâraṇâsiya*; it, also, is of the old square type, closed, though the actual forms are considerably rounded off: it is seen best in the *ba* of *ballahaṁ*, line 1, No. 5. The *l* occurs six times, and is, similarly, of the old square type throughout, though, as with the *b*, the actual forms are rounded off; it is seen most clearly in the *lva* of *nâlvattu*, line 6, No. 6, where the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, and in *kavileya*[*ṁ*], line 11, where it is not closed in. In the *lô* of *lôkakke*, line 12, which is clearer in the estampage than in the collotype, we have the same form of the *akshara* that we have in, for instance, *sakalôttarâ* in line 9 of the Vakkalêri grant of Kîrtivarman II. of A.D. 757,[1] and, earlier, in *lôkakke* in line 10 of one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions of Vikramâditya II. of the period A.D. 733 to 747;[2] it is a somewhat cursively formed variety (but preserving the old square type of the *l*, and not introducing any approach to the later cursive type) of the old square *lô* which we have in *lôkaḥ* in line 3 of the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakêśin II. of A.D. 634-35,[3] and in *Lôkamahâdêviyarâ* in line 3 of the companion Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vikramâditya II.,[4] and which appears again in *modaloḷ* in line 9 of the Kanarese grant of Gôvinda III. of A.D. 804,[5] where, however, there is the difference that the side-stroke which converts *le* or *lê* into *lo* or *lô* is turned downwards: and the *lô* as formed in this Lakshmêshwar inscription, by a modification of the upper part of the *l*, is more archaic than the *lo* of *puyyaloḷ* in line 3 of the Naregal inscription, B. above, which is probably earlier in date; the vowel is there represented, not by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, but by two distinct vowel-marks attached before and after the entire *l*. On the other hand, in the present record, in *kavileya*[*ṁ*], line 11, the *e* is formed by a vowel-mark attached to the entire *l*, instead of being denoted by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, according to the archaic custom, as, for instance, in *kâlê* in line 16 of the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakêśin II. of A.D. 634-35.[6] In *geyye*, line 3, the subscript *y* is represented, very exceptionally,

[1] Above, Vol. V. p. 202, and Plate.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 99, and Plate.

[3] Page 4 above, and Plate.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 100, and Plate.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, and Plate.

[6] Page 7 above, and Plate; and see note 6 on page 5. The proper difference between *li* and *le*, *lê*, seems to have been that in *li* the *i* should be denoted by a circle on the top of the straight part of the upstroke of the *l*, and that in *le*, *lê*, the vowel should be denoted by turning in the curve of the top of the letter to meet the top of the straight part of the upstroke.

by an ordinary *y* (but without the top-stroke) attached below the upper *y*, instead of by the usual subscript form which we have in the preceding word *râjyaṁ* : I cannot quote any similar instance in so late a record ;[1] and it seems to be here a freak.— The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record gives us, in line 1-2, *ballaha*, as a Prâkṛit form of the Sanskṛit *vallabha* ; in line 4-5, *paṭṭagâra*, as a variant of *paṭakâra*, 'a weaver;' in line 5, *sêṇiya*, 'a (head)-man of a guild,' from *sêṇi*, = *śrêṇi*, + *a* (3), with which we have to compare *nâḍa*, 'a (head)-man of a district,' from *nâḍ*, *nâḍu*, + *a* (3) ;[2] in lines 7 and 9, *sâmpu*, which seems to mean 'a length (of cloth or silk),' and to be another variant of *châpu*, 'stretch, length, extent,' *jâpu*, 'the measure of a long stride,' and *dâpu*, 'stretch, *etc.*, the measure of a stride ;' and in line 8, *keḷagu* (with the copulative affix), as a variant of *keḷagu*, 'under, down, below.'— The **orthography** does not present anything calling for comment.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **a king** whom it mentions by only the *biruda* **Śrîballaha, that is to say Śrîvallabha.** On palæographic grounds, it is to be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. For that reason, coupled with the locality to which it belongs, it is unquestionably a Râshṭrakûṭa record. And this king Śrîvallabha is, in all probability, to be identified with **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Dhruva** : the only alternative is that he is Dhruva's son Gôvinda III.; but, in spite of what has previously been thought, it now appears very questionable whether Gôvinda III. was so specifically well known by the *biruda* Śrîvallabha as was his father Dhruva.[3] The object of the inscription is to record that the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mûṟuṁkêri*[4] of **Purigeṟe-(Lakshmêshwar)**

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[1] It was the ancient way of forming the subscript *y* ; see the Junâgaḍh inscription of Rudradâman, in the word *mahâkshatrapasya* near the end of line 8, and in other places (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 128, and Plate).

[2] For an instance of the word *nâḍa*, see page 71 above, note 2.

[3] When I first brought this inscription to notice, I treated it as a record of the reign of Gôvinda III. At that time, in dealing with the Râshṭrakûṭas I was chiefly following the lead of Dr. Bühler. His Table of the Râshṭrakûṭas shewed the *biruda* Śrîvallabha for only Gôvinda III. ; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 72, and his remarks (*ibid.* p. 64) in his introduction to the Râdhanpur grant which he was then editing, and his translation (*ibid.* p. 71) of the passages from which he took the *biruda*. And, as a matter of fact, it is only recently,— since the time when the collotype of this record, now issued, was prepared and titled,— that it could be recognised that this *biruda*, when used in a Râshṭrakûṭa record, referable to an indefinite date in the period A.D. 775 to 800, in the special manner in which it is used in this record, does not by any means necessarily denote Gôvinda III. On this point, see further on, under the use of the *biruda* Śrîvallabha in the Râshṭrakûṭa records.

[4] This word *mûṟuṁ-kêri*, — or *mûṟuṅ-kêri*, as actually written in this record, with the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvâra*,— would mean, by literal translation, 'three streets.' But it seems to be a technical expression, the exact purport of which is to be found in connection with the wider meaning of 'quarter, quarters, a division of a town,' which *kêri* has in, for instance, *holegêri*, 'the Holer's quarters,' the well known expression for that part of a village (usually outside the village itself) in which the Mahârs, Mâṅgs, and other low-caste people dwell. I do not at present find anything, helping to explain it, in any of the other records at Lakshmêshwar. A proverbial saying, which may or may not indicate some clue, is given in the Rev. Mr. Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, under *nûṟu*, namely *nûṟu âru iddarû kêri bêku*, "though there be fully a hundred (*persons*), a street is necessary ;" and it is explained to me by Mr. Kittel as meaning that a hundred persons, or more, may be a large number, but, if their houses are erected unsystematically, one here and one there, there is no proper village, and a street, along which houses are built in rows, is necessary to constitute a regular village.— It seems likely that we have a synonym of *mûṟuṁkêri* in another technical expression, *mûṟuṁpura*, of which, also, the exact purport is not apparent. *Mûṟuṁpura* would mean, by literal translation, 'three towns ;' but the exact bearing of it is, no doubt, to be explained in connection with the more special meaning, which *pura* has, of 'a division of a town, a ward,' particularly in the actual names of such divisions or wards. There was a *mûṟuṁpura* at Baḷagâmi. A record there, of A.D. 1129, likens the *pañcha-maṭhaṁgaḷ* or five *maṭhas* of that place, which it specifies as the shrines of Hari (Vishṇu), Hara (Śiva), Kamalâsana (Brahman), Vîtarâga (Jinêndra), and Bauddha (Buddha), to the five-fold string of pearls of the Earth, and likens the *mûṟuṁ-puraṁgaḷ*, which it calls *alliya mûṟuṁ-kaṇgaḷ* or "the three eyes of that place," to three strings of pearls on the neck of that same lovely woman (the Earth), who is thus superior to even the perfect Lakshmî (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 178, lines 43 to 46, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 90). Also, a record of A.D. 1181, at the same place, mentions a certain Sâvidêva, who is described as— *nagara-paṁchamaṭha-mûṟuṁpurada saudo(?)re-herggaḍe*,— "the *Saudore(?)-Hergaḍe* of the *nagara* and the

made a religious grant, in the form of a proportionate quantity of the goods turned out by the weavers,— doubtless for the purposes of some temple, not mentioned in the record, at which the stone must have been set up.

The record is not dated. But, selecting a year which suits both the palæographic standard of the characters and the bare possibility of the inscription being of the time, not of Dhruva, but of Gôvinda III., for whom we have the date of A.D. 794 from the Paiṭhaṇ grant,[1] we may place it **about A.D. 793.**

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôm[3] Svasti **Śrîballa-**
2 **haṁ** prithuvî-râjya-
3 ṅ-geyye **Purigeṟeyâ**
4 mûṟuṅ-kêriyâ paṭṭa-
5 gâṟara sêṇî(ṇi)ya-
6 n=itta dharmma nâlvattu
7 sâmpinoḷ=ondu mûva-
8 ttaṟa keḷaguṁ i[nn]û-
9 ṟa mêluṁ are-sâmpu [||*] Idu ni[l]u-
10 davu[4] [||*] Idân=kiḍisido[ṁ*] Bâra-
11 ṇâsiya sâsira kavileya[ṁ]
12 kondona[5] lôkakke sandon=ak[k]u[m] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! While **Śrîballaha** was reigning over the earth :— The religious grant, that was given by the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mûṟuṁkêri*[6] of **Purigeṟe**, was one

pañchamaṭha and the *mûṟuṁpura*" (*P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 192, line 62, and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 119). And this last passage seems to separate the *mûṟuṁpura* from the *nagara* or city, and to mark the expression as the name for some distinct portion or portions of the township, outside the town proper. The expression *mûṟuṁpura* occurs again, with *pañchamaṭha*, in the Konnûr inscription which purports to reproduce a charter of the time of Amôghavarsha I. (page 34 above, text line 71); and it seems, therefore, that there was a *mûṟuṁpura* at Konnûr also.— I would suggest, incidentally, that the word *svatala*, meaning literally 'own surface,' which we have in *Valabhî-svatala* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15, text line 11 of plate ii., and Vol. XIV. p. 330, text line 25, and probably also in Vol. IV. p. 175, text line 7-8), is to be taken as the equivalent of *nagara*, and that *Valabhî-svatala* does mean "Valabhî proper, Valabhî within the walls," as taken by Dr. Bühler in dealing with the first of these passages. The *vihâra* built by Duḍḍâ and situated in *Valabhî-svatala* according to that passage, appears to be described in another passage as situated in *Valabhî-pura* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 67, text line 2 of plate ii.); and this seems to make *svatala* synomymous with *pura* in the sense of *nagara*. *Svatala* occurs again, in the case of a village called Trisatimaka (by mistake for Trisaṁgamaka) in another record of the Maitrakas of Valabhî (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 14).— Another technical expression containing *mûṟu*, 'three,' and requiring explanation, is *mûṟuṁ-modalu*, meaning literally 'three beginnings, roots, bases;' we have it in the genitive, *mûṟuṁmodala*, qualifying *mahâjanaṁ*, in the Nandwâḍige inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 221, text line 3).

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 103.

[2] From the estampage and the ink-impression.

[3] Represented by a plain symbol.

[4] Read *niluvudu*, or *nilluvudu*; or else read *ivu*, with *niluvuvu* or *nilluvuvu*.

[5] This *akshara*, *na*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the *lô* of *lôkakke*.— For the expression *kondona lôkakke*, compare, *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 99, line 10, where the correction *kondorâ* now seems unnecessary. We seem to have *kondorâ lôkakke* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 286, text line 6 (see the lithograph). The more usual, and probably more strictly grammatical expression, is *konda lôkakke*; see, for instance, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, No. 57, text line 5, and Vol. X. p. 165, No. 101, text line 12, and p. 166, No. 102, text line 6.

[6] See page 165 above, note 4.

C.—Lakshmeshwar Inscription of Govinda III.



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(*length*) on (*each*) forty lengths; (*but*) below thirty, and above two hundred, half a length.[1] This shall continue!

(L. 10) — Whosoever destroys this will associate himself with people who kill a thousand brown cows of Bâraṇâsi!

* * * * * *

The appellations of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ.

This study is the outcome of some inquiries that were commenced with a view to determining exactly who may be the king Śrîvallabha, to whose time the Lakshmêshwar inscription, C. above, refers itself. For that purpose, it was necessary only to go as far as Amôghavarsha I. But some other points of interest presented themselves during the inquiry, in connection with the proper names of the kings as well as their *birudas* and other appellations; and it seemed useful and convenient to go through the whole dynasty. I am not sure that I have quite exhausted the subject; it is difficult to do that in dealing with so many records, edited in different works and not arranged chronologically, and some of them published in Nâgarî characters which do not adapt themselves to capitals, thick type, and other devices for catching the eye quickly. But, at any rate, I am able to put forward results that can be easily completed, at any future time, in respect of any few details that may have been overlooked here.

I may add that I commenced the inquiry with the expectation that the results would prove that the Śrîvallabha of the record in question, and of an important passage which furnishes a date, could only be Gôvinda III. The steps by which we are driven to a different conclusion on this point, will disclose themselves in due course.

Two general remarks may as well be made here. One is that, for any particular point, it is usually sufficient to refer to only that passage, the earliest in date, which first brings it forward; the value of a statement is seldom, if ever, in any way enhanced by the mere repetition of it in successive records which do no more than reproduce the exact words of earlier records. The other is that, in matters of technical detail, prose records in general, and in particular the formal preambles of the prose passages which introduce the special subject of each copper-plate charter, are obviously of more importance than any preliminary verses, in which flights of fancy were naturally permissible and were plainly sometimes indulged in, and in which absolute accuracy might at any time be made subordinate by an unskilful composer to metrical and other similar necessities.

For a complete list of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ and of the first Gujarât branch, for use in connection with the remarks made in the following pages, reference may be made to the Table given by me in Vol. III. above, opposite page 54, or to the same Table in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), opposite page 386.

The first paramount king in the dynasty of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ was **Dantidurga.** Of his time, we have the Sâmângaḍ grant, issued in A.D. 754. And this record, it may be mentioned, opens the pedigree with his great-grandfather Gôvinda I., and thus carries the family back as far as do any of the subsequent records, with the exception of the inscription

[1] *I.e.*, apparently, half a length on any piece of less than thirty lengths, one length on each forty lengths up to two hundred, and then half a length on each forty above that number.

at the **Daśâvatâra** cave at **Ellôrâ**,[1] which puts forward the names of Indra I. as the father, and Dantivarman I. as the grandfather, of Gôvinda I. The verse in the Sâmângaḍ grant which introduces Dantidurga, gives his proper name in the form of **Dantidurgarâja**; the formal preamble of the prose passages of the record adds *dêva*, and styles him **Dantidurgarâjadêva**;[2] and a verse at the end of the record presents his name in the variant of **Dantivarman**, a form which rather curiously and unexpectedly crops up again, two centuries and a half later, in the Bhâdâna grant of A.D. 997,[3] — (a record of one of the Śilâhâra princes of the Northern Koṅkaṇ, which recites the Râshṭrakûṭa pedigree),— without, as yet, any trace of it, in his case, in any of the intermediate records.[4] The second verse in the description of Dantidurga in the Sâmângaḍ grant may be interpreted as giving him the *biruda* of Râjasiṁha,[5] which, we now know, occurs at any rate in the case of other kings of other lines; but we have not as yet obtained any corroboration of it elsewhere in his case, and, from the first historical verse in the same record, the same *biruda* might be equally well established in the case of Gôvinda I., though the latter was only an ancestor and not a reigning king. Be that as it may, the formal preamble of the prose passages of the Sâmângaḍ grant does establish for Dantidurga the *birudas* of **Pṛithivîvallabha** and **Khaḍgâvalôka**.[6] And a verse in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of

[1] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archæological Survey of Western India), p. 92, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's version; see also *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 87, where the Pandit's text has been reproduced, in transliteration, by Dr. Bühler: the latter version has thus become the more convenient one to quote. The record is probably of the time of Amôghavarsha I.; because, after taking the early part of the pedigree as far as Dantidurga, it proceeds next to mention Amôghavarsha I., without any notice of the intermediate names. But it was left unfinished, breaking off abruptly in even the middle of a verse. And therefore we cannot say with absolute certainty that it was not composed in, and intended to run on to, a later time.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text lines 16 and 28, respectively.

[3] Above, Vol. III. p 271, text line 4.

[4] The only other known instances of this name among the Râshṭrakûṭas, are (1), as mentioned above, in the Ellôrâ inscription, which puts it forward as the name of the original ancestor of the family; (2) in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, which mentions a *Râjaputra* Dantivarman who was perhaps a son of the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, text line 68); and (3) in the Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888, which puts it forward as the name of apparently the father of the alleged feudatory prince Akâlavarsha-Kṛishṇarâja of that record (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 20).

[5] *Loc. cit.* (note 2 above), text line 19; the word is there translated, by "a very lion of a king."

[6] *Ibid.* text lines 27, 28.— The first of these two appellations was not recognised as a formal *biruda* when the record was edited; and it was treated as an abbreviation of *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*. But we are now able to see that a distinction must always be made between, on the one hand, Pṛithivîvallabha, "favourite of the Earth," and Śrîvallabha, "favourite of Fortune," which were formal *birudas* restricted to individual cases, and, on the other hand, *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*, "favourite of Fortune and of the Earth," which was a paramount epithet of general application. A pointed instance in which the distinction between the *biruda* Śrîvallabha and the epithet is marked, is furnished by a passage in one of the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915, which describes Indra III. as *paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîpṛithvîvallabha-Śrîvallabha-śrîman-Nityavarshanarêndradêva* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 264, A. plate ii. *b*, text lines 11, 12). And, whereas we often find the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, at any rate, used as a substitute for a proper name, we do not find the epithet *śrîpṛithivîvallabha* used in that way.— The idea underlying both the two *birudas* and the epithet, was, that Fortune and the Earth were accounted actual wives of kings; and it would, therefore, be more strictly correct to render *vallabha* by 'husband' in this epithet and in these two *birudas* and any exactly similar ones, and there are a few passages in which it should be so rendered, in order to bring out the meaning fully: but there are other *birudas* and expressions, in which that particular meaning of *vallabha* does not apply; and it seems on the whole desirable to render the word by 'favourite' even in the epithet and in the *birudas* in question, partly for the sake of uniformity of translation, and partly to mark the point that the original texts use *vallabha* and not any such word as *pati*, *bhartṛi*, *etc.* The idea is presented by Kâlidâsa, in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, i. verse 32, which says that, extensive as was his harem, the king Dilîpa considered himself really provided with wives only in the persons of Sudakshiṇâ (his actual wedded wife) and Fortune; and — (the commentator points out) — the poet, using for 'king' the word *vasudhâdhipa*, 'lord of the earth,' implies that the Earth was also his wife, but his group of real wives was not complete without Fortune and Sudakshiṇâ. An epigraphic passage in

A.D. 794 speaks of him as **Vallabharâja,** "the Vallabha king," or, possibly, "the king of the Vallabhas."[1] This designation however,—as also the simpler designation Vallabha,—was, not a special *biruda*, but an appellation of general application. The two appellations were not restricted to the Râshṭrakûṭa family; and the name Vallabha does not always denote a Râshṭrakûṭa even in the Râshṭrakûṭa records.[2] And the fuller one of them, Vallabharâja, is of interest in connection with the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ chiefly because, through its Prâkṛit forms, it explains the name, "the Balharâs," by which the contemporaneous Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. used to speak of those kings.[3] The Kaḍaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, would set up for Dantidurga the *biruda* of Vairamêgha,[4] by which appellation alone it mentions him; but we cannot admit this as established, until we obtain some authentic confirmation of it from a record the nature of which is unquestionable.

Dantidurga was succeeded by his paternal uncle **Kṛishṇa I.** The Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794 introduces him as **Kṛishṇarâja,** and then presents two verses which establish for him the *birudas* of **Śubhatuṅga** and **Akâlavarsha.**[5] Another verse in the same record might perhaps be taken as practically speaking of him as Śrîvallabha: but the appellation is there divided into two words, *śriyô vallabhaḥ*,[6] which is at least a very exceptional manner of putting forward any formal epithet, title, or *biruda*; with that passage we have to compare the descriptions, similarly in verse, of Jagattuṅga II. as *vallabhô vîra-Lakshmyâḥ* in the Nausârî

one of the Pâla records tells us that "Gôpâla was the husband of Fortune as well as the lord of the Earth," or, more literally, that "Gôpâla was a lord (*pati*) of the Earth who was the fellow-wife (*sapatnî*) of Fortune" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI p. 257, and note 55). And the Chôḷa records constantly utilise the idea: thus an inscription of the twenty-ninth year of Râjakêsarivarma-Râjâdhirâja says that, "while the goddess of the Earth was beaming under his fringed white parasol, the king wedded the goddess of Fortune" (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 55); an inscription of the second year of Râjakêsarivarma-Râjamahêndra says, from the opposite point of view, that "while the goddess of Fortune was resplendent, he wedded the great goddess of the Earth, in order that she might abide joyfully under the shade of a single parasol" (*ibid.* p. 114); an inscription of the fourth year of Parakêsarivarma-Râjêndradêva says that, "while the goddess of Fortune and the great goddess of the Earth became his great queens, the king raised on high his brilliant white parasol" (*ibid.* p. 61); and an inscription of the twelfth year of Parakêsarivarma-Râjêndrachôḷa I., expanding the idea by introducing Victory as another so-called wife, and referring also to his actual wedded wife, speaks of "his long life, in which the great goddess of the Earth, the goddess of Victory in battle, and the beautiful and matchless goddess of Fortune, who had become his great queens, gave him pleasure while his own illustrious queen was prospering" (*id.* Vol. I. p. 99). It may be added that we have a still more figurative expansion of the general idea, by the suggestion of a city as a wife of a king, in the verse in the Aihoḷe inscription of A.D. 634-35 which says that Pulakêśin I., who was Śrîvallabha or favourite (in this passage, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, became also the bridegroom of the town Vâtâpipurî (page 8 above, verse 7): so, also, a country is put forward, in the same way, in the description of the earliest Silâhâra princes of the Northern Koṅkaṇ as "favourite of the Koṅkaṇ" and "favourite of the whole Koṅkaṇ" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, text line 3, p. 135, line 2, p. 136, line 1-2; and, in another direction, we find Learning indicated, by the use of the word *vallabhâ*, as a wife of wise men (see page 187 below, note 10).—Both in the *biruda* Pṛithivîvallabha and in the epithet *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*, the Sanskṛit records use, indifferently, either *pṛithvî* or *pṛithivî*, while the Kanarese records often present the corruptions *pṛithuvi*, *pṛithuvî*, *pṛithuvi*, and *prithuvî*. No distinction seems to be involved. And, while giving in the present study, in each individual case, the form that is actually used, it seems desirable, for the sake of uniformity in indexing, *etc.*, to adopt for general purposes the form *pṛithivî*, which, though it is strictly only a substitute for *pṛithvî*, is decidedly the more familiar word of the two and also seems to be the more common term.

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 106, text line 17. As regards the alternative rendering of this appellation by "the king of the Vallabhas," the Tamil form *Vallavar kôṉ*, which has been translated in that way by Dr. Hultzsch (*South.-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III, p. 69), occurs in a passage in a Chôḷa record in which it denotes the Western Châlukya king Âhavamalla-Sômêśvara I.

[2] See two passages referred to on page 193 below, notes 2 and 3. See also the end of note 4 on page 190.

[3] See page 190 below, and note 6.

[4] Above, Vol. IV. p. 346, after verse 3; and see p. 336.

[5] Above, Vol. III. p. 106, text lines 17 to 21.

[6] *Loc. cit.* text line 26-27.

grants of A.D. 915[1] and of Indra III. as *râjya-śriyô bhartâ* in the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972;[2] we do not infer from those verses that Jagattuṅga II. and Indra III. were formally known as Vîralakshmîvallabha and Râjyaśrîbhartṛi; in the same way, we do not take it as proved by the verse in the Paiṭhaṇ grant that Śrîvallabha is established as a specific *biruda* of Kṛishṇa I.;[3] and the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807 styles him simply **Vallabha.**[4] A verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, which describes Kṛishṇa I. as raining down wealth in excess of even the utmost desires of his servants,[5] might be taken as conveying a hint that he had a second *varsha*-appellation, in the shape of Dhanavarsha:[6] but, in the Kâvî grant of A.D. 826 or 827,[7] the same verse was made to do duty in the case of the feudatory Râshṭrakûṭa prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât; and it seems, therefore, that it was not intended to have any special meaning in either case. It may be added here that another verse in the Paiṭhaṇ grant tells us that Kṛishṇa I. conquered in battle a certain Râhappa, and then or thus "quickly extended the sovereignty which was resplendent with a row of *pâlidhvaja*-banners." It seems probable that Râhappa was the more familiar name of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kakkarâja II., of another branch of the family in Gujarât, who was reigning over the territory on the north of the Taptî in A.D. 757,[8] or else that it was the name of his successor. And it is perhaps, in the same connection,— rather than with any reference to Dantidurga, as I have previously thought,— that we should apply the statement, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, that Kṛishṇa I. uprooted a *vaṁśya* or "kinsman" who had taken to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family.[9]

Kṛishṇa I. left two sons, Gôvinda II. and Dhruva. They are introduced by their proper names, as **Gôvindarâja** and **Dhruvarâja**, in two consecutive verses in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794.[10] And the second verse shews that Gôvinda II. was the elder of the two brothers. A statement, which has been understood to imply that **Gôvinda II.** succeeded to the throne and held it for a while, is made,— and as far as all known records go, appears for the first time,— a century and a half later in the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, which says that "sensual pleasures "made him (Gôvinda II.) careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting fully the universal "sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama-(Dhruva), he allowed his position as sovereign to "become loose."[11] But no statement that he reigned is made in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, which is the first record after his time that puts forward details of the genealogy and succession. The verse which introduces him in that record, speaks, it is true, of his white umbrella with which the rays of the sun were warded off from his head as he moved in battle, and says that he conquered the world, and talks of his causing widowhood to the wives of his enemies and of his bursting asunder in war the temples of the elephants of his foes. These, however, are merely vague poetical statements, introduced to eke out the verse that first mentions him, of no more

[1] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII.; the words are rendered in the translation (p. 267) by "the beloved of the soldierly Lakshmî."

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 19.

[3] The verse, in fact, simply reproduces one part of the general idea (see note 6 on page 168 above), and incidentally describes Kṛishṇa I. as being, among other things, a husband of Fortune; much in the same way, as a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 21, 22) says of Dhruva that "bearing in mind, personally, that whatever is appropriate should be done in securing Lakshmî, he was always successful; but what was there wonderful in that?, since any man, who does not look about for assistance (*and thus create factitious difficulties*), is able to make his own wife subject to his control:" this latter verse intimates that Dhruva was, in his turn, a lawful husband of Fortune; but it does not establish for Dhruva any *biruda* based on that idea.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 5.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 11, 12.

[6] Just as Gôvinda IV. had the two *birudas* of Prabhûtavarsha and Suvarṇavarsha.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, verse 33.

[8] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 391, 392.

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 162.

[10] Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text lines 27 to 30.

[11] Above, Vol. V. p. 193, verse 10; for the translation which I use, see the rendering of the same verse as verse 11 in the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 958 (above, Vol. IV. p. 287).

specific purport and value than are the very similar statements that are made in the same record about Gôvinda I. and Indra I., who were not reigning kings, but were simply ancestors of the first reigning king. And the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807, which is the next record of the same kind, specifically tells us that Dhruva obtained the sovereignty by "leaping over his elder brother (*jyêshṭh-ôllaṅghana*)," whose name it does not even take the trouble to mention.[1] This is a most distinct assertion that Dhruva superseded his elder brother altogether. And further light is thrown on the matter by another passage in the Paiṭhaṇ grant,[2] which says that Gôvinda II. fetched in large numbers even hostile kings,—the ruler of Mâlava and others, the lord of Kâñchî, the Gaṅga, and him of Veṅgî,—but the mind of Dhruva, after that he had possessed himself of his ruby-ornaments and store of gold, underwent no change in regard to him; and then, having made conciliatory overtures to him in vain, Dhruva speedily defeated him in battle, and drove away the eastern and the northern opponents,[3] and thus "obtained the whole sovereignty." This makes it clear that Gôvinda II. did not submit quietly to being deprived of his rights. And we have, perhaps, an intimation that he established himself in the northern territory, while Dhruva set himself up as his rival in the south, and that time elapsed before Dhruva made himself master of the whole kingdom. But it is plain that, at the best, Gôvinda II. made a stand for only a short time. And it seems more probable that the passage simply seeks to describe him, as Pulakêśin II. is described in the Aihoḷe record, as engaging in the act called *aparuddhacharita*, that is to say, wandering abroad, debarred altogether from his rights, and endeavouring to obtain them by the help of other rulers.[4] The statement made in the Waṇî grant would not be inconsistent with the possibility that Gôvinda II. was the intended successor of Kṛishṇa I. Also, we have not as yet found, in any of the records, any statements in respect of Dhruva similar to those which are made in respect of his son and successor Gôvinda III.; namely, in the Râdhanpur grant,[5] that Gôvinda III. received from his father the *kaṇṭhikâ* or necklet (which was the badge of appointment as *Yuvarâja*), but protested against a transfer of the sovereignty itself to him while his father was still alive, and, in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit. We, therefore, cannot say that the succession was not intended to pass, at this point, from the father, Kṛishṇa I., to the elder son, Gôvinda II. And the pointed expression used in the Waṇî grant is, in fact, rather suggestive that, not only was Gôvinda II. the intended successor, but also the appointment of him as *Yuvarâja* had actually been made. We naturally, however, follow the information furnished by the Paiṭhaṇ and Waṇî grants, which are so near in time to the events themselves, in preference to a loose statement, which first appears a century and a half later, in a record which does not follow any of the ancient drafts but presents an altogether new composition. If, indeed, that statement could be looked upon as authoritative at all, it might be interpreted, just as readily, as meaning that Gôvinda II. was so much engrossed in sensual pleasures that he was altogether indifferent about the sovereignty and deliberately allowed Dhruva to usurp it, which, however, we know from the Paiṭhaṇ grant was not the case. But, obviously, the statement owes its existence to nothing but the fact, which we can recognise from also other independent drafts, that the name of Gôvinda II. had been duly preserved in the *vaṁśâvali* and archives of the dynasty, and to a flight of fancy on the part of the composer of the draft that was followed in that record, who, differing from the composers of some other drafts, thought it worth while to mention Gôvinda II., and said about him the first thing that came into his head and sufficed to fill out a verse with some

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 7.

[2] For the literal full translation, see above, Vol. III. p. 104.

[3] The Gaṅgas, then, in the south, apparently remained to be dealt with on a subsequent occasion.

[4] See Professor Kielhorn's explanation of the technical term in question (page 9 above, note 2).

[5] In the Waṇî grant, which is slightly earlier in date, part of this passage was carelessly omitted, and two complete verses, of four *pâdas* each, were combined into one verse with the exceptional number of five *pâdas*.

kind of a suggestion as to why the succession passed to the younger brother.[1] And the conclusion at which we arrive from the authoritative early records, is, that Dhruva set himself up as king immediately on the death of Kṛishṇa I., and that Gôvinda II. had not any real part at all in the succession.[2] The Kaḍaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, would set up for Gôvinda II. the *biruda* of Prabhûtavarsha.[3] But we do not accept this, until we find it in some unquestionable record. And the only secondary appellation that is as yet established for him, is that of **Vallabha**; it is supplied by the Paiṭhaṇ grant, which, in the first verse that mentions him, says that he was Gôvindarâja who had the *âkhyâ* or name of Vallabha, and, in the other passage, uses that name to denote him.

The successor, then, of Kṛishṇa I. was his younger son **Dhruva.** The Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, of his son and successor Gôvinda III., mentions him, in the verses, by the name of **Dhruvarâja** and the *biruda* of **Nirupama**;[4] and the formal preamble of the prose part of it further establishes for him the *biruda* of **Dhârâvarsha,** because, using a certain technical expression of very constant occurrence, it describes Gôvinda III. as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka, Mahârâjâdhirâja,* and *Paramêśvara* Dhârâvarshadêva.[5] A verse in the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807 gives his proper name in the Prâkṛit form of **Dhôra,**[6] though a subsequent verse in the same record gives it in the usual Sanskṛit form of **Dhruva**;[7] and an intermediate verse in the same record further establishes for him the *biruda* of **Kalivallabha.**[8] In the Paṭṭadakal inscription of his time, he is designated Dhârâvarsha and **Kaliballaha,**[9] — the latter being the Prâkṛit form of Kalivallabha. And the Naregal inscription gives **Dôra,** as another variety of the Prâkṛit form of his proper name.[10] Another important *biruda* of his, **Śrîvallabha,** will be brought forward further on. A verse in the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933

[1] We have a similar flight of fancy, or at any rate an unquestionably erroneous statement, in the assertion made in the Śilâhâra Bhâdâna grant of A.D. 997, that Amôghavarsha II. reigned for a year; see page 176 below.

[2] The other Râshṭrakûṭa records which deal with this part of the genealogy and succession, treat Gôvinda II. as follows. The Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807 follows the draft of the Waṇî grant, and refers to him, in the same way, only as the unnamed elder brother whom Dhruva superseded (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 69, verse 5). The Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 passes him over without any allusion of any kind (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 162, 163); and so does the Kâpaḍwaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 56); and so also, do even the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 266), which aim at presenting the whole line from Dantidurga to Indra III., with the first rudimentary introduction of a Purâṇic preface. The Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 144, 145, verses 18, 19), and the Kâvî grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 149, 150, verses 18, 19), and the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 201, verses 2, 3), and the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 187, verses 15, 16), and the Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, of A.D. 888 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, verses 9, 10), repeat the two verses which introduce the two brothers in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, but do not include the subsequent matter stated in that record about them. The Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933 mentions Gôvinda II. between his father Kṛishṇa I. and his younger brother Nirupama-(Dhruva), but does not make any assertion that he reigned (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 252). The Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959 follows the draft of the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, and so repeats the statement that sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, *etc.* (above, Vol. IV. p. 287, verse 11). And the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972 mentions him between his father and his younger brother, but does not revive the statement that is made in the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants, and does not say anything else tending to suggest that he reigned (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 267).

[3] Above, Vol. IV. p. 342, line 40.

[4] Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text lines 29, 35, 37.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 108, text lines 42, 43. It seems that the *biruda* was actually written there, carelessly, as Dhârâvatsadêva. If any doubt should be entertained as to what was really intended, reference may be made to the corresponding passages in the Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants, both of which, it may be added, give the *biruda* with the ending *dêva,* just as the Paiṭhaṇ record does.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6.

[7] *Loc. cit.* text line 26. When this passage was translated, and, before it, the same passage in the Râdhanpur grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 70, verse 17), the fact that the word is here a proper name was not recognised, and it was rendered, with the following *iva,* by "already."

[8] *Ibid.* text line 14. Regarding the meaning of this *biruda,* which had evidently been misunderstood both by Dr. Bühler and by myself, see page 105 above, note 9.

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text lines 1, 2.

[10] Page 163 above, text line 1.

seems clearly to intend to allot to him the *biruda* of Iddhatêjas, because it speaks of him as "the king Iddhatêjas, who had the other name of Nirupama,"[1] instead of using such a construction that the word might be taken as an ordinary adjective qualifying *râjâ*; but it is very problematical whether there is anything authentic about that appellation, appearing, as it does, for the first time at that late date.

Dhruva was succeeded by his son **Gôvinda III.** His Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794 introduces him, in verse, as **Gôvindarâja**, son of Nirupama, and tells us that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit; and, in the preamble of the prose passages, it denotes him by the *birudas* of **Pṛithvîvallabha** and **Prabhûtavarsha**, in combination with a third appellation Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva, which apparently uses the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, and which, in that case, is to be rendered by "his majesty the king **Śrîvallabha**."[2] His grant from the Kanarese country, issued in A.D. 804, uses, from among his various *birudas*, only that of Prabhûtavarsha, and presents his proper name in the Prâkṛit form of **Gôyinda.**[3] Like the Paiṭhaṇ grant, his Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807 do not mention any of his *birudas* in the verses; in the formal prose passages, the Waṇî grant uses the *birudas* Prabhûtavarshadêva and Pṛithvîvallabha, followed by his proper name as Gôvindarâjadêva,[4] while the Râdhanpur grant follows the Paiṭhaṇ draft, and places the Pṛithvîvallabha first, gives the Prabhûtavarsha without the ending *dêva*, and uses Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king Śrîvallabha," instead of the proper name.[5] The Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, issued in his time, gives him, in verse, the *biruda* **Kîrtipurusha**,[6] which we meet with in the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866 in the form of **Kîrtinârâyaṇa**[7] more in accordance with the habitual style of the Râshṭrakûṭa *birudas*; and further on, in another verse, it speaks of him as **Śrîvallabha.**[8] The Tôrkhêḍê grant of A.D. 813, also issued in his

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, text lines 10, 11.

[2] For the rendering of the honorific termination *narêndradêva*, see page 188 below.— That the *śrî* is an integral and essential part of the appellation, and not the honorific prefix,— that is to say, that Gôvinda III. really had the *biruda* Śrîvallabha,— seems to be established by the corresponding passage in the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, which (unless we choose to assume a mistake of some kind or a piece of carelessness) intentionally repeats the *śrî*, or, in other words, prefixes the honorific *śrî* to the *biruda* Śrîvallabha. The text in that record (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. *b*, text lines 3, 4) runs — *Pṛithvîval*[*l**]*abha-śrîmat-Prabhûtavarsha-śrî-Śrîvallabhanarêndradêvaḥ*; using, in addition to the *śrî* before Śrîvallabha, the honorific *śrîmat*, which has precisely the same value, before Prabhûtavarsha. And, if it were not for that passage, there would be sufficient authority for treating the *śrî* in the Paiṭhaṇ passage as the honorific prefix, and for rendering the appellation used there by "his glorious majesty the king Vallabha," just as we have to render *śrîmad-Vallabhanarêndradêva* in the formal prose passages of records of Gôvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakka II. (see further on, under those kings); particularly as the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 seems to single out Pṛithivîvallabha as the special *vallabha*-appellation of Gôvinda III. (see further on in the text above). We should then have to treat in the same way the expression used in the Tôrkhêḍê grant. And the result would go far towards cancelling the *biruda* Śrîvallabha altogether in the case of Gôvinda III.; in fact, the only remaining authority for it would be the verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 (see further on in the text above).— On the occasional emphasising of *śrî* as an integral part of proper names and *birudas*, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8, note 3, clause (3) on p. 9.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, text line 3-4, and p. 127, text line 5.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 159, text lines 34, 35.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. *b*, text lines 3, 4; and see note 2 above.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 24. The word was then translated by me, by "the personification of fame," for which, however, there seems no justification.

[7] Page 103 above, text line 7; and see page 106, note 1.

[8] *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 160, text line 35.— Because Amôghavarsha I. had the *biruda* Lakshmîvallabha, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to identify the Śrîvallabha of this passage with that king, who, he suggested, was "then heir-apparent of Gôvinda" (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 124). But that identification is not tenable. The verse occurs in the account of Indrarâja of Gujarât younger brother of Gôvinda III., to whom the rule over the province of the lords of Lâṭa was given by Gôvinda III. It says that he put to flight the leader of the Gurjaras, and that the array of the *Mahâsâmantas* or feudatory princes of the Dakshiṇâpatha or Dekkan, terrified and not holding together in the course of having their power or

time, uses the *birudas* Prabhûtavarsha and Śrîvallabha,— the latter with the simpler ending *narêndra*, Śrîvallabhanarêndra, "the king Śrîvallabha;" and it further establishes for him the *biruda* of **Jagattuṅga**,[1] which is mentioned again in the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866,[2] and was used alone, to denote him, in the Kaṇheri inscription, of A.D. 851, of the time of his successor Amôghavarsha I., who is there described as meditating on the feet of Jagattuṅgadêva.[3] A verse in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817, issued shortly after his time, can hardly be construed except as putting forward for him the *biruda* of **Janavallabha**.[4] But the next verse, which says that "his other name, known or renowned in the world, was **Pṛithvîvallabha**," seems clearly to seek to attach some particular importance to that *biruda*, and, in fact, to single it out as **his special vallabha-appellation.** The other authentic records do not add anything. The Kaḍaba grant, however, which purports to have been issued in his time in A.D. 813, while introducing him as Prabhûtavarsha, denotes him further on by the appellation Vallabhêndra, instead of by that *biruda* or by his proper name.[5]

Gôvinda III. was succeeded by a son, whose proper name has not yet come to light,[6] and who is known best, by his principal *biruda*, as **Amôghavarsha I.** The earliest known record of his time is the Nausârî grant, issued in A.D. 817 by the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât, which introduces him by the *biruda* of **Mahârâjaśarva**, "a very Śarva (Śiva) among *Mahârâjas* or great kings,"[7] and then, in the next verse, brings forward his more familiar *biruda* of **Amôghavarsha**; and the former of these two *birudas*, Mahârâjaśarva, is used to denote him in the inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ,[8] a subsequent verse of which may perhaps be interpreted as putting forward for him the *biruda* of **Râjasiṁha**.[9] The

possessions ravaged from them by Śrîvallabha, obtained protection from him (Indrarâja) by shewing respect to him. There is no reason to explain this, as the Pandit did (*loc. cit.*) as meaning that, "in attempting to establish "himself in independent power, Indra aided certain of the Râshṭrakûṭa feudatories in an effort to shake off the "overlordship of Amôghavarsha," or, as I myself have done (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 400), as meaning that "apparently in opposition to his brother and sovereign, he gave protection to some chieftains of the south, whose "possessions were taken away from them by Gôvinda III." The passage is evidently to be taken in connection with the combination that was formed against Gôvinda III. by Stambha and eleven other princes. It is to be understood as meaning that Indrarâja helped Gôvinda III. in the north, and made the rebellious feudatories there submit to himself. And it is plainly in return for this service that Gôvinda III. gave Indrarâja the province of Lâṭa.

[1] Above, Vol. III. p. 54, text lines 5, 6; as regards the Śrîvallabha, see note 2 on page 173 above.—This record puts forward the Jagattuṅga in the form of Jagatuṅga, by a metrical license in adapting the verse which was used in the Paiṭhaṇ grant to put forward the *biruda* Śubhatuṅga for Kṛishṇa I.

[2] Page 102 above, text line 6.

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 138, text line 36, verse 23.

[5] Above, Vol. IV. p. 343 f., text lines 63, 82.

[6] Regarding some indications that we may expect to find that it either was Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu, or else was a name beginning with Vishṇu, see page 100 above.

[7] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 139, text lines 43, 44.— Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary gives Śarva as a name of also Vishṇu: but I do not trace the authority for that; and the word is certainly best known as a name of Śiva, apparently in one of his Rudra-manifestations (see, for instance, the *Vishṇupurâṇa*, Wilson's translation, Vol. I. p. 116, Vol. II. p. 24).— With this *biruda* Mahârâjaśarva, compare Nṛipatitriṇêtra, "a very Triṇêtra (Śiva) among kings," in the case of Gôvinda IV., and Râjatriṇêtra, meaning the same thing, in the case of Kakka II.— If the intention of the composer of the verse had been to describe the king by a proper name as "the great king Śarva,"— according to the translation of this verse that has been put forward in the place referred to (p. 146, verse 29), and on previous occasions when the verse has been handled by others dealing with other records in which it occurs,— he ought, in conformity with epigraphic as well as grammatical usage, to have framed his verse so as to speak of him, not as Mahârâjaśarva, but as Śarvamahârâja or Śarvarâja.

[8] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 89, text line 12.

[9] *Loc. cit.* text line 13. This, however, is somewhat doubtful, as also in the case of Dantidurga (page 168 above), as this *biruda* has not as yet been explicitly found anywhere in connection with Amôghavarsha I.

Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 843-44 establishes for him the *biruda* of **Pṛithvîvallabha**,[1] in addition to mentioning him as Amôghavarsha. The Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 851 mentions him only as Amôghavarshadêva, who meditated on the feet of Jagattuṅgadêva-(Gôvinda III.).[2] The Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 establishes for him the further *birudas* of **Atiśayadhavala, Nṛipatuṅga**, and **Lakshmîvallabha** with the ending *indra*.[3] And this completes the list of *birudas* established for him by records of his own time.[4] Some of the subsequent records, however, put forward others, in respect of which we can only say that, while there may not be any very conclusive objections to them, still they cannot be taken as established until we find them in records of his own time. Thus, the Kâpaḍwaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 appears to mention him, in verse, as **Mahârâjashaṇḍa**, "a very bull (*i.e.* most powerful or pre-eminent) among *Mahârâjas*."[5] A verse in the Nausâri grants of A.D. 915 says that Jagattuṅga-(Gôvinda III.) begat **Śrîvallabha**, who subsequently became **Vîranârâyaṇa**;[6] and here we may remark that, though there may be no particular reason why Amôghavarsha I. should not have been known as Śrîvallabha, still it is quite possible that the composer of this record, which does not follow any of the early drafts, simply used, to suit his own convenience, a more familiar synonym of the special *biruda* Lakshmîvallabha which is established by the Nîlgund record. And finally, the Śilâhâra Bhâdâna grant of A.D. 997 seems clearly to style him Durlabha, as well as Amôghavarsha.[7]

Amôghavarsha I. was succeeded by his son **Kṛishṇa II.**, whose name is given as **Kṛishṇavallabha**, in verse, in the Mulgund inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 902-903,[8] and in the Prâkṛit form of **Kannara**, in prose, in the Aihoḷe inscription, also of his time, dated in A.D. 903.[9] The Baṭgere inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 888,[10] establishes for him the *biruda* of **Akâlavarsha**, which was evidently used, alone, to denote him in the Nandwâḍige inscription of A.D. 903.[11] The Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued somewhat earlier in A.D. 888, speaks, in verse, of a certain **Vallabhanṛipa** or "Vallabha king," who can hardly be anyone but Kṛishṇa II.[12] And the Kâpaḍwaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 establishes for him the *biruda* of **Śubhatuṅga**,[13] in addition to Akâlavarsha,

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 136, No. 43 B., text line 1. I cannot help thinking that it may also mention him as Mahârâjaśarva: the apparent description of him there, immediately after his *biruda* Amôghavarsha, as *śrî-mahârâja*, "the glorious *Mahârâja*," is not very appropriate; and where there has been read *jña*, in brackets as being damaged, followed by a *visarga*, there may possibly be the syllables *jaśarvva*, crowded up together; moreover, the proposed genitive *mahârâjñaḥ* would be, according to all general usage, a mistake (for *mahârâjasya*).

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

[3] Pages 103, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, and 20; in the last passage, the ending *narêndradêva* is attached, in prose, to the Atiśayadhavala.

[4] The Sirûr inscription of A.D. 866 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215; for a revised version, see further on in the present selection of records) only endorses the *birudas* used in the Nîlgund inscription; the Kâvi grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 144) appears not to mention him at all, for some reason or other; the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 179) gives only Mahârâjaśarva (verse 22) and Amôghavarsha (verses 23, 29); and the latest known record, the Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 877-78 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 135, No. 43 A.) gives only Amôghavarshadêva.

[5] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, text line 14.

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII., translation, p. 266. The *biruda* Vîranârâyaṇa is used for him in the Konnûr inscription, which, really written in the twelfth century A.D., purports to reproduce the matter of a copper-plate charter issued in A.D. 860 (page 36 above, verse 34).

[7] Above, Vol. III. p. 271, verse 4.

[8] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 190, text line 3; and see further on in the present series of records.

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222, text line 2.

[10] Brought to notice in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 410. It will be edited further on in this series of records.

[11] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 221, text line 1.

[12] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 23.

[13] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 57, verse 11.

and further seems to speak of him as **Vallabharâja.**[1] The Hebbâḷ inscription of A.D. 975, which is a Western Gaṅga record, would set up for him the *biruda* of Chalakenallâta;[2] but it seems likely that it only carries it back to him, mistakenly, from his great-grandson Kṛishṇa III.

Kṛishṇa II. had a son, through whom the succession was transmitted, but who did not himself reign: his proper name has not yet come to light; and he is only known, by a *biruda*, as **Jagattuṅga II.** That he did not reign, and that the succession passed direct from Kṛishṇa II. to Indra III., is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915, which describe Nityavarshanarêndradêva-(Indra III.) as meditating on the feet of Akâlavarshadêva-(Kṛishṇa II.).[3]

Kṛishṇa II., then, was succeeded by his grandson **Indra III.**, son of Jagattuṅga II. His Nausârî grants of A.D. 915 mention him, in the verses, first by the *birudas* of **Raṭṭakandarpadêva** and **Kîrtinârâyaṇa**, and then by the proper name of **Indrarâja**;[4] and, in the formal preambles of the prose passages, one of them mentions him by the *birudas* of **Śrîvallabha** and **Nityavarsha**, the latter with the ending *narêndradêva*,[5] — Nityavarshanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king Nityavarsha," while the other omits the Śrîvallabha and mentions him as only Nityavarsha, again with the same honorific ending.[6] The Hattî-Mattûr inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 916-17, mentions him by only the *biruda* of Nityavarsha;[7] and so also does an inscription at Lakshmêshwar, dated in the same year.[8] To the preceding *birudas*, established by the records of his own time, a verse in the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933, issued after his time, adds that of **Râjamârtaṇḍa,**[9] which seems probable and admissible.

Indra III. had two sons. The proper name of the elder one has not yet come to light; and he is only known as **Amôghavarsha II.**, by the *biruda* by which he is mentioned in the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940 and the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959:[10] the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933 merely refers to him as the elder brother of Gôvinda IV., without mentioning him by any appellation at all.[11] A later and extraneous record, the Śilâhâra Bhâdâna grant of A.D. 997, asserts that he reigned for one year.[12] But no such statement is made in the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ records. And, that there was no basis of truth for the assertion, is distinctly proved by

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[1] *Loc. cit.* (see note 13 on page 175 above), verse 20. If so, the verse seems to refer to seven hundred and fifty villages, which constituted his private personal estate. But it is possible that the reference here is to the feudatory prince Akâlavarsha-Kṛishṇarâja, whose existence is set up by the Bagumrâ grant purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888 (see note 12 on page 175 above).

[2] Above, Vol. IV. p. 352, text line 2.

[3] See notes 5, 6, below.

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 259, B., plate ii. *b*, text lines 5, 7, 9, and p. 263, A., plate ii. *b*, text lines 2, 5-6, 8. The translation gives Vîranârâyaṇa, by mistake for Kîrtinârâyaṇa.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 264, A., plate ii. *b*, text line 12; and see page 168 above, note 6.

[6] *Loc. cit.* p. 259, B., plate ii. *b*, text line 13.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 224, text line 1.

[8] Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. The details of the date include Âdityavâra, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of, perhaps, [Bhâdra]pada; but only the last two syllables of the name of the month remain, and they are very doubtful. In this record, the *saṁvatsara*, Dhâta (for Dhâtu, or Dhâtṛi), is coupled with Saka-Saṁvat 839 (current, by the southern luni-solar system), = A D. 916-17, the year being expressed plainly in words. In the Hattî-Mattûr record, it is coupled with Ś.-S. 838, which we must apparently take as expired, by the same system, again = A.D. 916-17.

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 19; the word was then translated, by "a very sun of a king."

[10] Above, Vol. V. p. 193-94, verse 16; and Vol. IV. p. 288, verse 18.

[11] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text lines 23 to 25.

[12] Above, Vol. III. p. 271, verse 6. The assertion is possibly based on some such authority as the spurious Wadgaon grant (noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 416, note 6; to be explained more fully in an article on Spurious Indian Records in the *Indian Antiquary*), which puts forward as the reigning king, and as the alleged giver of the donation claimed by it, an Amôghavarsha by whom it really means Indra III. Or, perhaps, the Bhâdâna grant has mistakenly applied to him an assertion which might be correct in respect of his uncle Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, whose reign was certainly not a long one.

the Sâṅglî grant, in which the formal preamble of the prose passages describes Suvarṇavarsha-(**Gôvinda IV.**) as meditating on the feet of Nityavarshadêva,[1] *i.e.* as the immediate successor of Indra III.

The successor, then, of Indra III. was his younger son **Gôvinda IV.**, who is first introduced, in his Sâṅglî grant of August, A.D. 933, by the name of **Gôvindarâja**;[2] the next verse in that record gives him the *biruda* of **Sâhasâṅka**;[3] the next verse says that, though he was **Prabhûtavarsha**, he was called **Suvarṇavarsha** because he made the whole earth entirely golden by showers of gold;[4] some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand before the usual preamble of the prose passages, give him the *birudas* of **Nityakandarpa**, **Châṇakyachaturmukha**, **Vikrântanârâyaṇa**, and **Nṛipatitriṇêtra**;[5] and finally, the formal preamble of the prose passages mentions him as **Suvarṇavarshadêva**, **Pṛithvîvallabha**, and Vallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king **Vallabha**," who meditated on the feet of Nityavarshadêva-(Indra III.).[6] The Daṇḍâpur inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 918, quite early in his reign, mentions him by only the *biruda* of Prabhûtavarsha,[7] which is in accordance with what we understand from the Sâṅglî record, namely that he was Prabhûtavarsha first and became known as Suvarṇavarsha subsequently. The inscription at Kaḷas in the Baṅkâpur tâluka, dated in A.D. 930,[8] does not seem to include any *varsha*-appellation: in the verses, in addition to giving his name, in its Prâkṛit form, as **Gojjiga**, **Gojjigadêva**, and **Gojjigavallabha**, it gives him the *birudas* of **Nṛipatuṅga**, **Vîranârâyaṇa**, and **Raṭṭakandarpadêva**; and, in addition to using again Gojjigavallabha and Vîranârâyaṇa, the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details speaks of him as **Gaṇḍamârtaṇḍa**, **Madagajârûḍhamâtaṁga** (?),[9] and **Raṭṭavidyâdhara**, and also includes one or two other *birudas* of which the reading is not at all certain. The inscription at Kaḷasâpur in the Gadag tâluka, dated in December, A.D. 933,[10] mentions him by only the *biruda* of Suvarṇavarsha. And so also does an inscription at Kaujgere in the Rôṇ tâluka,[11] which is

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[1] See note 6 below.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 23.

[3] *Ibid.* text line 25. The word was then translated, by "characterised by daring;" with, however, the remark in a footnote that it might be taken as a *biruda*.

[4] *Ibid.* text lines 25, 26.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 251, text lines 36, 37, 38.

[6] *Ibid.* text lines 39, 40. The appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrîmat*,— not *śrî*.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 223, text line 1. The record was then wrongly allotted by me to Jagattuṅga II.— In *nâlvatt=avutâ*, line 2, *avutâ* is a form of the present participle of *avi* (2), 'to be spoiled, damaged; to rot; to perish; to go out, be extinguished.' And thus the record is dated on the winter solstice of the month Pausha of the Pramâthin *saṁvatsara*, when the Śaka year eight hundred and forty was "coming to an end." Pramâthin can be connected with the figures 840 only by the mean-sign system of the cycle, according to which it began on the 12th February, A.D. 918, Śaka-Saṁvat 840 current, and ended on the 8th February, A.D. 919, Ś.-S. 840 expired, or else by the northern luni-solar system, according to which it coincided with S.-S. 840 expired, = A.D. 918-19; and, in either case, the date would fall in December, A.D. 918. If we were to apply the southern luni-solar system, we should have to assume that 840 is a mistake for 841; because, by that system, Pramâthin coincided with Ś.-S. 841 expired, = A.D. 919-20. Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 269) has adduced a later instance, of A.D. 930 (the date of the Kaḷas inscription, noticed further on), in which we must apply the northern luni-solar system. And we may take it, therefore, that there is no mistake in the year in the Daṇḍâpur record, and that it is dated in December, A.D. 918. Compare notes 3 and 4 on page 180 below.

[8] Noticed, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 211, No. 48, and p. 248, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 416. For the exact date, the 17th January, A.D. 930, see Prof. Kielhorn's result in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 114, No. 7, and his remarks in Vol. XXIV. p. 269.

[9] The antepenultimate syllable is doubtful, but seems to be *ma* or *mâ*. In the penultimate syllable, it is not quite certain whether the vowel with the *t* is *a* or *u*. Madagajârûḍhamâtaṁga may be rendered, as suggested to me by Prof. Kielhorn, by "the most excellent rider of rutting elephants."

[10] Noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 416 f. To the details of the date given there, add "at the Uttarâyaṇasaṁkrânti." If this is to be taken as the leading detail, the equivalent cannot be Sunday, 29th December, but must be either Sunday, the 22nd, or Monday, the 23rd. The week-day, Âdityavâra, is quite distinct: and it seems impossible to read the *tithi* as anything but *ashṭamî*.

[11] Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression.

dated, without full details, in the Vijaya *saṁvatsara* coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 855 (expired), = A.D. 933-34.

Gôvinda IV. was succeeded by a paternal uncle, whose proper name is known, as yet, only in the Prâkṛit forms of **Baddegadêva** and **Vaddigadêva.**[1] The Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940 introduces him, in verse, by only the *biruda* of **Amôghavarsha**;[2] so, also, does the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959, using the same verse;[3] and so, in other verses, do the Sâlôṭgi inscription of A.D. 945[4] and the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972:[5] the Âtakûr inscription of A.D. 949-50 mentions him, in prose, only as **Amôghavarshadêva.**[6] His proper name is met with first, as **Baddegadêva,** in the Western Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 975 at Hebbâḷ;[7] the Bhâdâna Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 997 gives it as **Vaddigadêva**;[8] and the Khârêpâṭaṇ Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 1008 speaks of him as Vaddiganṛipa, "king **Vaddiga.**"[9] We have, as yet, no records that can be referred with certainty to the time of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. But, that he did reign, is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants, which describe Akâlavarshadêva-(Kṛishṇa III.) as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara* Amôghavarshadêva;[10] and so, also, by the Âtakûr inscription of A.D. 949-50, which, in a less stereotyped fashion, describes Kṛishṇa III. as a bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramêśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* Amôghavarshadêva.[11]

Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga was succeeded by his son **Kṛishṇa III.** His earliest record, the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, introduces him as **Kṛishṇarâjadêva,** and then, in another verse, gives him the *biruda* of **Śrîvallabha**;[12] and, in the formal preamble of the prose passages, it styles him **Akâlavarshadêva, Pṛithvîvallabha,** and Vallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king **Vallabha.**"[13] The Sâlôṭgi inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 945, does not add anything; as it only mentions him as Pṛithivîvallabha, Akâlavarshaḍêva, and Kṛishṇarâja.[14] The Âtakûr inscription of A.D. 949-50 presents his name in the Prâkṛit form of **Kannaradêva,**[15] and adds the *birudas* of **Aṅkatriṇêtra,** "a very Triṇêtra (Śiva) in battle," **Ânevedeṅga,** "a marvel with elephants," **Vanagajamalla,** "a wrestler against forest-elephants," and **Kachchega,**

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[1] Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary gives *baddiga* as another form of *bandiga*, and the latter as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *bandhika* or *bandhaka*; but this does not seem to help us towards the Sanskṛit name. The St. Petersburg Dictionary gives Vandîka, also written Bandîka, as a name of Indra; but it is hardly likely that Jagattuṅga II. would name two sons after that god. We shall probably find the Sanskṛit form of the name, sooner or later, among the Kalachuris of Central India, into whose family Jagattuṅga II., as well as his father Kṛishṇa II., intermarried. Meanwhile, we can only remark that the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959 goes on, after the verse in which it introduces him (see note 3 below), to liken him, in a verse of its own which does not stand in the Dêôlî grant, to Manu, Kârtavîrya, Bali, and Dilîpa, and says that, though by possessing the qualities which they possessed he acquired pre-eminent and permanent fame, still "his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty,"— *vṛiddhêshu namra-charitô vinayêna yô=bhût.* It is just possible that there is a hint here that his proper name was something beginning with Vṛiddha, of which Vaddiga would be a perfectly admissible Prâkṛit form, on the analogy of *baddi, vaddi,* as *tadbhava*-forms of *vṛiddhi.*

[2] Above, Vol. V. p. 194, verse 19.

[3] Above, Vol. IV. p. 288, verse 21; as regards verse 22, see note 1 above.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 62.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text lines 21, 24-25.

[6] Page 55 above.

[7] Above, Vol. IV. p. 352, text line 5.

[8] Above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 12. It is this record which, in the preceding verse, distinctly specifies him as the *younger* brother of Nityavarsha-(Indra III.).

[9] *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 12.

[10] Above, Vol. V. p. 195, text lines 43 to 45; and Vol. IV. p. 285, text lines 54, 55.

[11] Page 55 above.

[12] Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text lines 31, 34.

[13] *Loc. cit.* p. 195, text line 45-46. The last appellation seems to be preceded, as it is in his Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959, by the honorific *śrîmat,*— not *śrî.*

[14] Above, Vol. IV. p. 60, text lines 9-10, 13.

[15] Page 54 f. above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

"he who wears the girdle (of prowess)."[1] The Soratûr inscription of A.D. 951 endorses **Ânevedenga**, presents Vanagajamalla in the variant of **Madagajamalla**, "a wrestler against rutting elephants," and adds **Chalakenallâta**, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of firmness of character."[2] The Ukkal inscription, dated in his sixteenth year, styles him **Kachchiyun-Tañjaiyuṅ-koṇḍa**, "conqueror of Kâñchî and Tanjore."[3] His Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959 follows the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, except that, in adapting the verse which first mentions him, it substitutes Kṛishṇarâjanṛipati, "king Kṛishṇarâja," for Kṛishṇarâjadêva:[4] but it adds a new *biruda*; it tells us that he was then encamped at Mêlpâṭî (Mêlpâḍi in the North Arcot district) for the purpose of creating livings for his dependents out of the provinces in the southern region, and of taking possession of all the property of the lords of provinces, and of founding temples of (Śiva under the names of) Kâlapriyêśvara, Gaṇḍamârtaṇḍêśvara, Kṛishṇêśvara, and "so on;"[5] and, we find the **Gaṇḍamârtaṇḍa**, which is deduced from this passage, used, as well as Vanagajamalla, to denote him in the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph of the Western Gaṅga prince Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II.[6]

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[1] Page 53 above, text line 3; and see the notes to the translation.— I there expressed a doubt as to the *biruda* Aṅkatriṇêtra (see note 7 to line 3 of the text); but that doubt may now be cancelled. My objection to the appearance of the compound, however, is justified, while the acceptance of the *biruda* itself, as a half-Kanarese half-Sanskṛit word, is also justified, by the fact that the *biruda* is given as one of the examples to Kêśirâja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, sûtra 174, which deals with the compounds called *viruddha-samâsa* (more popularly, *ari-samâsa*) or "incongruous or improper compounds, or compounds of heterogeneous words dissimilar in kind," which, according to that sûtra, are allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*. In Kittel's Dictionary, from which I have obtained the reference to the *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, it is suggested that the *biruda* may perhaps mean "the well-known Śiva;" but there can be no doubt that it is equivalent to the Kadanatriṇêtra of another passage referred to in my note on the *biruda*.— Since writing the above, I have received from Mr. H. Krishna Sastri a suggestion, based on an inspection of the original stone, that the *biruda* may perhaps be Aṇmutriṇêtra, "a very Triṇêtra in valour" But I think that, on the whole, Aṅkatriṇêtra is preferable.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257, text lines 1, 2.— As regards Chalakenallâta, which I then read Dhâlakenallâta, I can see now, from a better ink-impression, that the vowel of the first syllable is the short *a*, not the long *â*, and that the consonant (which does look rather like *dh*) is really a rather badly formed or damaged *ch*; and the *biruda* occurs again, quite distinctly, in the Chiñchli inscription of A.D. 953 (see page 180 below).— Another *biruda* in which *chala* occurs, is Chaladaṅkarâma, applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Śântivarman in the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 980 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 204, text line 9); for the rendering then suggested to me, "a very Râma in the fierce fight" (*ibid.* p. 208-209), there is to be substituted "'a very Râma distinguished by firmness of character," in accordance with the translation given by Mr. Kittel in his Dictionary, under *chala*.— There is one instance of a *biruda* ending in *nalla*, which is practically the same as *nallâta*, among the Eastern Chalukyas. Vijayâditya III. had a *biruda* which is presented in the various forms of Guṇaka, Guṇaga, Guṇagâṅka, and Guṇakenalla (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102). On the apparent authority of a passage which runs *Guṇaga-Vijayâditya-patir=aṁkakâras=sâkshâd, etc.*, I explained the *biruda* as meaning "a thorough arithmetician" (*loc. cit.*). It is, however, now plain that the proper form of the *biruda* was Guṇakenalla, meaning "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of his virtues," and that *aṅkakâra* is to be taken, not as a Sanskṛit word explaining the *biruda*, but as standing for the Kanarese *aṅkakâṛa*, — the meaning being "a veritable champion." — The *biruda* Guṇakenalla is given among the examples to the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, sûtra 174 (mentioned in the preceding note), in Guṇakkenalla-Gaṇêśa, which has been rendered by Mr. Kittel, under *guṇa* in his Dictionary, by "Gaṇêśa who is good on account of his merit."

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 11, No. 7.

[4] Above, Vol. IV. p. 284, text line 37; and see note 13 on page 178 above.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 285, text lines 57 to 59.— This passage perhaps also suggests that he had the *biruda* of Kâlapriya, which might mean either "dear to Śiva" or "devoted to Śiva." But Kâlapriya or Kâlapriyanâtha was itself a name of Śiva, apparently in his form of Mahâkâla of Ujjain (see Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, under *kâla*, 2); and therefore we are not of necessity to take the name Kâlapriyêśvara as being based, as Gaṇḍamârtaṇḍêśvara was, on a *biruda* of the king. The dramas *Uttararâmacharita* and *Mâlatîmâdhava* were played to celebrate the festival of Kâlapriyanâtha (Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 287, Vol. II. p. 10); and, apparently, so also the *Mahâvîracharita* (Pickford's translation, p. 4 and note, from which we learn that a commentator has explained the name thus:— "Kâla, another name of Śiva; Kâlapriyâ, dear to Śiva, *i.e.* Pârvatî, his wife; Kâlapriyanâtha, the husband of Pârvatî, *i.e.* Śiva").

[6] Above, Vol. V. p. 179.

And finally, an inscription at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, which records the death of his grandson Indra IV. in A.D. 982, presents his proper name, in verse, in the form of **Kṛishṇarâjêndra**.[1] To the facts already known about Kṛishṇa III., we may conveniently add here the following. An inscription at Dêvî-Hosûr, in the Karajgi tâluka,[2] refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as Akâlavarshadêva and Kannaradêva, and gives for him a fixed date, in December, A.D. 961, two years and nine months later than the date of the Karhâḍ grant. And an inscription at Chiñchli in the Gadag tâluka,[3] which refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as **Akâlavarshadêva**, Chalakenallâta, and Kannaradêva, mentions also, by the appellations Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma-Jayaduttaraṁga-Permânaḍi, the Western Gaṅga prince Bûtuga II., whom it describes as "governing" the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand; and it supplies for Bûtuga II. a fixed date, in April, A.D. 953, three years later than the latest date previously established for him.

Kṛishṇa III. was succeeded by a younger brother, whose proper name is known, at present, only in the Prâkṛit forms of **Khoṭṭiga**, **Koṭṭiga**, and **Khôṭika**, of which the first was probably the original corruption of his Sanskṛit name, whatever that may have been.[4] His appellations are given most fully in the Adaragunchi inscription of A.D. 971, which mentions him by the name of **Koṭṭigadêva**, with the *birudas* of **Nityavarshadêva**, **Râjamârtaṇḍa**, **Raṭṭakandarpa**, and **Chitravedeṅga**, "a marvel among marvels" (?).[5] And an inscription at Hirê-Handigôḷ in the Gadag tâluka,[6] which again presents his name as **Koṭṭigadêva** and uses the *biruda* Nityavarshadêva, adds **Yasakenallâta**, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of fame." An inscription at Nâgâvi, in the same tâluka,[7] again presents his name as **Koṭṭigadêva**, and again mentions him as Nityavarshadêva. The Kardâ grant of his successor's time, issued

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[1] *Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 57.

[2] Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression.— The passage giving the date (lines 6 to 9) runs— Sa(śa)ka-varsha 884 Dundubhi-saṁvatsar-ântarggata-Pausha-su(śu)ddha-trayôdasi(śi) Âdityavâram=Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântiy-andu.— By the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, Dundubhi was Śaka-Saṁvat 884 expired, = A.D. 962-63. In that year, Pausha śukla 13 ended at about 3 hrs. 58 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 12th December, A.D. 962; and the solstice occurred at 12 hrs. 38 min. on Tuesday, 23rd December.— By the northern luni-solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), Dundubhi was Ś.-S. 884 current, = A.D. 961-62. In this year, Pausha śukla 13 ended at about 17 hrs. 47 min. on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D. 961; and the solstice occurred at 6 hrs. 25 min. on the next day. The date is, thus, not quite correct. But we need not hesitate, I think, about accepting the result for the *tithi* as the real date of the record.

[3] Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression.— The passage giving the date (lines 4 to 7), runs— Sa(śa)ka-bhûpâḷa-kâḷ-âkrânta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṁgaḷ=eṇṭu-nûṛ=eḷpatt-âṛaneya Ânanda-saṁvatsarada Vaiśâkha-su(śu)ddha-bidige Sômavâramuṁ Mṛigaśira-nakshatramum=âge(? gi).— By the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, Ânanda was Śaka-Saṁvat 876 expired, = A.D. 954-55. In that year, Vaiśâkha śukla 2 ended at about 21 hrs. 16 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 7th April, A.D. 954, and cannot be connected with a Monday at all.— By the northern luni-solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), Ânanda was Ś.-S. 876 current, = A.D. 953-54. And, in this year, Vaiśâkha śukla 2 ended at about 6 hrs. 18 min. on Monday, 18th April, A.D. 953; and the moon entered Mṛigaśiras at about 11 hrs. 8 min. or 12 hrs. 15 min.

[4] I can suggest only Krôshṭu, which occurs as the name of one of the sons of Yadu (*Vishṇupurâṇa*, Wilson's translation, Vol. IV. pp. 53, 61), and might perhaps turn into Khoṭṭiga, Koṭṭiga, Khôṭika, in the Prâkṛit of the Kanarese country. I notice, however, that Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary gives Kôṭika as the name of the son of a prince, from the *Mahâbhârata*.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 255 f., text lines 1 to 5.

[6] Noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 422, note 3.— It records a grant that was made at the Uttarâyaṇasaṁkrânti or winter solstice (line 16); but the details of the (month and) *tithi* and week-day, by which the exact date might have been fixed, were not given. Line 1 contains the Śaka year, in figures, and the *saṁvatsara*; again, without any details: but the passage is much damaged, and all that can be said from the ink-impression, is that, while the first figure, 8, is quite unmistakable, the other two are altogether uncertain,—that then there comes the usual ordinal ending *neya* (=*aneya*),— and that then we may perhaps have either Prabhava, Pramôda, or Prajâpati. This would give a date in December, A.D. 967, 970, or 971, with the southern luni-solar system of the cycle.

[7] At the temple of Kannûra-Basappa; noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 422, note 3, where I have wrongly represented it as giving the name with the aspirated *kh*.

in A.D. 972, is the first record to present his name as **Khoṭṭigadêva**, with the aspirated *kh*.[1] This form is presented again in the Bhâdâna Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 997.[2] But the Khârêpâṭaṇ Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 1008 gives **Khôṭika**.[3]

Khoṭṭiga was succeeded by a nephew, who is most conveniently known as **Kakka II.** His Kardâ grant of A.D. 972 seems to present his proper name first, in verse, as **Kakkarâja**;[4] but it is possible that we ought to find there a superscript *r*, imperfectly formed or damaged, and that we ought to take the name to be **Karkarâja**, which seems more likely to be the Sanskṛit form of it: further on, in prose, it presents it as **Kakkaladêvarâja**,[5] which, from the practice noted further on regarding the ending *dêva*, we must take to be its Prâkṛit form. The form **Kakkaladêva** was used in the Guṇḍûr inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 973.[6] The Bhâdâna Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 997 calls him Kakkalêśa, "the lord **Kakkala**."[7] And the Khârêpâṭaṇ Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 1008 calls him simply **Kakkala**, without any ending.[8] Among other later extraneous records, the Kauṭhêṁ Western Châlukya grant of A.D. 1009 gives his name as **Karkara**;[9] and the Kaḷachurya inscription of A.D. 1161 at Managôḷi presents it as **Kakkara**.[10] His Kardâ grant of A.D. 972 gives him, in some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand just before the usual preamble of the prose passages, the *birudas* of **Amôghavarsha, Nûtanapârtha, Ahitamârtaṇḍa, Viranârâyaṇa, Nṛipatuṅga,** and

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 25.

2 Above, Vol. III. p. 272, text line 16-17.

3 *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 16.

4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 26.— There is not, apparently, any such word as *kakka*. And the name seems to be certainly *karka*, 'white, good, excellent; a white horse; a crab; the sign Cancer;' *etc.*— The name occurs in four instances among the Râshṭrakûṭas before Kakka II. We meet with it first in the cases of Kakkarâja II. of the first Gujarât branch, and of his ancestor Kakkarâja I., in the grant of A.D. 757 from the Surat district; and there, in all three passages, the first component of the name is distinctly written Kakka, without the *r* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 107, text line 3, and p. 108, lines 15, 23). We meet with it next in the case of Karka or Kakka I., father of Krishṇa I. of the main line: the Sâmângaḍ grant of A.D. 754 gives his name as Kakkarâja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 111, text line 9); the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, however, gives it as Karkarâja in using the same verse, and again in a subsequent verse (above, Vol. III. p. 106, text lines 7, 17); the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, using a new verse, gives it again as Karkarâja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 5); the Ellôrâ inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave, using again a new verse, apparently gives it in the same form, Karkarâja (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text line 8); so, also, apparently do the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 142, 143, verses 5, 11) and the Kâvî grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 146, verses 5, 11), both using the two verses of the Paiṭhaṇ grant, though the Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867, using again the same two verses, seems to give it as Kakkarâja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 182, text lines 5, 11); the Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been been issued in A.D. 888, uses again the two verses of the Paiṭhaṇ grant, and gives it as Karkarâja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 66 f., text lines 5, 10); and, finally, the Bhâdâna Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 997 gives it as Karkarâja, in a new verse of its own (above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 3). And we meet with the same name again in the case of the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of the second Gujarât branch: the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 gives his name as Karkarâja in the verse which introduces him and in the usual preamble of the prose passages (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text lines 36, 42), but seems rather to give it as Kakkarâja in the passage that purports to be his signature (*ibid.* p. 161, text line 68); the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 apparently gives it as Karkarâja in the verse, a new one, which introduces him, and also in the preamble of the prose passages (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 139, text lines 52, 55; in respect of the signature, the translation shews Karkarâja, p. 148, but the text has Kakkarâja, p. 141, text line 86); the Kâvi grant of A.D. 826 or 827 apparently gives Karkarâja, in a new verse (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, verse 31); the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 does the same (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 199, text line 14), in reproducing the verse of the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817; the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867, using both the verse of A.D. 826 or 827 and then the verse of A.D. 817, apparently gives it, in both places, as Kakkarâja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 183, text line 6); and the Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888, using the verse of A.D. 817, gives it as Karkarâja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, plate ii. *a.*, text line 9).

5 *Loc. cit.* p. 266, text line 47.

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 271, text line 5.

7 Above, Vol. III. p. 272, text line 18.

8 *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 17.

9 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, text line 41.

10 Above, Vol. V. p. 16, text line 12.

Râjatriṇêtra;[1] and the formal preamble of the prose passages, using first Amôghavarsha with the ending *dêva*, adds the *biruda* **Pṛithvîvallabha,** and further styles him Vallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king **Vallabha.**"[2] The Guṇḍûr inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 973, uses his Prâkṛit name Kakkaladêva, as already noted, and presents the *biruda* Pṛithvîvallabha in the *tadbhava*-form Prithuvivallabha.[3]

Kakka II. was the last Râshṭrakûṭa king of Mâlkhêḍ. After his overthrow in the latter part of A.D. 973 or early in the next year by the Western Châlukya Taila II., an attempt was made by the great Western Gaṅga prince Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II. to continue the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereignty by crowning **Indra IV.**, grandson of Kṛishṇa III.[4] But, though Indra IV. lived on till A.D. 982, there is nothing to shew that the attempt was even temporarily or locally successful; doubtless, because Mârasiṁha II. was either dead, or else had abdicated and passed into religious retirement, before June-July, A.D. 974,[5] and because before August, A.D. 975, another Western Gaṅga prince, Pañchaladêva, had set himself up as paramount sovereign, in opposition to Taila II., in the southern provinces of what had been the Râshṭrakûṭa kingdom.[6] Indra IV. eventually died, starving himself to death in the performance of the *sallêkhanâ*-vow, on the 20th March A.D. 982.[7] The record which furnishes that information,[8] mentions him by the proper name of **Indrarâja,** and puts forward for him the *birudas* of **Raṭṭakandarpadêva, Râjamârtaṇḍa, Chaladaṅkakâṛa,** "the champion of firmness of character,"[9] **Ahitarajava,** "the Death of enemies," **Chaladaggaḷi,** "the door-bar of firmness of character," **Kirtinârâyaṇa, Kaligaḷoḷgaṇḍa,** "the hero among brave men," **Bîrarabîra,** "the bravest of the brave," and **Eḷevabedeṅga,** "a marvel among those who take by force (*the property of others*)."

Some special features in the use of the appellations.

We have now to notice **certain special features, attending the use of the appellations of the members of the family**, whether they were actually reigning kings or not, which are disclosed by the technicalities that are recognisable in the diction employed in the Râshṭrakûṭa records.

And first as regards **the proper names in their Sanskṛit forms.** It has been mentioned that the verse in the Sâmângaḍ grant which first introduces Dantidurga, gives his name as Dantidurgarâja, while the formal prose passage adds *dêva* and styles him Dantidurgarâjadêva. The habitual earlier practice, and evidently the correct etiquette, was that the verses of the records should be constructed in such a way that the Sanskṛit names should have the ending *râja* and nothing else,— in the case, not only of the paramount sovereigns and other members of the main line of Mâlkhêḍ, but also of the feudatory princes of the Gujarât branch. This was done so constantly, that it is necessary to notice only the cases in which it was not done. And I have found at present only the following exceptions, most of which occur in records which were

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text lines 38 to 41.

[2] *Ibid.* text lines 44, 45. This appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrîmat*,— not *śrî*.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 271, text lines 3, 5.

[4] See above, Vol. V. p. 170, and note 4. An allusion to the attempt is to be found in the Western Châlukya Kauṭhêm grant of A.D. 1009, which presents an imaginary item of ancient history in asserting that Jayasiṁha I., the original ancestor (about A.D. 500) of the earlier Chalukya dynasty of Bâdâmi, re-established his line, after a period during which its power had been in abeyance, by conquering a Râshṭrakûṭa king Indra, son of Kṛishṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 17). The assertion is certainly based (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 342) upon nothing but the overthrow of Kakka II. by Taila II., and on the names of Kṛishṇa III. and Indra IV. and the crowning of the latter.

[5] Above, Vol. V. p. 152.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 172.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 124, No. 64.

[8] *Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 57.

[9] This is to be added to the two instances given above, page 57, and note 8, of the occurrence of *aṅkakâṛa* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name.

independent compositions not following standard drafts, or else in additional passages which were not integral parts of standard drafts. A verse in the Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807 presents the name of Dhruva without the ending *râja*.[1] A verse in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 brings forward the name of Stambha without the ending *râja*.[2] Similarly, a verse in the inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ, which appears to be of the period of Amôghavarsha I., speaks of Dantivarman I. as simply Dantivarman.[3] The Nausârî grants of A.D. 915,—the first, as far as our present knowledge goes, with the exception of the Daśâvatâra inscription, of a series of later official compositions which departed completely from the early standard drafts,—use for Dantidurga an altogether new verse which omits the *râja* and speaks of him as "the king, the glorious Dantidurga;"[4] the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, using another new verse (which stands also in the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959), mentions him as simply Dantidurga;[5] and so also, in still another new verse, does the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972:[6] the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933 speaks of Indra III. as "king Indra;"[7] and the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972 speaks of Kṛishṇa II. as "king Kṛishṇa" and of Indra III. as "king Indra."[8] On the other hand, the ending *dêva* after *râja* is used, in verses, in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja (the second of the name) of Gujarât, in a verse which speaks of him as Dhruvarâjadêva but which stands after the proper introduction of that form of the name in the formal prose passage,[9] and in the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915, in the introductory verse which speaks of Indra III. as Indrarâjadêva,[10] and in the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, in a verse which speaks of Kṛishṇa III. as Kṛishṇarâjadêva,[11] and in the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, in a verse which speaks of Kṛishṇa III., again, as Krishṇarâjadêva.[12] The double ending *râjadêva* with proper names was properly restricted to prose passages. And, just as we find it in the case of Dantidurga in his Sâmângaḍ grant, so also we find it in the formal prose passages in the Waṇî grant of Gôvinda III. of A.D. 807,[13] and in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 of the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât,[14] and in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 of the same prince,[15] and in the Kâvî grant of A.D. 826 or 827 of the feudatory prince Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja,[16] and in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja,[17] and in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 of the second feudatory

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 26, and Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. *a*, text line 13; and see note 7 on page 172 above.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 138, text line 40. Regarding Stambha, who has not been mentioned in the preceding pages, see pages 195, 197, below.

[3] *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text line 4.

[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 257, B., text line 8, and p. 261, A., text line 7-8. The actual expression is *śrî-Dantidurga-nṛipatiḥ*. The composer perhaps found it inconvenient to introduce the *râja* here. But he employed it, as usual, in the case of Kṛishṇa I., whom he mentions as *śrî-Kṛishṇarâja-nṛipatiḥ*, B. line 15-16, A. line 14.

[5] Above, Vol. V. p. 193, text line 13, and Vol. IV. p. 282, text line 12.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 264, text line 6.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 22,— *Indra-narêndra.*

[8] *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 265, text line 17,— *Kṛishṇa-nṛipa*, and line 19,— *Indra-nṛipa.*

[9] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, plate ii. *b*, text line 6.

[10] *Loc. cit.* (note 4 above), B. text line 5, and A. text line 4.

[11] Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text line 31. In this same verse as used in the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959, *nṛipati* was substituted for *dêva* (above, Vol. IV. page 284, text line 37).

[12] *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 265, text line 24.

[13] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, text line 35.

[14] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text line 42. In the prose passage near the end of the grant which records the signature, *dêva* is not attached to the name either of Karkarâja or of his father. It appears first, in that part of a record, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835, mentioned further on, and then again in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867.

[15] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. page 139, text line 55.

[16] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, plate ii. *b*, text line 18.

[17] *Id.* Vol. XIV. p. 199, text line 25.

prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja.[1] In the Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued by a feudatory prince Akâlavarsha-Kṛishṇarâja in A.D. 888, the *dêva* is omitted in the formal prose passage;[2] and this omission now furnishes another point against the genuineness of that record. In the formal prose passages of the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, of the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, of the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915, of the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933, of the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940, of the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959, and of the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, other appellations are used, instead of the proper names: but the ending *dêva* is attached to them in the same way; and, in the Paiṭhaṇ and Râdhanpur grants, Gôvinda III. is styled Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva,[3] — in the Nausârî grants, Indra III. is styled Nityavarshanarêndradêva,[4] — in the Sâṅglî grant, Gôvinda IV. is styled Vallabhanarêndradêva,[5] — in the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants, Kṛishṇa III. is similarly styled Vallabhanarêndradêva,[6] — and in the Kardâ grant, Kakka II., again, is styled Vallabhanarêndradêva.[7] From all these facts we gather, in the first place, that the authors of the later records,— from about A.D. 900 onwards,— in abandoning the drafts that had been followed in the introductory passages of the earlier records, and in adopting a more florid style of composition in verses of their own invention, freely neglected, whenever it suited their convenience, certain rules that had been previously observed, with almost unfailing uniformity, in respect of the proper names in their Sanskṛit forms. But we also learn that the ending *dêva* was not an integral part of those names, but was only a honorific termination used, properly, only in prose passages for an enhancement of dignity. And we also learn that the ending *râja* was not an essential part of those proper names. In dealing with the records, whether in editing fresh ones or in revising published versions, it may be convenient sometimes to translate those endings,— *râja* by "king," and *dêva* by "his majesty,"— or sometimes, and in fact more usually, to let them stand as parts of the proper names. But, for other purposes,— for genealogical tables, general historical accounts, *etc.*,— it is most convenient, and most conducive to an easy discrimination between different persons of the same name, to drop those endings altogether in the case of the paramount sovereigns (whom we have occasion to mention most frequently), retaining them in the case of the feudatory princes (whom it is not necessary to refer to so often). Only one instance is as yet forthcoming, of the use of any special word, except *râja*, in immediate combination with a proper name in its Sanskṛit form; it is found in the Muḷgund inscription of A.D. 902-903, in a verse which speaks of Kṛishṇa II. as śrî-Kṛishṇavallabha-nṛipa, "the glorious king Kṛishṇavallabha," or "the glorious king Kṛishṇa, the Vallabha."[8] And there is one instance in which, after the word *râja*, there is added the ending *indra*, which seems to have been more properly restricted — (except, of course, in the word *narêndra*)— to the combination *vallabhêndra*;[9] it occurs in the inscription of A.D. 982 at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa,[10] in the verse which mentions Kṛishṇa III. as Kṛishṇarâjêndra: this appellation— (if it is sought to translate it)— may be taken as meaning either "Kṛishṇa, the chief of kings," or "Kṛishṇarâja, the chief of Kṛishṇarâjas."

Secondly, as regards **the proper names in their Prâkṛit forms**, by which I mean, not simply and strictly such forms as would be recognised as technically Prâkṛit forms by

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, plate ii. *b*, text line 2.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, plate ii. *b*, text line 2.

3 Above, Vol. III. p. 108, text line 43-44; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. *b*, text line 4.

4 *Loc. cit.* (note 4 on page 183 above), p. 259, B. plate ii. *b*, text line 13, and p. 264, A. plate ii. *b*, text line 12.

5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, text line 40.

6 Above, Vol. V. p. 195, text line 45-46, and Vol. IV. p. 285, text line 55. In the Dêôlî record, something else was written first; and, in the corrections that were made, the syllables *llabha* were not brought out quite clearly.

7 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text line 44-45.

8 *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 190, text line 3. A revised version of this inscription will be given in the present selection of Râshṭrakûṭa records.

9 See page 187 below, and note 10.

10 *Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 57, verse 2.

Prâkṛitists, but all the corrupted or more familiar forms[1] of the Sanskṛit names, which we meet with mostly in the vernacular records, and some of which cannot, perhaps, be exactly accounted for by any of the regular rules of Prâkṛit grammar. These Prâkṛit names were not used at all freely in the verses: in fact, we can only quote a verse in the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807, repeated in the Râdhanpur grant of the same year, which speaks of Dhruva as Dhôra, without any ending to the name,[2] and some verses in the Kaḷas inscription of Gôvinda IV., of A.D. 930,[3] of which three present his name as Gojjigadêva, one gives it as Gojjigavallabha or "Gojjiga, the Vallabha,"[4] one speaks of him as Gojjigabhûpâla or "king Gojjiga," and the remaining one calls him simply Gojjiga, without anything attached to it, and a verse in the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, which mentions Khoṭṭigadêva.[5] The Prâkṛit names do not appear to occur anywhere in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, from which we have quoted above the usage of those passages in respect of the Sanskṛit forms of the names and of some appellations that were sometimes substituted there for the proper names. In the prose records on stone, the Prâkṛit names are sometimes found without any ending; for instance, Dôra, in the case of Dhruva, in the Naregal inscription,[6] and Gôyinda, in the case of Gôvinda III., in his Kanarese grant of A.D. 804,[7] and Kannara, in the case of Kṛishṇa II., in the Aihoḷe inscription of A.D. 911-12.[8] We more usually find the ending *dêva* attached to the Prâkṛit names; for instance, we have Kannaradêva, in the case of Kṛishṇa III., in the Âtakûr inscription of A.D. 949-50,[9] and in the Soraṭûr inscription of A.D. 951,[10] and in the Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam inscriptions of his seventeenth and nineteenth years,[11] and in the Vellore inscription of his twenty-sixth year,[12]— Koṭṭigadêva, in the Adaraguñchi inscription of A.D. 971,[13] and in the Hirê-Handigôḷ inscription and the Nâgâvi inscription at the temple of Kannûra-Bassappa,[14]— and Kakkaladêva, in the Guṇḍûr inscription of A.D. 973:[15] and so again, in the Hebbâḷ inscription of A.D. 975, which is a Western Gaṅga record, we have Kannaradêva and Baddegadêva.[16] Evidently, the more formal official practice was to attach the ending *dêva* to the Prâkṛit names. But we can readily see that it was not an integral or essential part of those names, and that it may be disregarded for all general purposes. To the rule of using the ending *dêva* with the Prâkṛit names in prose passages, only one exception, substituting another ending, is forthcoming; it is found in the Kaḷas inscription,[17] which

[1] It can hardly be imagined that a Vikramâditya, a Vishṇuvardhana, a Jayasiṁha, a Dantidurga, a Parakêsarivarman, a Narasiṁhavarman, and so on, would be habitually addressed by such formal appellations in the domestic circle and in other spheres of private life. There must have been more familiar names for use in such circumstances. In the present day, the Chiefs of the Southern Marâṭhâ country have *vyâvahârika*-names, 'practical, current, or familiar names,' or *aliases*,— such as Aṇṇâ Sâheb, Appâ Sâheb, Bâbâ Sâheb, Bâpû Sâheb, Dâdâ Sâheb, Nânâ Sâheb, Rau Sâheb, Tâtyâ Sâheb, *etc.*,— by which they are in fact better known, even officially, than by their real Sanskṛit, Marâṭhî, or Kanarese names. These *vyâvahârika* names, however, are distinctly *aliases*, not corruptions of the real names. In former times, probably the Prâkṛit corruptions of the formal Sanskṛit names were used as the *aliases* are used now; primarily in private life, and then finding their way into the official records.—For another note on Prâkṛit names, ancient and modern, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 410, note 1. The modern forms given there would, I think, be used, not by Chiefs and other persons of rank, but only by ordinary people.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6; and Vol. VI. p. 65, text line 5.

[3] Noticed, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249; not yet published.

[4] Compare the solitary instance, among the Sanskṛit names, of Kṛishṇavallabha, which, also, occurs in verse (see page 184 above).

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 25.

[6] Page 163 above, text line 1.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, text line 5.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222, text line 2.

[9] Page 54 f. above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

[10] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257, text line 2.

[11] Above, Vol. III. p. 284, text line 1-2, and p. 285, text line 2. And so also in the Ukkal inscription of his sixteenth year (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. p. 12).

[12] Above, Vol. IV. p. 82, text line 1.

[13] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 256, text line 5.

[14] See page 180 above, notes 7, 8.

[15] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 271, text line 5.

[16] Above, Vol. IV. p. 352, text lines 2, 5.

[17] See note 3 above.

gives us Gojjigavallabha again in the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details of the record, though here, of course,— no metrical conveniences being involved,— the form Gojjigadêva might have been used just as easily. We do not anywhere find the ending *râja* used in direct connection with a Prâkṛit name. The only approach to an instance of that is found in the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, in a prose passage (standing after the usual formal preamble) which speaks of Kakka II. as Kakkaladêvarâja;[1] and here the *râja* was only added after the customary ending *dêva*.

Finally, as regards the principal birudas, most of which occur in both the Sanskṛit and the Kanarese records. In the first place, it may be remarked that these must be the *gauṇa*-names, 'the secondary or subordinate names, or the names relating to and indicative of qualities,' which are spoken of in contrast to the *mukhya* or principal names in a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812.[2] As to the use of them, in the verses of the earlier records they occur without any endings; for instance, we have the plain unqualified Śubhatuṅga, Akâlavarsha, and Nirupama, in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794,[3]— Nirupama and Kalivallabha, in the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807,[4]— Śrîvallabha, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812,[5]— Janavallabha, Pṛithvîvallabha, Mahârâjaśarva, and Amôghavarsha, in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817,[6]— Prabhûtavarsha, Jagattuṅga, Kîrtinârâyaṇa, and Atiśayadhavala, in the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866,[7]— and Mahârâjashaṇḍa, Śubhatuṅga, and Akâlavarsha, in the Kâpaḍwaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910.[8] The Nausârî grants of A.D. 915 first present an occasional practice of attaching the ending *dêva* to the *birudas* in verses; thus, they give us Jagattuṅgadêva and Raṭṭakandarpadêva:[9] but it was plainly nothing but a matter of convenience for the purpose of filling out the verses; and the only instances that can be found in the subsequent records, are Nṛipatuṅgadêva, in a verse in the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940 (repeated in the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959),[10] and Akâlavarshadêva, in a verse in the Sâlôṭgi inscription of A.D. 945,[11] though the preceding verse has Amôghavarsha without any ending. On the other hand, the prose passages indicate that the proper practice was to use in prose the ending *dêva* with the leading *birudas*,— doubtless because in prose they were generally introduced under conditions of greater ceremony. In the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, the ending *dêva* is invariably found attached, as a mark of respect, to the *biruda* that was used to denote the king who was referred to as the immediate predecessor of the reigning king, though it was not always attached to the corresponding *biruda* of the reigning king himself: thus, the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794 describes Prabhûtavarsha-(Gôvinda III.) as meditating on the feet of Dhârâvarshadêva-(Dhruva),[12] and the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807 describes Prabhûtavarshadêva-(Gôvinda III.) as meditating on the feet of Dhârâvarshadêva-(Dhruva);[13] and the same rule was observed, in the case of the predecessors, in the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915, the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933, the Dêôlî grant of

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text line 47.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 4, 5; and see also another verse which first appears in the Tôrkhêḍê grant of A.D. 813 (above, Vol. III. p. 55, text lines 10, 11). I am indebted to Prof. Kielhorn for reminding me of this.

[3] Above, Vol. III. pp. 106, 107, text lines 19, 20-21, 35, 37.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text lines 14, 15.

[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text line 35.

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 138, text line 36, and p. 139, lines 44, 45.

[7] Pages 102, 103, above, text lines 5 to 8.

[8] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, text lines 14, 16.

[9] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 258, 259, B. plate ii. *a*, text line 12, and plate ii. *b*, lines 4, 5, and pp. 262, 263, A. plate ii. *a*, line 10, and plate ii. *b*, lines 1, 2.

[10] Above, Vol. V. p. 196, text line 18; and Vol. IV. p. 288, text line 19. It may be noted that the Dêôlî grant gives Jagattuṅgadêva in prose in line 49, but immediately afterwards uses Jagattuṅga, without any ending, in verse in line 51.

[11] Above, Vol. IV. p. 60, text line 10.

[12] Above, Vol. III. p. 108, text line 43.

[13] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, text lines 34, 35.

A.D. 940, the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959, and the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972.[1] Among the stone records, a similar formal preamble is found in the Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 851, which duly describes Amôghavarshadêva I. as meditating on the feet of Jagattuṅgadêva-(Gôvinda III.);[2] and, though a formal preamble was not used in the Âtakûr inscription of A.D. 949-50, still that record duly follows the same rule in describing Kṛishṇa III. as a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of Amôghavarshadêva-(Vaddiga).[3] In the other prose records on stone, we find sometimes the ending *dêva*, and sometimes the plain *biruda* without any ending; the instances on each side are about equal in number: we might expect to find the honorific ending used in all cases in which the *biruda* was used alone, without the proper name; but that was not done in, for instance, the Hattî-Mattûr inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa I., which employs for him no appellation except that of Akâlavarsha,[4] and the Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva, which uses only the appellations Dhârâvarsha and Kalivallabha;[5] and, though these two happen to be private records, not requiring any official drafting or approval, some of the others are official records, and, accordingly, we cannot determine the existence of any custom in this matter, dependent on the nature of the record and its liability to official scrutiny. It seems evident, however, that the better general practice was to use the ending *dêva* with the *birudas* in prose. No instance has as yet been found, in which the word *râja* is used as the ending of a *biruda*, either in verse or in prose: other words meaning "king" occur in some of the verses; for instance, Amôghavarsha-nṛipati, "king Amôghavarsha," in the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940,[6] and Jagattuṅga-nṛipa, "king Jagattuṅga," Amôghavarsha-nṛipati, and Amôghavarsha-nṛipa, in the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972:[7] but the more special word *râja*, used so pointedly with the Sanskṛit proper names, is not met with anywhere. Another ending used with a *biruda* in prose, is *indra*, which we have in Lakshmîvallabhêndra, in the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866:[8] an exceptional instance of its use with a proper name, in Kṛishṇarâjêndra, has been noted on page 184 above; and another exceptional instance of it with a *biruda* is found in Nirupamêndra, in the case of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja (the second of that name) of Gujarât, in a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867;[9] but it seems to have been, properly, restricted to the combination *vallabhêndra*, as an honorific form of *vallabha*.[10] And other endings, used in prose, were *narêndra*, in, for instance, Śrîvallabhanarêndra, in the Tôrkhêḍê grant of A.D. 813,[11] and *narêndradêva*, in, for instance, Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva, in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794.[12] But the manner in which the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866 speaks of Amôghavarsha I. as, indifferently, Amôghavarsha,

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1 The Sâmâṅgaḍ grant does not mention any predecessor of Dantidurga; because he was the first paramount Râshṭrakûṭa king. The Kanarese grant of A.D. 804, and the Tôrkhêḍê grant of A.D. 813, and the Kâpaḍwaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910, do not include the formal preamble mentioning predecessors. The other copper-plate grants are records of the feudatory Gujarât branch of the family; and in the records of that line it was not the custom to name the previous princes in the preambles of the prose passages.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

3 Page 53 above, text line 8.

4 Page 161 above, text line 1.

5 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text lines 1, 2.

6 Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text line 31.

7 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 264, 265, text lines 12, 13, 24-25.

8 Page 104 above, text line 17, and see page 106, note 2; see also page 188 below.

9 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, text line 17; the appellation was there translated by "king Nirupama" (p. 188, verse 37).

10 For the appellation Vallabhêndra, see page 189 below, page 190, note 1, page 191.— The ending *indra* is met with once, in a Western Chalukya record (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 17, text line 8), in the paramount epithet of which the customary form was simply *śrîpṛithivîvallabha*; the epithet is there presented as *śrîpṛithivî-vallabhêndra*.— There is a miscellaneous use of *vallabhêndra*, otherwise than in a regal *biruda* or epithet, in a record at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa (*Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 3), which describes the Kaḷbappu hill as "worthy to be praised by gods, Vidyâvallabhêndras (*i.e.* those who are the chiefs of favourites or husbands of Learning, those who are eminently learned people), demons, men, and saints."

11 Above, Vol. III. p. 54, text line 5.

12 *Ibid.* p. 103, text line 43-44.

Amôghavarshadêva, Atiśayadhavala, and Atiśayadhavalanarêndradêva,[1] is enough to shew that all these endings, also, were not integral and essential parts of the *birudas*, and are to be disregarded for all general purposes. In editing records, it may be convenient to retain the ending *indra*, rather than to translate it by rendering, for instance, Lakshmîvallabhêndra by "Lakshmîvallabha, the chief of Lakshmîvallabhas or of favourites of Fortune." But the other two will be better treated by translation,— *narêndra* being rendered by "king," and *narêndradêva* by "his majesty the king."

We have next to note that **the most distinctive and leading birudas of the Râshṭrakûṭas were those ending in varsha.** Not only are they found most frequently in the stone records, and often without any other appellation accompanying them, but also, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate charters of the kings of the main line, it is always the *biruda* ending in *varsha* that is used,— and without any other appellation,— to denote the predecessor, and the *biruda* ending in *varsha* of the reigning king is always presented with such others of his appellations as are put forward; and, in the corresponding passages of the copper-plate charters of the feudatory princes of the Gujarât branch, the *biruda* ending in *varsha* is always prefixed to the proper name of the prince. We may find, hereafter, an exception to this rule about the designation of the predecessor in the copper-plate charters of the main line, when we obtain any such record of Amôghavarsha I.; for, the Kaṇheri stone inscription of A.D. 851 describes him as meditating on the feet, not of Prabhûtavarshadêva, but of Jagattuṅgadêva,[2] and, as we shall see further on, there are other indications that Gôvinda III. was best known as Jagattuṅga after his death, though, as we shall also see, in his lifetime he was best known as Prabhûtavarsha. But, after the Sâmângaḍ grant of A.D. 754, all the copper-plate records of the main line that we know at present, conform, with such variations as have been indicated above in the actual selection (without omitting the *biruda* ending in *varsha*) and order of the appellations of the reigning king, to the practice of the Paiṭhaṇ grant of Gôvinda III., which describes him as Pṛithvîvallabha, Prabhûtavarsha, his majesty the king Śrîvallabha, meditating on the feet of Dhârâvarshadêva;[3] and the Âtakûr stone inscription uses only the *biruda* Amôghavarshadêva to denote the predecessor of Kṛishṇa III.[4] And another special feature of the *birudas* ending in *varsha* is that we cannot trace back the conception of them to any predecessors of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ,[5] nor even to the first Gujarât branch of the Râshṭrakûṭas which was represented by Karkarâja II. son of Gôvindarâja in A.D. 757, nor to the early Râshṭrakûṭas of Central India whose existence is disclosed by the grants of Abhimanyu and Yuddhâsura-Nandarâja.[6] They were plainly first devised by the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ. The fashion seems to have been set by Akâlavarsha-Kṛishṇa I., as we have no *biruda* ending in *varsha* for his predecessor Dantidurga. And it seems likely that each subsequent member of the family was invested with a *varsha*-appellation at the time when he was selected for the succession and was formally appointed as *Yuvarâja*.

Other special Râshṭrakûṭa *birudas* were **those ending in avalôka and tuṅga.** Of the former, we have two instances in the Mâlkhêḍ line, namely, Khaḍgâvalôka in the case of Dantidurga, and Raṇâvalôka in the case of Stambha son of Dhruva;[7] and we find two instances

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[1] Pages 103, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

[3] Above, Vol. III. p. 108, text lines 43, 44.

[4] Page 53 above, text line 2.

[5] But, when once they had been started by the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, the fashion was followed, probably as the result of intermarriages, in other families also; for instance, we have the Kalachuri king Kêyûravarsha-Yuvarâja I., at some time about A.D. 925 (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 61, No. 429), and the Paramâra king Amôghavarsha-Vâkpatirâja, with the date of A.D. 974 (*ibid.* p. 8, No. 46), and Karivarsha-Sâhilladêva, a king of Chaṇpakâ-(Chambâ) (*ibid.* p. 81, No. 593), and the Paramâra chieftain Dhârâvarsha, with the date of A.D. 1209 (*ibid.* p. 28, No. 193).

[6] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 386.

[7] See pages 195, 197, below.

in another branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa stock, in the case of Guṇâvalôka-Nanna and his grandson Dharmâvalôka-Tuṅga, whose names are disclosed by an inscription at Bôdh-Gayâ.[1] The *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* start, like those ending in *varsha*, with Kṛishṇa I., who, accordingly, seems to have set the fashion in both respects. Both the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* and those ending in *avalôka* appear to be, originally, exclusive appellations of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, since, as in the case of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*, we cannot trace the conception of them to any other source.[2] But any similarity between them and the *birudas* ending in *varsha* ceased there. The *birudas* ending in *avalôka* appear to have soon gone out of fashion. Of the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga*, we have only one instance in the feudatory Gujarât branch, in the case of Akâlavarsha-Śubhatuṅga (proper name not yet disclosed) between A.D. 834-35 and 866-67. In the main line, we have not as yet obtained any such *birudas* in the cases of Gôvinda II., Dhruva, Indra III., Amôghavarsha II., Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, Kṛishṇa III., Khoṭṭiga, and Indra IV. And, except in the single case of the use of Jagattuṅga, in the Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 851, to denote Gôvinda III. as the predecessor of Amôghavarsha I., there is no evidence that the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* could be used for official purposes in the particular manner in which the *birudas* ending in *varsha* were constantly used, namely as substitutes taking entirely the places of proper names.[3] That was the special characteristic of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*.

The remaining leading *birudas* are **those ending in vallabha.** Of these, there is apparently only one, Śrîvallabha, which could be used, like the *varsha*-appellations, to take entirely the place of proper names. And there is another feature in which they differ from the *birudas* ending in *avalôka* and *tuṅga* as well as those ending in *varsha*; namely that, together with the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharâja, they were not first devised by the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, but the idea of them was taken over by the Râshṭrakûṭas from their predecessors.

We will examine first **the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharâja,** which were taken over by the Râshṭrakûṭas from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. In the Western Chalukya records themselves, we find[4] the plain appellation Vallabha used, as a substitute for their proper names, to denote both Pulakêśin I. and his grandson Pulakêśin II.;[5] we find it attached after the names of the original ancestor Jayasiṁha I., and of Pulakêśin I., Kîrtivarman I., and Pulakêśin II.; and it is given as an appellation of Raṇavikrânta-Buddhavarmarâja of the first Gujarât branch of the Western Chalukyas.[6] With the honorific ending *indra*, that is, in the form Vallabhêndra, we find it once, in the same series of records, attached after the name of

[1] See Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 85, No. 630.

[2] But, the fashion having once been set, *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* were, like *varsha*-appellations, adopted by other families; again probably as the result of intermarriages. Thus, we have Mugdhatuṅga as a *biruda* of the Kalachuri king Prasiddhadhavala, father of the Kêyûravarsha-Yuvarâja I. who has been mentioned in note 5 on page 188 above (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 58, No. 407, and p. 61, No. 429); and elsewhere we have the name of Jayatuṅgasiṁha of the Kamâ country (*ibid.* p. 79, No. 575), and, doubtfully, the name of Sidhituṅga with the date of A.D. 1347 (*ibid.* p. 38, No. 267).

[3] And for these reasons, I think, the words *Tuṅgâ iti kshitibhujaḥ prathitâ babhûvuḥ*, "the kings became known in the world as Tuṅgas," which occur first in the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V. p. 192, text line 10 f.; and see Vol. IV. p. 279), are to be taken, not as implying — (at any rate, correctly) — that the family-name was Tuṅga, but simply as seeking to draw attention to one of the leading appellations of some of the members of the family. The family-name was Râshṭrakûṭa in its Sanskṛit form, and Raṭṭa in Prâkṛit; we have, for instance, *Râshṭrakûṭ-ânvaya* in verse in the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 17), and *Raṭṭa-vaṁśa* in prose in the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866 (page 103 above, text line 16).

[4] See *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 342 ff. The exact references may be given in full on some future occasion, in a separate note on the appellations of the Western Chalukya kings; here it is only necessary to give a few of them in special cases.

[5] Respectively, in the Nerûr grant of Maṅgalêśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161, text line 5), and in the Nerûr grant of Pulakêśin II. himself (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 48, text line 8).

[6] It is also attached after the name of Vijayâditya in the Guḍigere inscription of A.D. 1076-77 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 39, text line 20).

Jayasimha I.[1] So thoroughly was the appellation Vallabha identified, for that period, with the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, that we find Vallabharâja and Vallabha used as substitutes for their proper names to denote Pulakêśin II. and Vikramâditya I. in one of the Pallava records.[2] And, by the Râshṭrakûṭas themselves, the appellation Vallabha was first used to denote the Western Chalukya king Kîrtivarman II., as is shewn by the verse in the Sâmângaḍ grant of A.D. 754, which tells us that Dantidurga acquired the sovereignty by conquering Vallabha.[3] The appellation itself was promptly adopted by the Râshṭrakûṭas; and it became, in the same way, thoroughly identified with them. As we have seen above, the next record that enters into details, the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, styles Dantidurga Vallabharâja, and gives to Gôvinda II. the appellation Vallabha. The Waṇî grant of A.D. 807 gives the same appellation, Vallabha, to Kṛishṇa I. The Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 888, mentions a Vallabhanṛipa, or "king Vallabha," who must be either Amôghavarsha I. or Kṛishṇa II.[4] The Mulgund inscription of A.D. 902-903 attaches Vallabha after the name of Kṛishṇa II. The Kâpaḍwaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 speaks of (probably) Kṛishṇa II. as Vallabharâja. The Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933, the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants of A.D. 940 and 959, and the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, apply the appellation "his majesty the king Vallabha" to Gôvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakka II. And, from the Prâkṛit forms Ballahnrâya and Ballarâya,[5] the Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. used the name Balharâ to denote, generally, the Râshṭrakûṭa kings of Mâlkhêḍ.[6] The Kadaba grant,

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, text line 2.— In the Eastern Chalukya records, sometimes Vallabha is attached to the *biruda* Satyâśraya which in them takes the place of the proper name of Pulakêśin II., and sometimes Vallabhêndra is used instead of it (see, for instance, *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. pp. 41, 48). In that series, Vallabha is sometimes attached after the name of Jayasimha I., son of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I. (see, both ways, the same references); but it is not found with any subsequent names.

[2] Namely, in the Udayêndiram grant of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 370, 371). This record says that the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. frequently conquered Vallabharâja at Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala, Śûramâra, and other places, and that his grandson Paramêśvaravarman I. defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvaḷa-Nallûr. The identities are established by the Kûram Pallava grant, which tells us (*id.* Vol. I. p. 152 ff.) that it was Pulakêśin (II.) whom Narasimhavarman I. conquered at Pariyaḷa, *etc.*, and gives (though without mentioning the name of the place) a very vivid description of a great battle in which Paramêśvaravarman I. inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of Vikramâditya (I.).

[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 23.—The Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867 says that the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja of Gujarât (the first of that name) put to flight the army of Vallabha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 188, verse 32), and that his son Akâlavarsha-Śubhatuṅga quickly recovered his paternal territory that had been attacked or invaded by the army of Vallabha (verse 34), and that the second Dhârâvarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarâja quieted in one direction the army of the Gurjaras that hurried up to encounter him, and in another direction the hostile Vallabha (verse 37). These allusions, I think (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 408, notes 2, 4),—as also the statement in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835, that Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarâja, of the same branch of the family, vanquished some tributary Râshṭrakûṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army, and that he speedily placed Amôghavarsha I. on his throne (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 201, verse 10),—refer to some persistent attacks on the dynasty of Mâlkhêḍ, in their northern provinces, by descendants of the Kakkarâja II., of the first Gujarât branch, for whom we have the date of A.D. 757. If so, these passages would shew that the members of that line, also, were classed among the Vallabhas; to which there is no apparent objection. Or, perhaps, these passages containing Vallabha refer to some descendants of one or other of the Gujarât branches of the Western Chalukya family.

[5] The latter may be assumed from Vallarâja, which one document gives as a form of the name of the Aṇhilwâḍ Chaulukya king Vallabharâja, son of Châmuṇḍarâja son of Mûlarâja I. (see Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskṛit Manuscripts for the year 1883-84, p. 10).—An inscription of A.D. 866-67 at Soraṭûr, in the Gadag tâluka, gives one of the *birudas* of Amôghavarsha I. in the form of Pṛithiviballava. This perhaps gives us *ballava*, as another Prâkṛit form of *vallabha*. But it is possible that the writer may have formed *va* by mistake for *bha*, or that he may have carelessly used *ballava*, 'a man who knows,' instead of *ballaha*.

[6] See Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, edited by Prof. Dowson, Vol. I. pp. 3 to 40. In later times, the Arabs used the name Balharâ to denote the Chaulukya kings of Aṇhilwâḍ (*e.g.* Al-Idrîsî, towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.; *ibid.* pp. 85, 86, 87); and, as we have seen in the preceding note (see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 198, 200, 213), Vallabharâja occurs as the name of a king in that dynasty with the date of A.D. 1009-10.

which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, uses the appellation Vallabhêndra, in the place of his proper name or of the *biruda* by which he was most customarily mentioned, to designate Gôvinda III.[1] And the Piṭhâpuram inscription of A.D. 1202, which recites the early Eastern Chalukya pedigree and history, uses the same appellation Vallabhêndra, in the same way, to denote either Amôghavarsha I. or Kṛishṇa II.[2]

The biruda Pṛithivîvallabha, "favourite of the earth,"[3] was, similarly, taken over by the Râshṭrakûṭas from the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. The Aihoḷe inscription of A.D. 634-35 specially speaks of it as the title of the Chalukyas.[4] And, in their records,[5] we find it applied to Kîrtivarman I., Maṅgalêśa, Pulakêśin II., Âdityavarman, Chandrâditya, Vikramâditya I., and Kîrtivarman II. It is mentioned in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 739, as one of four "other names" or titles which were conferred as a mark of favour by the paramount sovereign upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanâśraya-Pulakêśirâja of Gujarât.[6] And it is, doubtless, under similar circumstances that we find it used before the name of the Sêndraka prince Nikumbhallaśakti in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 655.[7] In the Râshṭrakûṭa period, we meet with it at the outset, in the earliest record, the Sâmâṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, which applies it to the first paramount king, Dantidurga; and, in the subsequent records, we find it used in the cases of Gôvinda III., Amôghavarsha I., Gôvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakka II.

And so, also, **the biruda Śrîvallabha,** "favourite of Fortune,"[8] was in the same way taken over by the Râshṭrakûṭas from the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. The origin of this *biruda*, however, is carried back to earlier times; as it appears first, as a general epithet of the Pallavas, in the grant of Siṁhavarman II., which describes him as "a *Mahârâja* of the Pallavas, who are Śrîvallabhas or favourites of Fortune."[9] It was evidently obtained by the Western Chalukyas from the Pallavas. It does not occur often in the Western Chalukya records. But we do find it in them. In the Aihoḷe inscription of A.D. 634-35, we are told that, though Pulakêśin I. was Śrîvallabha or favourite (here, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, he became also the bridegroom of the city of Vâtâpipurî.[10] In a record of the time of Pulakêśin II., it occurs before the name of his maternal uncle, the Sêndraka prince Sênânandarâja,[11]— probably under circumstances similar to those in which the *biruda* Pṛithivîvallabha occurs in connection with the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanâśraya-Pulakêśirâja of Gujarât.[12] And the passage in the Nausârî grant

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1 Above, Vol. IV. p. 344, text line 82.

2 Above, Vol. IV. p. 227, and p. 239, verses 9, 10.

3 For the rendering of this *biruda*, see page 168 above, note 6.

4 Page 8 above, verse 4. And see note 9 below, about the original idea of this *biruda*.

5 See page 189 above, note 4.

6 Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, Âryan Section, p. 232, text line 34.

7 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 268, text line 15.

8 For the rendering of the *biruda*, see page 168 above, note 6.

9 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, text lines 16, 17. The original inception of the idea is perhaps found in the grant of his father Vishṇugôpavarman, which speaks of the Pallavas as "the abodes of the Fortune (*śrînilaya*) of other kings who have been overcome by their valour" (*ibid.* p. 51, text lines 15, 16).— The *biruda* Pṛithivîvallabha has not yet been traced to the Pallavas, actually in that form; but the idea of it, among them, is found in the Kûram grant, which speaks of "the family of the Pallavas who are favourites of the whole world (*sakalabhuvanavallabha*)" (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. I. p. 148, text line 11): this record, however, is later in date than the first use of the *biruda* by the Western Chalukyas.

10 See page 8 above, verse 7.

11 Above, Vol. III. p. 51, text line 10.

12 See above.— In the appellation, Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman, of the governor who is mentioned in the Goa grant of the time of Pulakêśin II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365; regarding the identity of this person, see page 72 above), the *biruda* Satyâśraya is probably to be accounted for in the same way. And so also, the first component of the appellation Śembiyaṉ-Mâvalivâṇarâyaṉ, which is applied to the Gaṅga-Bâṇa prince Hastimalla-Pṛithivîpati II. in the Udayêndiram grant (*South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II. p. 390). Two other instances of feudatories having appellations the first components of which were the *birudas* of their paramount sovereigns, are furnished by the names of Âhavamalla-Bhûtêyadêva, an officer of Âhavamalla-Taila II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 98), and of the Sinda prince Jagadêkamalla Permâḍi I., a feudatory of Jagadêkamalla II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 256).

of A.D. 739, which speaks of the conferring of the four titles upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanâśraya-Pulakêśirâja of Gujarât, denotes the paramount sovereign, who conferred them, by the appellation Śrîvallabhanarêndra, "the king Śrîvallabha,"[1] meaning, no doubt, Vikramâditya II., of the main line of Bâdâmi. It may be added that, in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 655 of the Sêndraka prince Pṛithivîvallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, the name of the *Dûtaka*, or messenger for the conveyance of the grant, is given as Śrîvallabha-Bappa;[2] this, again, is perhaps to be accounted for by an explanation similar to that suggested above for the possession of the *biruda* Pṛithivîvallabha by Nikumbhallaśakti himself.

These two special *birudas*, Pṛithivîvallabha and Śrîvallabha, were thus unquestionably taken over by the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ, with the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharâja, from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. How far **the amplification of the list of birudas ending in vallabha,**— of which we have also Kalivallabha in the case of Dhruva, Janavallabha in the case of Gôvinda III., and Lakshmîvallabha in the case of Amôghavarsha I.,— was a Râshṭrakûṭa idea, will probably become more clear hereafter. But a passage in the Nerûr grant of Maṅgalêśa can hardly be construed except as establishing for Pulakêśin I. the *biruda* of Lôkavallabha,[3] which is of practically the same purport as Janavallabha. And it thus appears not impossible that we may find, on closer scrutiny, that the Western Chalukyas themselves had a more extensive list of *vallabha*-appellations than now seems to have been the case.

The appellations by which the earlier members of the family were remembered in later times.

We wind up this study by noting **the appellations by which the earlier members of the family were best remembered in later times.** For this purpose we have to quote, among the Râshṭrakûṭa records themselves, certain compositions which, as already remarked, depart altogether from the early standard drafts; namely, the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915,[4] the Sâṅglî grant of A.D. 933,[5] the Dêôlî grant of A.D. 940,[6] the Karhâḍ grant of A.D. 959,[7] and the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972,[8] and, among extraneous records, the Bhâdâna Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 997[9] and the Khârêpâṭaṇ Śilâhâra grant of A.D. 1008.[10]

In the case of the first paramount king, **Dantidurga,** there is curiously revived in the Bhâdâna grant the variant of his name, **Dantivarman,** which is presented by the verse at the end of his Sâmângaḍ grant of A.D. 754, and of which there is at present, in his case, no trace in any of the intervening records. In the other seven records, he is mentioned by only the name of **Dantidurga** or **Dantidurgarâja.**

His paternal uncle and successor **Kṛishṇa I.** is mentioned, in all the eight records, by only his proper name, as **Kṛishṇarâja.**

Gôvinda II., the elder son of Kṛishṇa I., is not mentioned, or in any way alluded to, in the Nausârî grants. The other six records all mention him as **Gôvindarâja.**

Dhruva is mentioned by his proper name in only the Bhâdâna grant, which speaks of him as *Dhruv-âṅka adhirâja,* "the king who had the mark, stigma, or brand, of **Dhruva,**" and does not exhibit any of his other appellations. The other seven records all mention him as **Nirupama.** But the Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants use also his well established *biruda* **Kalivallabha.** And the Sâṅglî grant puts forward for him a very questionable new *biruda* in the form of Iddhatêjas.

[1] *Loc. cit.* (page 191 above, note 6), text line 33-34.
[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 269, text line 38.
[3] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161, text line 5.
[4] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 257, 261.
[5] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 247.
[6] Above, Vol. V. p. 188.
[7] Above, Vol. IV. p. 278.
[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.
[9] Above, Vol. III. p. 267.
[10] Above, Vol. III. p. 292.

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The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, from the earliest historical times to the Musalman conquest of A.D. 1318. By Dr. J. F. Fleet.

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E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,
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Gôvinda III. is mentioned, in all the eight records, only as **Jagattuṅga** and **Jagattuṅgadêva**, without any allusion to his proper name or to any of his other *birudas.*

Amôghavarsha I. is mentioned in the Nausârî grants as **Śrîvallabha,** who then became **Vîranârâyaṇa.** The Sâṅglî, Kardâ, Bhâdâna, and Khârêpâṭaṇ grants mention him as **Amôghavarsha,**— the Bhâdâna record putting forward also a very questionable new *biruda* for him, in the form of Durlabha. The Dêôlî and Karhâḍ grants use only his *biruda* **Nṛipatuṅgadêva.**

And **Kṛishṇa II.** is mentioned by his proper name only, as **Kṛishṇarâja,** in the Nausârî, Dêôlî, Karhâḍ, and Bhâdâna grants, and by only his *biruda* of **Akâlavarsha** in the Sâṅglî and Khârêpâṭaṇ grants; while the Kardâ grant presents both his proper name and the same *biruda*, mentioning him first as **Akâlavarsha,** and then supplying his proper name as Kṛishṇanṛipa, "king **Kṛishṇa.**"

It is rather curious that **Gôvinda III. was thus remembered only as Jagattuṅga**; for, as we shall see further on, this *biruda* was certainly not the appellation by which he was best known in his own time. It appears first in the Tôrkhêḍê grant of A.D. 813, issued in his time. And all that we know as to the origin of it, is the assertion in the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866, of the next reign, that he, Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja, conquered the whole world and so became known as Jagattuṅga. It evidently became his leading *biruda*, supplanting the *biruda* that was at first his distinctive appellation; because it was used, most exceptionally, in violation of the custom of using the *biruda* ending in *varsha,* to denote him in the Kaṇheri inscription of A.D. 851, in the formal passage which mentions him, as Jagattuṅgadêva, as the predecessor of the then reigning king Amôghavarsha I.[1] His assumption of the *biruda*, and the fact that it eventually became his most well known appellation, are evidently to be attributed to something or other that occurred when his reign was well advanced, and after A.D. 807 because there is no allusion of any kind to the *biruda* in the Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants of that year.

* * * * * *

The use of the biruda Śrîvallabha in the Râshṭrakûṭa records.

We have now to consider who is most likely to be intended by **the biruda Śrîvallabha** as used to denote the reigning king,— without any other appellation, or any other hint,—in a Râshṭrakûṭa record which, like the Lakshmêshwar inscription, C. above, is not dated but is referable to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

We have first to note that from Śrîvallabha, "favourite of Śrî or Fortune," we have the derivative **śrîvallabhatâ,** "the condition of being a Śrîvallabha." In the Râshṭrakûṭa records, this word *śrîvallabhatâ* is met with as the equivalent of **râjâdhirâjaparamêśvaratâ,** "the condition of being an over-king of kings and a supreme lord." And these two words were used in the general sense, according to free translation, of "**supreme sovereignty**;" for instance, a verse in the Sâmângaḍ grant of A.D. 754 describes Dantidurga as acquiring the *râjâdhirâjaparamêśvaratâ* by conquering Vallabha,[2]— which appellation denotes there, and in the passage quoted below, the Western Chalukya king Kîrtivarman II.,— while another verse in the inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ says that, by defeating the army of Vallabha and subjugating certain other kings, he acquired the *śrîvallabhatâ.*[3] And, in view of this, the **biruda Śrîvallabha might, without any objection, be applied to any paramount king without exception.**

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[1] As already said, we may expect to find it used, in the same way, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of copper-plate records of Amôghavarsha I., if we ever obtain any such records.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text lines 24, 25.

[3] *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text lines 10, 11.

But we do not find it used in that general manner, at any rate in the Râshṭrakûṭa records. In those records, as far as they have been considered at present, we perhaps find the *biruda* Śrîvallabha suggested in the case of Kṛishṇa I.; but, if so, it is put forward for him in verse, in a very unusual and inconclusive fashion, and not in a record of his own time. We have it first apparently established[1] in the case of Gôvinda III., by the formal prose passages of his own records; and it is certainly used to denote him in a verse in the Baroda grant of his time. We next find it put forward, in verse, for his son Amôghavarsha I.; but this is done in a late record of A.D. 915, and under circumstances which suggest that it was used simply as a convenient metrical substitute for his formal *biruda* Lakshmîvallabha, which, though synonymous in meaning, is not the same appellation in form. We meet with it next in the case of Indra III., in the formal prose passage of one of the records of his time. We find it last used to denote Kṛishṇa III., in a verse which stands in his records of A.D. 940 and 959. And we thus have it established as a distinctive official appellation,— by formal prose passages, which, as has already been said, are far more decisive in any points of this kind than the verses are,— only in the cases of Gôvinda III. (apparently) and Indra III.

From this, **we might conclude that, in a Râshṭrakûṭa record referable to about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., the biruda Śrîvallabha must denote Gôvinda III.,** for whom we have the date of A.D. 794 from his Paiṭhaṇ grant. And, if we accept the indication that is given in the formal prose passage in the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, it certainly was a well established *biruda* of him, and an important and distinctive one because there, and in the corresponding passage in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, it takes the place that is occupied by his proper name in the Waṇî grant of A.D. 807.

Nevertheless, **Śrîvallabha was not the principal and most distinctive appellation of Gôvinda III.** As we have already seen, in later times he was remembered only as Jagattuṅga. A verse in the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 seems clearly to single out Pṛithivîvallabha as his special *vallabha*-appellation. But even that was not his most distinctive appellation. His most distinctive *biruda* during the earlier part of his reign was, evidently, **Prabhûtavarsha.** Even the Nîlgund inscription of A.D. 866 of his successor's reign,—written at a time when there was, plainly, a preference for speaking of him as Jagattuṅga, tells us that he was **Prabhûtavarsha,** who became Jagattuṅga; and the only other of his *birudas* that it mentions, is Kîrtinârâyaṇa. In the records of his own time, the *biruda* **Prabhûtavarsha** occupies a prominent position in the Paiṭhaṇ, Waṇî, and Râdhanpur grants, and also in even the Tôrkhêḍê grant; standing, in all of them, before either his proper name or the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, and, in the Tôrkhêḍê grant, also before the introduction of the *biruda* Jagattuṅga. In the grant of A.D. 804 from the Kanarese country, the *biruda* **Prabhûtavarsha** is used, and no other, with his proper name. The same is the case in an undated inscription in the Shimoga district, Mysore, which refers itself to the reign of a **Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarasa,** and is, no doubt, to be referred to his time.[2] And an inscription at Shisuvinhâḷ in the Baṅkâpur tâluka, Dhârwâr district,[3] which can only be referred to his time, mentions him, as the reigning king, as "the favourite of Fortune and the Earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Bhaṭâra*, **Prabhûtavarsha,**" without presenting any other *biruda*, and without even finding it necessary to give his proper name.

And there are **records in Mysore, which shew unmistakably that Dhruva was distinctively known by the biruda of Śrîvallabha,** at least as well as was his son Gôvinda III. One of them is an inscription at Maṭakere in the Heggaḍadêvankôṭe tâluka, Mysore

[1] See page 173 above, and note 2.

[2] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, and note 1.

[3] Not published; I quote from an ink-impression. The record is so much damaged that it can hardly be edited; but the first two lines are fortunately quite legible.

district,[1] which refers itself to the time when **Dhârâvarsha-Śrîvallabha** was reigning over the earth, and Kambharasa was [governing] the (Gangavâḍi) ninety-six-thousand province : here, the immediate collocation of the two *birudas* admits of no interpretation except that they belonged to one and the same person, and that he was both Dhârâvarsha and Śrîvallabha ; and Dhârâvarsha, as we have already seen, was **Dhruva.** And another is an inscription at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa,[2] which, mentioning the Kambharasa of the preceding record as Raṇâvalôka-Kambayya and describing him as reigning over the earth, speaks of him as the son of the *Paramêśvara* and *Mahârâja* **Śrîvallabha.** For these two records we are indebted to Mr. Rice. In connection with the second of them, we take another record, also brought to notice by him ; namely, a copper-plate grant from Maṇṇe, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 802.[3] It expressly mentions Raṇâvalôka-Kambhadêva as the elder brother of Prithuvîvallabha-Prabhûta-varsha-Gôvindarâjadêva, who, it says, meditated on the feet (*i.e.* was the successor) of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara* **Dhârâvarshadêva.** The Gôvindarâja-dêva of this passage is shewn, by the verses in the genealogical introduction of the record, to be Gôvinda III., son of Nirupama-Kalivallabha-Dhôra, *i.e.* **Dhruva.** His elder brother Raṇâva-lôka-Kambhadêva was, therefore, also a son of Dhruva. Accordingly, in the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa inscription, again, the *biruda* Śrîvallabha denotes Dhruva. And thus **we have the biruda Śrîvallabha thoroughly well established as a leading and distinctive appellation of Dhruva also,** and so pointedly that it is most probably he who is intended by that *biruda* in the Lakshmêshwar inscription, C. above.

* * * * * *

The date of Dhruva.

The importance of the point that **Śrîvallabha was a leading and distinctive biruda of Dhruva** lies in the fact that we are thereby enabled to fix **an actual date for him.**

That date is supplied by **a passage in the Jain Harivaṁśa of Jinasêna,** which tells us that that work was finished in **Śaka-Saṁvat 705 (expired), = A.D. 783-84,** when there were reigning,— in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamânapura, which is to be identified with the modern Waḍhwâṇ in the Jhâlâvâḍ division of Kâṭhiâwâr,— in the north, Indrâyudha ; in the south, **Śrîvallabha** ; in the east, Vatsarâja, king of Avanti

[1] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 93.— In answer to a reference, Mr. Rice has been kind enough to assure me that the *Śrîvalla[bha]* follows *Dhârâvarisha* without any interval ; that line 1 contains less matter than the other lines because the letters are larger ; and that there is no doubt whatever about the word *Kambharasar.* There can, of course, be no question about the correctness of supplying *bha* as the *akshara* which is more or less damaged and illegible after *śrî-Dhârâvarisha-Śrîvalla.* And the damaged and illegible *akshara* after the *bha* must be a final *n* or *r.*

[2] *Inscrs. at Śrav.-Beḷ.* No. 24.— I have to make the following remarks on this record, from an ink-impression. Line 2 ends with *Śrîballabha.* At the beginning of line 3, five *aksharas* are (judging by the impression) hopelessly damaged and illegible. Then we have, distinctly, *jâdhi.* And then, after a space representing three full-size square *aksharas* such as *ja, dha, ma, etc.,*— apparently equally damaged and illegible,— we have *m[ê]śvara-mahâr[â]jarâ ṁagandir Raṇâvaḷôka-śrî-Kambayyan, etc.* The lacunæ may be appropriately and exactly filled in by reading *Śrîballabha-[Dhruva-mahârâ]jâdhi[râja-para]m[ê]śvara-mahâr[â]jarâ* ; to which the only objection is the use of both titles, *mahârâjâdhirâja* and *mahârâja* : and I do not see any other way in which they can be appropriately and exactly filled in, unless we should read *Śrîballabha-[Dhârâvarsha-râ]jâdhi[râja-para]m[ê]-śvara-mahâr[â]jarâ,* which is open to a similar objection and, further, does not adapt itself to such marks as are discernible. But, of course, it is by pure conjecture that the actual name Dhruva is supplied here ; except that there is a mark, in exactly the proper place, which does look like an *r* attached to an *akshara* consisting of a consonant with its vowel.— On the subject of this record, see also *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 397, note 1 ; the view suggested there is, of course, now withdrawn.

[3] See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 5. I have photographs of this record, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Rice.

(Ujjain); and, in the west, Varâha or Jayavarâha,[1] in the territory of the Sauryas. It is to be remarked that, of the two kings Indrâyudha and Śrîvallabha, one or the other is specified in the passage as the son of a king Kṛishṇa. But we determine the application of the passage without taking that point into account either way.

When this passage was first brought to notice, the translation that was put forward was—"when Indrâyudha was ruling over the North;— when **Śrîvallabha,** the son of king Kṛishṇa, was governing the South," *etc.*[2] And I suggested that Śrîvallabha was "perhaps the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda II., the son of Kṛishṇa I."[3]

Subsequently, however, it became plain, in the first place, that the *biruda* Śrîvallabha is not identical with the appellation Vallabha, which is the only name of that kind that we have for Gôvinda II., and in the second place, that Gôvinda II. did not actually reign.[4] And then, as the word meaning "son of king Kṛishṇa" may be construed at least as well with the word that gives us the name of Indrâyudha as it may with the word that gives us the name of **Śrîvallabha,**[5] I abandoned that view and transferred the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" to Indrâyudha, and took the passage as referring to **Gôvinda III.,** son of Dhruva, and as establishing the date of A.D. 783-84 for him.[6]

There is nothing inherently impossible, in the way of allotting the date of A.D. 783-84 to Gôvinda III.; except that it would perhaps give him too long a reign,— at least thirty years,—

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[1] The original passage has *jaya-yutê vîrê Varâhê*; and Dr. Peterson considered (Fourth Report on Sanskṛit MSS., Index of Authors, p. 43, and note), that the meaning is, not "the victorious and brave Varâha," but "the brave Jayavarâha,"— just as the name of Vatsarâja is expressed in the preceding line by *Vats-âdi-râjê*. It is not possible to settle that point off-hand, either way. But, in support of Dr. Peterson's view, we may quote two other names in which *varâha* is found as the termination. One is Âdivarâha, a name of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj, which occurs in verse 22 of the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 875 or 876 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 155, 158). The other is Dharaṇîvarâha, which we meet with most notably in the case of a Châpa prince, with the date of A.D. 914, whose residence was Vardhamâna, and who was ruling the territory round Haḍḍâlâ on the south-east of the above-mentioned Waḍhwâṇ in the Jhâlâvâḍ division of Kâṭhiâwâr (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 194, 195); and it is not impossible that, in this prince, we have a descendant of the Varâha or Jayavarâha of A.D. 783-84, though his pedigree is not carried back beyond a certain Vikramârka who would have to be placed, roughly, about A.D. 825.— It may be noted here that the name Dharaṇîvarâha seems to have been rather a favourite one. We meet with it again in the case of a prince referable roughly to about A.D. 925, in the Bulandshahr plate of A.D. 1176 or 1177 (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 25, No. 170), and again in the case of a prince who was contemporaneous with a Râshṭrakûṭa king or prince named Dhavala who held the country round Hatôṇḍî in Mârwâr just before A.D. 997 (see *ibid.* p. 9, No. 53). We perhaps have the same name Dharaṇîvarâha in the case of a king or prince, of uncertain date but apparently referable to "a period not long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion," who ruled more to the east, in the Jaunpur district, North-West Provinces (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 635, 636); but, here *dharaṇî* may be a mistake or misreading for *dharaṇîṁ* as the accusative with *santôshayan=nija-guṇair,* and in that case the name is simply Varâha. We certainly, however, have Dharaṇîvarâha as a *biruda* of some princes, of the sixteenth century A.D., who claim descent from the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttuṅga I. (Report of the Government Epigraphist for 1899-1900, p. 16). And apparently we have it again as a *biruda* of one or other of the kings of Vijayanagara in a record of A.D. 1528 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 2).

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142. For the text, see now, preferentially, Peterson's Fourth Report on Sanskṛit MSS., Extracts, p. 176.

[3] *Loc. cit.* note 3.

[4] And, on this point, see now, more fully, page 170 ff. above.

[5] The text runs—*uttarâṁ pât=Îndrâyudha-nâmni Kṛishṇa-nṛipa-jê Śrîvallabhê dakshiṇâṁ.* We know that Dhruva was a son of Kṛishṇa I. And, now that we know what we did not know until recently,— namely, that Śrîvallabha was one of his leading *birudas,*— it is easy enough to say that the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" were meant to qualify the Śrîvallabha of the passage, and not the other person. But it is impossible to say, simply from the text itself, whether *Kṛishṇa-nṛipa-jê* was intended to be in apposition with the locative which immediately precedes it, or with the locative which immediately follows it; and it is fairly arguable that, Śrîvallabha being a complete appellation in itself, whereas Indrâyudhanâman is an adjective rather than a noun, the latter wants something, namely, the next following word, to complete its meaning.

[6] *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 394 f., and see note 1 on p. 395.

before so very long a reign as that of his son Amôghavarsha I., who was on the throne for not less than sixty-two years. But we can now recognise **a distinct reason for which that date should not be allotted to Gôvinda III.** We know, from the Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807, that the first important event after the death of Dhruva was the formation of a confederacy against Gôvinda III. by twelve kings and princes, whom he had to overthrow before his succession to the throne was made secure.[1] We may note that we learn from the Nausârî grant of A.D. 817 that the confederacy was headed by a certain Stambha,[2] in respect of whom Mr. Rice has made the suggestion,[3] quite soundly, that he is to be identified with the Raṇâvalôka-Kambayya, Kambharasa, or Kambhadêva of the Mysore records, son of Śrîvallabha-Dhruva and elder brother of Gôvinda III. And we trace the motive for it to the fact, stated in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, that Gôvinda III. had been selected for the succession from among several sons,— to the exclusion, therefore, of at least Stambha-Kambayya,— because he surpassed his brothers in merit.[4] But, what we have to note in particular, is, that this confederacy was the first important event after the death of Dhruva and the accession of Gôvinda III., and that there is no allusion of any kind to it in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794. We must understand, then, that that record gives a very early date in the reign of Gôvinda III., before the occurrence of the events connected with the confederacy, and that it is, therefore, not permissible to carry him back ten years earlier, to A.D. 783-84.

The only other Śrîvallabha of that period, distinctively known by that appellation, was Dhruva. And, irrespective of the question whether the Śrîvallabha of the passage quoted above is described in that passage as "the son of Kṛishṇa," or whether he is not so described,[5] we need not hesitate, now, about deciding that it is to Dhruva that the passage refers by the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, and that it is for him that it establishes **the date of A.D. 783-84.**[6]

As regards another of the kings who are mentioned in that passage, it may be noted that **Vatsarâja of Ujjain** is mentioned again in connection with Dhruva in the Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807, in a verse which tells us that Vatsarâja, who had easily seized the kingdom of Gauḍa (in Bengal), was driven away by Dhruva (from his possessions in Mâlwa, round Ujjain) into the path of misfortune in (the deserts of) Maru (Mârwâr).[7] **Varâha or Jayavarâha,** who was ruling the territory of the Sauryas,— which apparently means Saurâshṭra or Kâṭhiâwâr,— remains to be exactly identified, but may, as has been suggested above,[8] very possibly have been a Châpa king. **Indrâyudha,** the king of the north, may be safely referred to the family to which belonged Chakrâyudha, to whom Dharmapâla, after defeating Indrarâja

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 70, verse 13. The event has been wrongly placed by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the life-time of Dhruva (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 123). The text of the record distinctly says that Dhruva was then dead.

[2] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 145, verse 27.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 5.

[4] Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text line 37 f.

[5] See page 196 above, note 5.

[6] In following my original proposal as to the application of the passage, and in accepting it as meaning Vallabha-Gôvinda II., Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 197) has overlooked the point that the appellation is, not Vallabha, but Śrîvallabha, which is quite a different thing; and, when he wrote, he was of course not aware that Śrîvallabha was a *biruda* of Dhruva.— As regards the hysterical outburst, in connection with this matter, to which Mr. K. B. Pathak has given vent on page 5 f. of the Introduction to his edition of the *Kavirâjamârga* (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 26), it is sufficient to remark that, in his second-hand and crude dissertation on Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I., Gôvinda II., and Dhruva, he has put forward nothing new of any historical value, and, in re-asserting the date of A.D. 783-84 for Gôvinda II. according to my original proposal, he has, from sheer ignorance of the subject and incapability of dealing with it, simply reiterated a mistake and missed the very point on which there was an useful correction to be made. His paroxysmal note 3 on page 5 of the Introduction (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 25, note 18) is, except in the first line of it as far as the words "A.D. 750," nothing but an attribution to me of statements that I have not made and views that I have not formed.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 69, verse 8.

[8] Page 196 above, note 1.

and other unnamed enemies, gave back the sovereignty of **Mahôdaya (Kanauj)**;[1] but we have still to determine what may have been the relations between his family and the family of *Mahârâjas* in which we have Prabhâsa-Bhôja I., Bhâka-Mahêndrapâla, and Harsha-Vinâyaka-pâla, who issued charters from Mahôdaya (Kanauj) in A.D. 706, 761, and 794.[2]

No. 17.—TWO BHUVANESVAR INSCRIPTIONS.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The two inscriptions[3] of which I give an account here from excellent impressions, prepared for Dr. Hultzsch by Mr. Krishna Sastri, are on two slabs of dark stone which are now in the western wall of the court-yard of the temple of Ananta-Vâsudêva[4] at **Bhuvanêśvar** in the Purî district of Orissa. The stones were taken away from Bhuvanêśvar and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about 1810, but to please the people, they were returned to their original place in 1837.[5] In the latter year, the inscriptions were both edited, with specimen facsimiles of the characters by Mr. Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 89 ff. and p. 280 ff., the one here marked A. with a translation by the Rev. Wm. Yates, and the other, marked B., with a translation by Captain G. T. Marshall, Examiner in the College of Fort William; and the inscription A. has been edited again, *ibid.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11 ff., by Mr. Nagendra Natha Vasu, who was not aware of its having been published sixty years before. A. records the foundation of a temple of (Śiva) Mêghêśvara by **Svapnêśvara**, a connection and general of the (Eastern) Gaṅga king **Aniyaṅkabhîma** (Anaṅgabhîma I.) of Trikaliṅga; and B. gives a eulogistic account of a scholar named **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadêva Bâlavalabhîbhujaṅga**, of whom some literary works are still extant.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF SVAPNÊŚVARA, OF THE TIME OF ANIYAṄKABHÎMA.

This inscription contains 26 lines of writing which cover a space of 3′ 6″ broad by 1′ 6½″ high. The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and with the exception of a few letters, in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ½″. Many of the characters are the same as those of the ordinary Nâgarî alphabet used in Northern India during about the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.; but there are some by which this inscription would be undoubtedly referred to the eastern parts of Northern India. To shew this, I would draw the reader's attention, *e.g.*, to the initial *i*[6] in *iti*, l. 1; the initial *ê* in *êkô*, l. 1; the *kh* in *śikhi-*, l. 1, and *kharvvîkarôti*, l. 2; the *ṅ* in *ratnâṅkura-*, l. 10, *piṅgala-*, l. 1, and *vaṅśa-*, l. 6; the *ñ* in *śîtañ=cha*, l. 21, and *vâñchhita-*, l. 13; the *ṭ* in *jaṭâṭavî-*, l. 1, *paṭu-*, l. 6, and *-dviṭ*, l. 15; the *ṭṭ* in *paṭṭê*, l. 26 (twice); the *ṇ* in *raṇa-*, l. 9, *etc.* One point in which the alphabet differs from that of other eastern inscriptions is, that, while in the latter special signs (without the superscript *r*) are generally used[7] to denote the three conjuncts *rgg*, *rṇṇ* and *rth*, the present inscription has such a sign only for *rth*, and employs the superscript *r* in the two other conjuncts. See *e.g.* the *rth* of *=ârthatô*, *=ârthibhir=* and *=ârthinî* in line 10, as compared with the *th* of *prithivîṁ* in line 8; on the

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[1] I am indebted to Prof. Kielhorn for this point. For the necessary references, see his List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 86, No. 638; and see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 187, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 245.

[2] See above, Vol. V. pp. 209, 210, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 110.

[3] Government Epigraphist's collection of 1899, Nos. 227 and 228. Compare my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos. 669 and 670.

[4] See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11.

[5] See *ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 279 f.

[6] The form of the initial *i* here used is identical with one of the two forms of *i*, used in the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadêva, No. 644 of my *List of North. Inscr.*

[7] See above, Vol. V. p. 182.

other hand, see the *rgg* in *durgg-âlayô mârggah*, l. 22, and the *rṇṇ* of *-âvakîrṇṇa-*, l. 8, and compare with the latter the *ṇṇ*[1] of *kshuṇṇa-*, l. 8. For the rest, it may suffice to state that *anusvâra* is often denoted by a circle with the sign of *virâma* below it, placed after the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in *nirvbharaṁ*, l. 6, and *palabhujâṁ*, l. 7; and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed no less than 13 times, as in °*bhujâ* ऽ*nêna*, l. 9, and *vriddhô* ऽ*nujaṁ* and *râjyê* ऽ *bhishiktam=*, l. 11, *etc.*— The **language** of the inscription is Sanskṛit, and with the exception of the introductory *Ôṁ ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya*, the text is in verse. The **orthography** calls for few remarks. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *rasmi-* and *vans-* (for *vaṁś-*), l. 3, *śasâsa*, l. 8, *yasasâ*, l. 12, *sâśvata-*, l. 13, *saśvan=*, l. 22, and *saśvad=*, l. 24, and the palatal for the dental in *śrôtaḥ-*, l. 1, and *suraśarit-*, l. 21; and instead of *anusvâra* the guttural nasal has been employed in *vaṅśa-*, l. 6, and *-sudhâṅśû*, l. 25, and the dental nasal in *vans-ôttansa-*, l. 3. Besides, the rules of *saṁdhi* have now and then been neglected. The language is not always grammatically correct. The ablative cases in construction with adjectives in the positive (instead of the comparative) degree in verse 28 might of course be justified by analogous constructions in the epics; for the wrong position of the word *mallî* in the compound *mallikîrttivallî* (for *kîrttimallîvallî*) at the end of line 3 the Prâkṛit of the author might possibly be held responsible; and to account for the employment of the Present participle *hasat* (instead of *hasita*) in the compound at the end of verse 22 one or two similar instances may be quoted from Jaina poetry; but *śrî-Svapnêśvara-nâma* (for *-nâmâ*) in line 5 is an offensive blunder that should not have been committed even *chhandô-bhaṅga-bhayât*. The poetry of our author strikes me as being poor. His poetical conceptions as a rule are of the tritest, and more attention has been apparently paid by him to the sound of the words than to their exact meanings or effective employment. As a translation would be as tiresome to write as it might be tedious to read, I content myself with giving a short abstract of the contents.

After the words 'Ôṁ, ôṁ! Adoration to Śiva!,' verse 1 invokes the protection of the moon which is on Śiva's head, and v. 2 glorifies the sage **Gautama** (Akshapâda). In that sage's family (*gôtra*) was born the king's son (*râja-putra*) **Dvâradêva** (v. 3). From him **Mûladêva** was born (v. 4), and from him, **Ahirama** (v. 5) who, besides other children, had a son named **Svapnêśvara**, and a daughter named **Suramâdêvî** (v. 6). Verses 7-9 then eulogize a king of **the lunar race**, named **Chôḍagaṅga.** When he was dead, his son king **Râjarâja** victoriously ruled the earth (vv. 10-12). He married **Suramâdêvî**, the lady already mentioned (v. 13), and in his old age installed in the government his younger brother **Aniyaṅkabhîma**, '**a** moon of a **Gaṅga prince**,' 'a lord of **Trikaliṅga**' (vv. 14-17).— Verses 18-21 then praise (Râjarâja's brother-in-law) **Svapnêśvaradêva**, in war 'a divine weapon of the kings of **the Gaṅga lineage**,' a man 'more powerful than a complete army' (and apparently therefore a general of the Gaṅga kings); and verses 22-32 record the acts of piety performed by him which occasioned this *praśasti*. He founded a magnificent temple of the god (Śiva) Mêghêśvara, 'the lord of the clouds' (vv. 22-24), gave a number of female attendants to the god (v. 25), laid out a garden near the temple (vv. 26 and 27), built a tank near it (v. 28), and in connection with the tank erected a *maṇḍapa* or open hall (v. 29). He also provided wells and tanks on roads and in towns, lights in temples, cloisters for the study of the Vêdas, *etc.* (v. 30); and to the pious Brâhmaṇs he gave a *brahmapura* which was superintended by the Śaiva teacher Vishṇu (v. 31), who also consecrated[2] the Mêghêśvara temple (v. 32).— By Vishṇu's order this *praśasti* was composed by the poet Udayana (v. 33); it was written on the stone at the Mêghêśvara temple by Chandradhavala, the son of Diśidhavala (v. 35), and engraved by the *sûtradhâra* Śivakara (v. 36).

[1] A comparison of the signs for *ṇṇ* and *rṇṇ* will shew that in the latter the superscript *r* is really superfluous. Even without it, the sign used by the writer would have to be read as *rṇṇ*, and is actually employed in other inscriptions to denote that conjunct.

[2] As *pratishṭhita* is occasionally used for *pratishṭhâpita*, so I would take *pratyatishṭhat* in verse 32 to have been employed in the sense of the causal *pratyatishṭhipat*.

Though the inscription is **not dated,** the connection of Svapnêśvara with the **(Eastern) Gaṅga kings Râjarâja** and **Aniyaṅkabhîma** permits us to fix its age with confidence. From No. 367 of my *List of North. Inscr.* we know that the great king **Chôḍagaṅga** was succeeded by his son **Kâmârṇava,** who was anointed king in Śaka-Saṁvat 1064 = A.D. 1142-43 and reigned for 10 years; that Kâmârṇava again was succeeded by another son of Chôḍagaṅga, named **Râghava,** who reigned for 15 years; he again by Chôḍagaṅga's son **Râjarâja [II.],** who reigned for 25 years; and he by his younger brother **Aniyaṅkabhîma** (or Anaṅgabhîma I.), who reigned for 10 years. Taking these figures to be approximately correct, it follows that **Aniyaṅkabhîma,** the last king mentioned in the present inscription, ascended the throne about A.D. 1192, and that this inscription therefore must have been composed about the end of the 12th century A.D.

TEXT.[1]

1 Ôṁ[2] ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya || [3]Vidyutpiṅgala-bhâlalôchana-śikhi-jvâlâ-galat[4] svâmṛita-śrô(srô)taḥ-sparśana-jîvitâḥ śavaśiraḥ-śrêṇîḥ Śivê nṛityati ||(|) êkô Râhur=anêkatâṁ=gata iti trâsâd=iva prêkshya tâś=Chandraḥ sândra-jaṭâṭavî-surasarid-durgg-âśritaḥ pâtu vaḥ || [1*]

2 [5]Kô=yaṁ lla(la)llâ(lâ)ṭataṭa-nêtrapuṭasya garvvât kharvvîkarôti jagad=ity=abhidhâya Śambhau | yaḥ sâbhyasûyam=akarôch=chacha(ra)ṇê=kshi-lla(la)kshmîṁ jîyât=sa **Gautama-**munir=mmuni-vṛinda-vandyaḥ || [2*] [6]Tad-gôtrê râja-putraḥ samajani jagatî-maṇḍanaḥ paṇḍitânâṁ mânyaḥ puṇy-aikadhâma prativa(ba)la-jaladhi-

3 kshôbha-manthâchala-śrîḥ | śrîmân=satkîrttivallî-valayita-vasudhâmaṇḍalaś=chaṇḍa-rasmi(śmi)-sphûrjjat-têjôbhir=ugra-glapita-ripuyaśaḥ-kairavô **Dvâradêvaḥ** || [3*] Samajani[7] nija-vans-ôttansa-lakshmîr=alakshmîkṛita-nikhila-virôdhi-sphûrjjad-ambhô-dhir=asmât | dalita-lalita-mallikîrttiva-[8]

4 llî-vitâna-prasṛita-[9]hasita-chandrô **Mûladêvaḥ** kṛit-îndraḥ || [4*] [10]Tasmât=puṇy-aikarâśêr=abhavad=**Ahiramô** nâma dhâma stutînâm=ârâmaḥ sâma-nîtêr=aparimita-yaśaḥpûrachandr-ôdayâdriḥ | yasy=ôdyad-dânadharmm-ôtsava-janita-mahôtsâha-kâlê trilôka-prâsâd-âgrê sphuranti sphurad-a-

5 malayaśô-vaijayantyô jayantyaḥ || [5*] [11]Tasmân=naika-sutâd=va(ba)bhûvatur=apân=nâthâd=iv=êndu-Śriyau **śrî-Svapnêśvara-**nâma[12] nâma **Suramâdêvî** cha sârth-âhvayâ | êkaḥ kshmâtala-maṇḍanâya sakal-âdhâras=tath=ânyâ jagad-dâridrajvara-nâśanâya jagatî-chintâmaṇi-śrîr=abhût || [6*] [13]Nata-nṛipati-kirîṭa-kô-

6 ṭi-ratna-dyuti-paṭu-[14]pîṭha-śayâlu-pâdapadmaḥ | ajani **Rajanijâni-vanśa-**[15]chûḍâmaṇir=aṇim-âdi-guṇêna **Chôḍagaṅgaḥ** || [7*] [16]Yâtrâ-vâji-khura-prahâra-visarad-dhûlî-samudrê sphurattêjô-bhâskaramaṇḍalê kshitibhujâm=astaṅgatê nirvbha(rbbha)raṁ | yaṁ saṅgrâma-gṛihôdarêshu vijaya-śrîḥ sârddham=â-

7 śâ-sakhî-vṛindair=bhinna-gajêndra-mauktikavatî bhûyô=bhisarttuṁ=gatâ || [8*] Rê vâ(bâ)lâḥ kula-vṛiddha kin=nu bhavatâṁ=durbhiksham=âyâsyati sphîtaṁ=kiṁ sa tu sa[t*]tra-daḥ palabhujâṁ svarggâya sannahyatê | yasy=êti

[1] From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[4] Read *-galat-svâmṛita-*.

[5] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[6] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[7] Metre: Mâlinî.—Read *nija-vaṁś-ôttaṁsa-*.

[8] For the sake of the metre *mallîkîrtti* has been put for *kîrttimallî*.

[9] The *akshara ta* was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.

[10] Metre: Sragdharâ.

[11] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[12] For the sake of the metre put for *-nâmâ*.

[13] Metre: Pushpitâgrâ.

[14] This word (which has been misread as *pada* and *paṭa*) is quite clear in the impressions; it is used in the sense of *sphuṭa*.

[15] Read *-vaṁśa-*.

[16] Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

śrutim=âkalayya samarê nirvbhi(rbbhi)nna-vîra-dvishâm=[1]vallûraiḥ paripûrayanti paritaḥ prêtâḥ ku-

8 śûl-ôtkarân || [9*] Tasmin[2] Purandarapurî-tilakâyamânê dânê samunnata-matis=tanayas=tadîyaḥ | sâmrâjya-bhâra-vahan-aikadhurîṇa-vâ(bâ)huḥ śrî-**Râjarâja**-nṛipatiḥ pṛithivîṁ śasâ(śâ)sa || [10*] [3]Yasy=ôdyad-vâji-râjî-khura-śikhara-bhara-kshuṇṇa-bhûchakra-sarppad-dhûlî-jâl-âvakîrṇṇa-tridaśapurasari-

9 d-bhûri-paṅkê vilagnaṁ | nirakrîḍâ-nimajjat-surapatikariṇaṁ vyâkulâḥ Śakra-bhṛityâ dhṛitvâ lâṅgûlam=êkê karatalam=aparê tîram=uttôlayanti || [11*] [4]Raṇa-bhuvi yadi nityan=n=âhataḥ śatru-sârthaḥ[5] tulita-Haribhujêna kshmâbhujâ ꜱnêna nûnaṁ | katham=iha kali-kâlê kalpit=ânalpa-pâpa-praṇayi-

10 ni sura-sṛishṭiḥ srashṭur=asyân=divi syât || [12*] [6][Tê]n=ôḍhâ purushôttamêna **Suramâdêvî** Ram=aiv=ârthatô nâmnâ ꜱntaḥpurasundarîjana-śirôratnâṅkura-śrîr=iyaṁ | pratyâruhya tulâḥ priyêṇa saha sâ yat=[7]svarṇṇa-śailân=dadâv=êtai[ḥ][8] sphîtatarâ dhar=ârthibhir=ahô jât=ârthinî kêvalaṁ || [13*] [9]Sarvvan=na-

11 rêndra-tilakaḥ kalikâla-kalpaḥśâkh[î[10] sukh-au]gham=anubhûya chiraṁ sa râjâ | vṛiddhô ꜱnujaṁ manujarâja-nat-âṁghriyugmaṁ râjyê ꜱbhishiktam=akarôd=**Aniyaṅka-bhîmaṁ** || [14*] Sa[11] śrîmân=**Aniyaṅkabhîma**-nṛipatiḥ sâmrâjyalakshmî-patiḥ pratyarthi-kshitipâla-mauli-tilakaḥ[12] tyakt-ârikânt-âla-

12 kaḥ | sampràpy=aiva samudra-mudrita-mahîchakraṅ=karâgra-sphurach=chakraṁ Śakra-parâkramas=samakarôd=**Gaṅgêndra**-chandraḥ kshaṇât || [15*] Hê bhôgîndra kim=âttha kûrmma dharaṇî-bhâraḥ sa tuchchhô mahân[13] jânâsi **Trikaliṅganâtha**-yasa(śa)sâ khyâtan=na jânê śṛiṇu | dêvê ꜱsmin=vijaya-prayâṇa-rasikê prêm-

13 [kha]t-turaṅga-kshura-kshôbh-ôddh[û]ta-rajôbhir=amva(mba)ram=agâd=arddhaṁ kshamâ-maṇḍalaṁ || [16*] Jâtâ saṅgara-nîradhêḥ sphurad-asivyâlêndra-bhâsvad-bhujâmanthâdrêr=asat=îva vâñchhita-[va(ba)]hu-prîtiḥ sadâ śrîr=iyaṁ | asminn=êva narâ[dhi]nâtha-tilakê sthairyaṅ=gatâ yat=punar=vvîjan=tatra kil=âsya sâ(śâ)śvata-

14 [m=a]sau jâgrad=yaśaś-chandramâḥ || [17*] Udyad-digvijay-ârtha-sâdhana-vidhau **Gaṅgânvaya**-kshmâbhujân=divy-âstraṁ chaturaṅgatô=dhikataraḥ sainyât=sa êkô=bhavat | śrî-**Svapnêśvaradêva** êva vilasat[14] śastra-kshat-âri-ksharat-kîlâlaugha-vinirmmit-âshṭamamahâmbhôdhir=nnay-âmbhônidhiḥ || [18*] Lakshmîdêvyâḥ[15] patir=a-

15 yam=adhô=nêna[16] chakrê vali-dviṭ[17] gôpâlasya pri[ya]-suhṛid=ayaṁ sarvva-kâryê=chyutô ꜱsau | Viśvaksênô dharaṇir=iyam=apy=uddhṛitâ yêna magnâ [sô] ꜱsmin(ñ)=janmany=api sura(cha)ritair=êsha[18] Viśvambharô ꜱbhût || [19*] [19]Yad-dâna-vigalad-vâri-mâtṛikâ bhûtamâtṛikâ | sasya-sampatti-sambhârair=ddîna-hîn=âbhavan=mahî

16 || [20*] [20]Kailâsâdri-Himâchala-stanataṭa-vyâsaṅgi-Mandâkinî-hâra-śrîr=yadi kîrttir=asya tilakaṁ chandraṅ=kalaṅk-âśayât | jyôtsnâ-hâsa-mukhî payôdhivasanâ-kunda-dyuti[r*]=nn=âtyajat kv=âyaṁ syâd=iha Chandraśêkhara-pad-ârûḍhô Mṛiḍânî-patiḥ || [21*] Bhaktiprahva-surâsurêndra-vilasan-maulistha-ratnâva-

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[1] Read *-dvishâṁ*.
[2] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.
[3] Metre : Sragdharâ.
[4] Metre : Mâlinî.
[5] Read *-sârthas=*.
[6] Metre : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[7] Read *yân=*.
[8] This sign of *visarga* was originally omitted.
[9] Metre : Vasantatilakâ.
[10] Read *-kalpaśâkhî*; the sign of *visarga* in this word seems to have been struck out already in the original.
[11] Metre of verses 15-18 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[12] Read *-tilakas=*.
[13] Read *mahân=*.
[14] Read *vilasach-chhastra-*.
[15] Metre : Mandâkrântâ.
[16] The *akshara na* was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.
[17] Read *ba*(or *Ba*)*li-dvid=*.
[18] Read *=êva* (?).
[19] Metre : Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[20] Metre of verses 21-23 : Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

17 li-chchhâyâ-śakradhanuḥ-sphurat-pada-lasan-Mêghêśvarasy=âmunâ | unnatyâ ṣpara-parvvatô va(ba)hutara-dravya-vyayaṁ kurvvatâ prâsâdô rachitas=sudhâ-chchhavi-hasat-Kailâsa-śailêśvaraḥ[1] || [22*] Svarṇṇâdriḥ sa sur-âlayô hari-khura-kshuṇṇaś=cha pûrvvô girir=vvâruṇyâ parichumvi(mbi)tô ṣsta-śikharî mânyaḥ sa Gaurî-

18 [gu]ruḥ | ity=ady=âpi parâmṛisha(śa)n=nava-nava-sthânaṁ chalan-mandirô Laṅkêndrêṇa śil-ôchchayaṁ gṛiham=adaḥ prâptô ṣnavadyaṁ Śivaḥ || [23*] Iha[2] vijayinâ prâkâra-śrîr=mmahôpala-nirmmitâ jaladhara-gatîr=atyunnatyâ nirôddhum=iv=ôddhatâ | kali-jalanidhêr=mmaryâdâlî-bhayâd=iva tasya vai śaraṇa-

19 m=aviśad=dharmmô yatra Trinêtra-surakshayâ || [24*] [3]Yâsân=nêtrâñchala-taralimâ viśvavaśy-aikamantraḥ pâda-nyâsas=tribhuvana-gati-stambhanaṁ samvidhattê[4] | nṛity-ârambhê valaya-maṇibhir=nnirmitâṣyatna-dîpâs=tasmai dattâs=Tripura-jayinê têna tâs=tâ mṛigâkshyaḥ || [25*] [5]Upavanam=atha chakrê têna Mêghêśva-

20 rasya sphurita-kusuma-rêṇu-śrêṇi-chandrâtapa-śri | avirata-makaranda-syanda-sandôha-varshair=ddhṛita-Ratipati-lîlâ-yantradhârâgṛihatvaṁ || [26*] [6]Vanaśrî-muktâ-srak[7] dara-dalita-pushp-ôtkara-milat-parâgair=bhṛiṅg-âlî kalita-sitimâ yatra japanî[8] | munêḥ Pushpâstrasya sphaṭika-ghaṭit-âkshâva-

21 lir=iyam=[9]vasant-ôdyan-matta-dvipa-śirasi nakshatra-vitatiḥ || [27*] Atyachchhaṁ[10] śarad-amva(mba)rât=suraśa(sa)rit-tôyâch=cha pâp-âpahaṁ gambhîran=naya-śâlinô=pi hṛidayât[11] śîtañ=cha chandra-dyutêḥ | hṛidya-svâdu sudhâ-rasâd=api sarô vârân=nidhêḥ sôdaran=tên=âkhâni narêśvara-praṇayinâ Mêghêśvarasy=â-

22 layê || [28*] Ânand-aikanikêtanaṁ nayanayôḥ sa(śa)śvan=manaḥkairava-jyôtsn-aughaḥ khalu Viśvakarmma-nipuṇa-vyâpâra-vaidagdhya-bhûḥ | grishma-grâsa-bhay-âtibhîta-janatâ-śauṭîrya-durgg-âlayô mârggaḥ kîrtti-vijṛimbhaṇasya jayinâ prôttambhitô maṇḍapaḥ || [29*] Apâṁ[12] śâlâ-mâlâḥ pathi pathi taḍâgâḥ prati-

23 puraṁ pradîpâḥ sampûrṇṇâḥ prati-suragṛihaṁ yasya vimalâḥ | maṭhâ vêd-âdînâṁ dvijapura-vihârâḥ prati-diśaṁ virâjantê sa[t*]trâṇy=api cha paritas=sêtu-nivahâḥ || [30*] [13]Ârâd=vra(bra)hmapuraṁ Vṛi(bṛi)haspati-pura-sparddhi Smarârêḥ sad=âchâryaṁ Vishṇum=abhisphura[d*]=dvijavara-grâmâya dharmmâtmanê | dattaṁ têna mudâ sad-ôdi-

24 ta-makha-prâravdha(bdha)-dhûmadhvaja-sphûrjjad-dhûma-chayêna yatra sa kali-vyâlaḥ samutsâryatê || [31*] Taṁ[14] pratyatishṭha[d*]=dvijarâja-pûjyaḥ prâsâdam=Îśasya sa-nandaka-śrîḥ | sudarśanên=ânvita êsha Vishṇur=âchârya-râjaḥ sa pṛithak[15] na Vishṇôḥ || [32*] [16]Udayana-kavis=tasy=âdêśât=praśasti-vilâsinîṁ sulalita-padanyâsaiḥ sa(śa)śvad=vi-

25 [dagdha]-manôharâṁ | dhvanibhir=aniśaṁ kaṇṭhê ślishṭâm=alaṁkṛiti-hâriṇîm=atirasatayâ śayy-âyâtâṁ prasâdhitavân=imâṁ || [33*] [17]Yâva[j*]=jyôtsnâ-sudhâṅśû[18] dharaṇi-phaṇipatî yâvad=ambhôja-Lakshmyau yâvad=yâvach=cha Gaṅgâ-Himadharaṇidharau yâvad=êv=ârṇṇav-ôrmmî | vâg-arthau yâvad=asmiṁś=chiram=anuvasatô ṣdvaita-rûpê-

26 ṇa lôkê tâvat=prâsâda-kîrttî tribhuvana-kuharê râjatâm=asya nityaṁ || [34*] Śrî || [19]Diśidhavala-dhîra-tanayaḥ sa Chandradhavalaḥ praśastim=iha paṭṭê | saral-âkshara-mâlâbhir=llilêkha Mêghêśvara-dvârê || [35*] Sûtradhâraḥ[20] Śivakaras=

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[1] This compound (formed with *hasat* instead of *hasita*) is incorrect; compare *-hasita-chandrô*, l. 4.
[2] Metre: Hariṇî.
[3] Metre: Mandâkrântâ.
[4] Read *saṁvidhattê*.
[5] Metre: Mâlinî.
[6] Metre: Śikhariṇî.
[7] Read *-srag-*.
[8] This word might be (and has been) read *jayanî*.
[9] Read *=iyaṁ*.
[10] Metre of verses 28 and 29: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[11] Read *°yâch=chhî°*.
[12] Metre: Śikhariṇî.
[13] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[14] Metre: Upajâti.
[15] Read *pṛithag=*.
[16] Metre: Hariṇî.
[17] Metre: Sragdharâ.
[18] Read *-sudhâṁśû*.
[19] Metre: Âryâ.
[20] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

sadvṛittâm=aksharâvalîṁ | nichakhâna śilâ-paṭṭê muktâphala-nibhâm=iha || ◎ || [36 ||*]

B.—EULOGY OF BHAṬṬA-BHAVADÊVA BÂLAVALABHÎBHUJAṄGA.

This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3′ broad by 1′ 4¾″ high. The **writing**, here too, is carefully executed and, with the exception of about a dozen effaced *aksharas* at the end of line 24, well preserved. The size of the letters is about ½″. The **characters** are similar to those of the inscription A. Contrary to what is the case in that inscription, *rṇṇ* as well as *rth*— *rgg* happens not to occur— are here denoted by signs without the superscript *r* (except perhaps in *samartham=*, l. 7). Moreover, *anusvâra* is written only by the superscript circle, and the sign of *avagraha* is nowhere employed. The **language** is Sanskṛit and, with the exception of the introductory *Ôṁ ôṁ namô bhagavatê Vâsudêvâya*, the effaced passage at the end of line 24, and the short line 25, the text is in verse. As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental nasal is employed instead of *anusvâra* in the word *mîmânsâ*, ll. 16 and 17, and in *tamânsi*, l. 16, and *lîlâvatans-*, l. 19; and the word *śrîvatsa* is written *śrîvachchha*, l. 20. In a few places the rules of *saṁdhi* have been neglected by the writer; and in line 6 the author himself has written *śri-Âdidêva* instead of *śry-Âdidêva*, which would not have fitted into the verse. Otherwise the text is correct; and, for a *praśasti*, the style generally is simple and unpretending.

The poem in line 25 is described as a eulogy of the *Bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious **Bhavadêva**, surnamed **Bâlavalabhîbhujaṅga.** It was composed by his friend, the Brâhmaṇ Vâchaspati (v. 33). After the words 'Ôṁ, ôṁ! Adoration to the holy Vâsudêva!,' the author in verse 1 invokes the blessing of the god Hari (Vishṇu), and in verse 2 appeals to the goddess of speech to favour his task of proclaiming the praises of **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadêva's** family. Verses 3-14 give a sketch of Bhavadêva's descent; vv. 15-26 eulogize him, chiefly for his scholarly achievements; and vv. 27-32 record the pious works which furnished the occasion for writing this *praśasti*. The details are as follows:—

Of the villages granted to, and the homes of, Brâhmaṇs learned in the Vêdas who are born in the family of the sage **Sâvarṇa,** a hundred may adorn the lands of **Âryâvarta**; but foremost among all is **Siddhala,** which is the ornament of the country of **Râḍhâ**[1] (v. 3). At that village prospered a family to which belonged a certain **Bhavadêva** (v. 5), whose elder and younger brothers were **Mahâdêva** and **Aṭṭahâsa** (v. 6). He, to whom the king of **Gauḍa** granted (the village of) **Hastinîbhiṭṭa,** had eight sons, the chief (or eldest) of whom was **Rathâṅga** (v. 7). From Rathâṅga sprang **Atyaṅga**; and his son was **Budha,** surnamed **Sphurita** (v. 8). From him **Âdidêva** was born (v. 9), who became minister of peace and war (*saṁdhivigrahin*) of the king of **Vaṅga** (v. 10). His son was **Gôvardhana** (v. 11), distinguished as a warrior and a scholar (v. 12). He married[2] **Sâṅgôkâ,** the daughter of a **Vandyaghaṭîya**[3] Brâhmaṇ (v. 13), and begat on her the person in whose honour this *praśasti* was composed, **Bhavadêva** (v. 14), whom the poet glorifies as a divine being, while he indicates his worldly position by telling us that, aided by his counsel, (the king) **Harivarmadêva** long exercised the government, and that his policy rendered prosperous the reign of that king's son also (v. 16). More interesting is the

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[1] Generally speaking, that part of Bengal which is west of the Hûglî and south of the Ganges. Like Vaṅga, it belonged to the Gauḍa country. In a Khajurâhô inscription it is stated that the wives of the kings of Kâñchî, Andhra, Râḍhâ and Aṅga were imprisoned by the Chandêlla Dhaṅgadêva; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 138.

[2] From verse 11 it appears that Gôvardhana's mother was Dêvakî, and that he himself had another wife named Sarasvatî.

[3] A member of that high family or class of Râḍhîya Brâhmaṇs which Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays,* Vol. II. p. 189, note) calls 'Bandyagati, vulgarly Banojî.' *Vandyaghaṭîya* occurs as the surname of Sarvânanda, the author of a commentary on the *Amarakôśa*; see Prof. Aufrecht's *Cat. Cat.* Vol. I. p. 703, and Dr. Burnell's *Tanjore Cat.* p. 46.

account of Bhavadêva's attainments as a scholar (vv. 20-25), which as far as possible may be given in the author's own words :—

(V. 20.) A pattern of those who know the Brahma's non-duality, a creator of wonder to those (even) who are learned themselves, a sage who comprehends the deep meaning of **Bhaṭṭa's**[1] lays, a very Agastya to the Bauddha sea, clever in refuting the devices of cavilling heretics, he playfully acts the part of the Omniscient on earth.

(V. 21.) Seeing across the ocean of the *Saṁhitâs*, *Tantras*[2] and computation, causing wonder to all by his knowledge of astrology,[3] himself the author and promulgator of a new work on horoscopy (*hôrâ-śâstra*), he clearly has proved another **Varâha.**[4]

(V. 22.) In the several branches of law he has eclipsed the old expositions by composing suitable treatises of his own; by a good comment elucidating the verses on law of the sages, he has swept away all doubt regarding the rites taught by the *Smṛitis.*

(V. 23.) In the *Mîmâṁsâ*, by following the lead of **Bhaṭṭa,** he has composed that well-known guide whose thousand maxims, like the rays of the sun, do not endure darkness. What need is there to say more? Proficient in the whole range of sacred hymns, in all the arts of the poets, in every traditional lore, in the works on worldly affairs, in the sciences of medicine and of arms, *etc.*, he indeed is without a second.

(V. 24.) By whom, indeed, is his (other) name **Bâlavalabhîbhujaṅga** not honoured—a name, heard and celebrated and chanted with rapture even by the *Mîmâṁsâ?*

(V. 25.) Restoring to life all the world by his magical spells which are like the morning tunes of music to the night of stupefaction caused by the bites of fanged furious serpents, he, a new vanquisher of death, in sporting with poisons has proved (a very) Nîlakaṇṭha.[5]

This Bhavadêva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of **Râḍhâ** (v. 26). Moreover, at the place where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of the god Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) (v. 27), and founded a temple of the god (v. 28), in which he placed images of his in the forms of Nârâyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛisiṁha (v. 29). He also gave to Harimêdhas (Vishṇu) a number of female attendants (v. 30), and had a tank dug in front of his temple (v. 31), and a garden laid out in its neighbourhood (v. 32).

The interest of this inscription lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar of whom, so far as we know, at least two literary works are still extant. From the more definite statements in the verses which have been translated above, it appears that, in astronomy and astrology, **Bhaṭṭa Bhavadêva** was the author of a *Hôrâ-śâstra;* that he wrote one or more treatises and a commentary relating to law or to religious rites; and that, as a student of the *Mîmâṁsâ* philosophy, he composed a work connected with the writings of Bhaṭṭa Kumârila. His *Hôrâ-śâstra* has not been traced yet in the published catalogues. But as regards his other works, Prof. Eggeling in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* under No. 1725 describes a Ms. of the '*Prâyaśchitta-nirûpaṇa*[6] (or *prakaraṇa*),' a treatise on expiatory rites, 'composed by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadêva, surnamed Bâlavalabhîbhujaṅga'; and under

[1] *I.e.* Kumârila, the author of the *Mîmâṁsâ-tantravârttika, etc.*

[2] *Saṁhitâ* in its wider sense denotes a complete course of the *jyôtiḥśâstra,* of which *tantra* is the special branch treating of the motions of the heavenly bodies; in a narrower sense the word denotes that branch of astrology which is also called *śâkhâ.* See Dr. Thibaut's *Astronomie,* p. 64.

[3] *Phala-saṁhitâ* apparently is equivalent to *phala-grantha,* 'a work describing the effects (of celestial phenomena on the destinies of men).'

[4] *I.e.* the well-known writer on astronomy, *etc.*, Varâhamihira.

[5] *I.e.* the god Śiva, on whom the poison which he swallowed at the churning of the ocean, beyond leaving a blue mark on his throat, had no effect whatever.

[6] The second of the introductory verses of this work is: *Manv-âdi-smṛitim=âlôkya su-virichya yathâkramam । kriyatê Bhavadêvêna prâyaśchitta-nirûpaṇam* ॥

No. 2166 a Ms. of the '*Tautâtimatatilaka*, a gloss on Kumârila's *Tantravârttika*,' by the same author.— What is the exact meaning of the surname **Bâlavalabhibhujanga**, and why Bhavadêva was so called, is not apparent.

Our inscription is **not dated.** It has indeed been stated[1] that line 24, part of which is effaced, ends with *saṁvat 32*; but this by itself would be of no value, and besides it seems more probable to me that the line really ended with *saṁkhyâ 33*, a statement which I should take to refer to the number of verses of this *praśasti*. On palæographical grounds I do not hesitate to assign this record, like the preceding one, to about A.D. 1200.

The villages **Siddhala** and **Hastinibhiṭṭa** which are mentioned in the inscription, and the king or chief **Harivarmadêva,** who was a contemporary of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadêva, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôṁ[3] ôṁ namô bhagavatê Vâsudêv[â]ya[4] || [5]Gâḍhôpagûḍha-Kamalâ-kucha-kumbha-pattra-mudr-âṅkitêna[6] vapushâ pariripsamâna[ḥ] | mâ lupyatâm=abhinavâ vanamâlik=êti Vâgdêvat-ôpahasitô=stu Hariḥ śriyê vaḥ || [1*] Vâ(bâ)lyât=prabhṛity=ahar=ahar=yyad=upâsit=âsi Vâgdê-

2 vatê tad=adhunâ phalatu prasîda | vaktâsmi **Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadêva**-kula-praśasti-sûktâksharâṇi rasan-âgram=adhiśrayêthâḥ || [2*] **Sâvarṇṇasya**[7] munêr=mmahîyasi kulê yê jajñirê śrôtriyâs=têshâṁ śâsana-bhûmayô janigṛiha-[8]grâmâḥ śataṁ santu tê | **Âryâvartta**-bhuvâm=vi-[9]

3 bhûshaṇam=iha khyâtas=tu sarvv-âgrimô grâmaḥ **Siddhala** êva kêvalam=alaṅkârô=sti **Râḍhâ**-śriyaḥ || [3*] [10]Sat-pallavaḥ sthitimayô dṛiḍhava(ba)ddha-mûlaḥ śâkhâgra-lagna-mukhara-dvija-śîlita-śrîḥ | na granthilô na kuṭilaḥ saralaḥ suparvvâ sarvv-ônnataḥ sukham=iha prasasâra vaṁśaḥ || [4*]

4 [11]Tadvaṁś-ôttaṁsa-maṇêḥ[12] kalaśyadât=âpi[13] tâpana-pratimaḥ | Bhava iva vidyâ-tattva-prabhavaḥ prava(ba)bhûva **Bhavadêvaḥ** || [5*] [14]Agraj-ânujayôr=mmadhyê **Mahâdêv-Âṭṭahâsayôḥ** | sa jajñê Yajñapurushô Viriñchi-Harayôr=iva || [6*] Sa[15] śâsanaṁ **Gauḍa**-nṛipâd=avâ-

5 pa **śrî-Hastinibhiṭṭam**-abhîshṭa-bhûmi[16] | ashṭau sutân=ashṭa-Mahêśa-mûrtti-prakhyân vijajñê=tha **Rathâṅga**-mukhyân || [7*] [17]**Rathâṅgâd-Atyaṅgaḥ** samajani janânanda-jananaḥ śaś-îva kshîrôdâd=avikala-kalâ-kêli-nilayaḥ | sphurat-prajñâjyôtiḥ **Sphurita** iti nâmnâ di-

6 śi diśi prakâśô=bhût=saumya-graha iva **Vu(bu)dhas**-tasya tanayaḥ || [8*] [18]Tasmâd=abhûd=abhijan-âbhyuday-aikavîjam=avyâja-paurusha-mahâtaru-mûlakandaḥ |

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[1] See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 93, note, where Mr. Prinsep says: "the missing sentence consists of nothing more than the month (illegible) and the year "*Samvat* 32" distinctly visible."

[2] From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Originally °*dêvaya* was engraved.

[5] Metre of verses 1 and 2: Vasantatilakâ.

[6] Originally-*ṅkitô* and in the place of *na vapushâ* something else (*nava-vadhûm?*) seems to have been engraved.

[7] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[8] Originally *janigṛihaṁ* was engraved, but the sign of *anusvâra* has been apparently struck out.

[9] Read -*bhuvâṁ vi*-.

[10] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[11] Metre: Âryâ.

[12] Read -*maṇiḥ*.

[13] The *aksharas dâtâpi* are quite clear in the impressions; the three preceding *aksharas*, in which some correction has been made, look like *kalaśya* or *kêlaśya*. I can only suggest the reading *kal-âvadâtô=pi*.

[14] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[15] Metre: Upajâti.

[16] The *editio princeps* reads here *śrî-Hastinîdishṭamahîshṭabhûmi*, but the reading given by me is perfectly clear in the impressions. With the ending *bhiṭṭa* of the name *Hastinîbhiṭṭa* I would compare *hiṭṭî* in the name *Champâhiṭṭî*, which occurs in line 44 of the Manahali plate of the Pâla Madanapâla, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIX. Part I. p. 72.

[17] Metre: Śikhariṇî.

[18] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

śrî-**Âdidêva**[1] iti dêva iv=Âdimûrttir=mma[r]ty-âtmanâ bhuvanam=êtad=alaṁkarishṇuḥ || [9*] Yô[2] **Vaṅgarâja-**

7 râjyaśrî-viśrâma-sachivaḥ śuchiḥ | mahâmantrî mahâpâtram=avandhyaḥ sandhi-vigrahî || [10*] Sa[3] **Dêvakî**-garvbha(rbbha)bhavaṁ bhuvaḥ sthitau samartham=uchchaiḥpada-lavdha(bdha)-paurushaṁ | **Sarasvatî**-jânim=ajîjanat=sutaṁ jagatsu **Gôvarddhanam**=Achyut-ôpamaṁ || [11*] [4]Vîra-sthalîshu cha sabhâsu cha ti-

8 rthikânâṁ[5] dô[r]-llîlayâ cha kalayâ cha vachasvitâyâḥ | yô varddhayan vasumatîñ=cha Sarasvatîñ=cha dvêdhâ vyadhatta nija-nâmapadaṁ sad-arthaṁ || [12*] Vandyâṁ[6] **Vandyaghaṭîyasya** vra(bra)hmaṇaḥ prayatâṁ sutâṁ | **Sâṅgôkâm**=aṅganâ-ratnam=patnîṁ sa pariṇîtavân || [13*] Tasyâṁ[7] svapna-[vi]dhâ-

9 na-vô(bô)dhita-nij-ôtpâdaḥ sa dêvô Harir=jâtaḥ śrî-**Bhavadêva**-mûrttir=amutaḥ kshmâmaṇḍalî-Kaśyapât | yat-pâṇi-praṇayi dvayañ=jalajayôr=âlakshitaṁ lakshmaṇâ yasy=ântar=nnihitô=sti kaustubha iti jñâtaṁ prakâś-ôdayât || [14*] Lakshmîn=dakshiṇa-dôshṇi mantra-vibhavê viśva-

10 mbharâ-maṇḍalaṁ jihv-âgrê cha Sarasvatîṁ ripu-tanau nâg-ântakaṁ pattriṇaṁ | chakram=pâda-talê nivêśitavatâ divyan=tad=âdyam=[8]vapur=nihnôtun=nija-chihnam=êtad=amunâ nûnam=[9]viparyyâsitaṁ || [15*] [10]Yan-mantra-śakti-sachivaḥ suchiraṁ chakâra râjyaṁ sa dharmma-vijayî

11 **Harivarmmadêvaḥ** | tan-nandanê valati yasya cha daṇḍanîti-vartm-ânugâ va(ba)hala-kalpalat=êva lakshmîḥ || [16*] [11]Sat-pâtrasya mahâśayasya kamal-âdhârasya yasya kshamâm=vi(bi)bhrâṇasya guṇ-âmvu(mbu)dhêr=akalitasy=ântar=nna dîn-âtmanaḥ | maryyâdâ-mahima-prasâ-

12 da-śuchitâ-gâmbhîryya-dhairyya-sthiti-prâyâḥ prâyaśa êva vâk-patham=atikrântâḥ svadantê guṇâḥ || [17*] [12]Mahâgaurî kîrttiḥ sphuradasi-karâlâ bhuja-latâ raṇa-krîḍâ chaṇḍî ripu-rudhira-charchchâ raṇa-bhuvaḥ [|*] mahâ-lakshmîr=mmûrttiḥ prakṛiti-lali-

13 tâs=tâ gira iti prapañchaḥ śaktînâṁ yam=iha Paramêśaṁ prathayati || [18*] [13]Yad-vrâ(brâ)hma-têjasi va(ba)lîyasi manda-vîryyaḥ khadyôta-pôta-karaṇiṁ taraṇis=tanôti | uchchair=udañchati yadîya-yaśaḥ-śarîrê jâtas=Tushâra-śikharî nanu jânudaghnaḥ || [19*] [14]Vra(bra)hmâ-

14 dvaita-vidâm=udâharaṇa-bhûr=udbhûtavidy-âdbhuta-srashṭâ **Bhaṭṭa**-girâṁ gabhîrima-guṇa-pratyakshadṛiśvâ kaviḥ | Vau(bau)ddhâmbhônidhi-Kumbhasambhava-muniḥ pâshaṇḍa-vaitaṇḍika-prajñâ-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitô=yam=avanau sarvvajñalîlâyatê || [20*] [15]Siddhânta-tantra-gaṇi-

15 t-ârṇṇava-pâradṛiśvâ viśv-âdbhuta-prasavitâ phala-saṁhitâsu | karttâ svayaṁ prathayitâ cha navîna-hôrâśâstrasya yaḥ sphuṭam=abhûd=aparô **Varâhaḥ** || [21*] Yô dharmmaśâstra-padavîshu jaran-niva(ba)ndhân=andhîchakâra rachit-ôchita-satprava(ba)ndhaḥ | su-vyâkhyayâ viśada-

16 yan=muni-dharmmagâthâḥ smârttakriyâ-vishaya-saṁśayam=unmamârjja || [22*] [16]Mîmânsâyâm=upâyaḥ sa khalu virachitô yêna **Bhaṭṭ**-ôkta-nîtyâ yatra nyâyâḥ

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1 For the sake of the metre put for *śry-Âdidêva*.

2 Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

3 Metre: Vaṁśastha.

4 Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

5 This word is quite clear in the impressions.

6 Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

7 Metre of verses 14 and 15: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

8 Read *=âdyaṁ*.

9 Read *nûnaṁ*.

10 Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

11 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

12 Metre: Śikhariṇî.

13 Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

14 Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

15 Metre of verses 21 and 22: Vasantatilakâ.

16 Metre: Sragdharâ.— Read *mîmâṁsâyâm=*.

sahasram ravikiraṇa-samâ na kshamantê tamânsi[1] | kiṁ bhûmnâ sîmni sâmnâṁ sakala-kavikalâsv=âgamêshv=artha-

17 **śâstrêshv=âyu[r]vvêd-âstravêda-prabhṛitishu kṛita-dhîr=advitîyô=yam=êva || [23*] Yasya[2] khalu Vâ(bâ)lavalabhibhujaṅga iti nâma n=âdṛitaṁ kêna | mîmânsay=[3]âpi sapulakam=âkarṇṇita-varṇṇit-ôdgîtaṁ || [24*] [4]Daṁshṭrâla-dushṭa-bhujaga-vraṇa-môharâtri-pratyûsha-tûryya-nina-**

18 **dair=iva mantravarṇṇaiḥ | yô jîvayan[5] jagad=aśêsham=abhûd=apûrvva-mṛityuñjayô garala-kêlishu Nîlakaṇṭhaḥ || [25*] [6]Râḍhâyâm=ajalâsu jâṅgalapatha-grâmôpakaṇṭha-sthalî-sîmâsu śramamagna-pântha-parishat-prâṇâśaya-prîṇanaḥ | yên=âkâri jalâśayaḥ pa-**

19 **risara-snât-âbhijâtâṅganâ-vaktrâvja(bja)-prativi(bi)mva(mba)-mugdha-madhupî-śûny-âvji(bji)nîkânanaḥ || [26*] Tên=âyaṁ bhagavân bhavârṇṇava-samuttârâya Nârâyaṇaḥ śailaḥ sêtur=iva prasâdhita-dharâpîṭhaḥ pratishṭhâpitaḥ | yaḥ prâchî-vadanêndu-nîlatilakô lîlâvatans-[7]ôtpalaṁ bhû-**

20 **mêr=bhûtala-pârijâtaviṭapî saṁkalpasiddhi-pradaḥ || [27*] Têna[8] prâsâda êsha Tripurahara-giri-sparddhayâ varddhita-śrîḥ śrîmân[9] śrîvachchha(tsa)-lakshmâ Harir=iva vihitô visphurach-chakrachihnaḥ | jitvâ yô Vaijayantaṁ viyati vitanutê vaijayantî-vilâsân Kailâsê**

21 **n=âbhilâshaṁ kalayati Giriśô yasya saṁlakshya lakshmîṁ || [28*] [10]Nyavîviśad=vêśmani tatra Vishṇôḥ sa nirvbha(rbbha)raṁ garvbha(rbbha)gṛih-ântarêshu | Nârâyaṇ-Ânanta-Nṛisiṁha-mûrttîr=vvidhâtṛi-vaktrêshv=iva vêda-vidyâḥ || [29*] Êtasmai[11] Harimêdhasê vasumatîviśrânta-Vidyâdharî-vibhrânti-**

22 **n=dadhatîḥ śataṁ sa hi dadau śâraṅgaśâvî-dṛiśaḥ | dagdhasy=Ôgradṛiśâ dṛiś=aiva diśatîḥ Kâmasya saṁjîvanaṁ kâraḥ kâmi-janasya saṅgama-gṛihaṁ saṅgîta-kêli-śriyâṁ || [30*] [12]Prâsâd-âgrê sa khalu jagataḥ puṇyapaṇy-aikavîthîṁ chakrê vâpîṁ marakatamaṇi-sva-**

23 **chchha-suchchhâya-tôyâṁ | madhyê-vâri pratikṛiti-mishâd=darśayant=îva tâdṛig=Vishṇôr=ddhâm=âdbhutam=ahi-kulasy=âdhikaṁ yâ chakâsti || [31*] Vyadhita[13] vivu(bu)dha-dhâmnaḥ sîmni saṁsâra-sâraṁ sa khalu nikhila-nêtr-ânanda-nisyanda-pâtraṁ | tribhuvanajaya-khinn-Ânaṅga-viśrâ-**

24 **ma-dhâma prathita-rati-vibhâva-sthânam=udyâna-ratnaṁ || [32*] [14]Tasy=aiva priya-suhṛidâ dvij-âgrimêṇa śrî-Vâchaspati-kavinâ kṛitâ praśastiḥ | â-kalpaṁ śuchi-suradhâma-mûrtti-kîrttêr=adhyâstâṁ jaghanam=iyaṁ suva[rṇṇa]-kâñchî || [33*] .[15] . . . . [sa]ṁkh[yâ] [33 ?][16] [||*]**

25 **Praśastir=iyaṁ Vâ(bâ)lavalabhibhujaṅg-âparanâmnô Bhaṭṭa-śrî-Bhavadêvasya ||**

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[1] Read *tamâṁsi*. [2] Metre: Âryâ [3] Read *mîmâṁsay=*.
[4] Metre: Vasantatilakâ. [5] Read *jîvayañ=*,
[6] Metre of verses 26 and 27: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [7] Read °*vataṁs-*.
[8] Metre: Sragdharâ. [9] Read *śrîmâñ=*. [10] Metre: Upajâti.
[11] Metre: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [12] Metre: Mandâkrântâ. [13] Metre: Mâlinî.
[14] Metre: Praharshiṇî. [15] Here about 8 *aksharas* are entirely illegible.
[16] Of the word transcribed by [*sa*]*ṁkh*[*yâ*] the signs of *anusvâra* and *kh* seem to me quite clear in the impressions, and the word is not *saṁvat*. The figures (if they are such) at the end of the line seem to me *33* rather than *32*.

No. 18.—ALAS PLATES OF THE YUVARAJA GOVINDA II.; SAKA-SAMVAT 692.

BY DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined grant were found in the village of **Alâs** in the Kurundwâḍ State, Bombay Presidency, while an old earth-buttress was being excavated. The Senior Chief of Kurundwâḍ, to whom the village belongs, sent the plates to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who made them over to me for publication.

The **plates** are **three** in number, each measuring about 9½" long by 5¼" broad at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. The edges are fashioned slightly thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second plate. They are strung together by a circular ring of about 3¼" in diameter and of about ⅜" in thickness, passing through holes on the left sides of the plates. The ends of the ring are joined together by means of a large knob bearing a round **seal**, which measures 1⅓" in diameter and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of **Garuḍa** above a floral device, seated with the palms of his hands joined close to his breast and with his wings raised.— The engraving is fairly deep, but not well executed. The letters *ka* and *ma* have been most indifferently incised. A few other letters, again, have unusual shapes and consequently are scarcely legible.— The characters are of the southern type which came into vogue at the time of the later Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. For *kha* two forms are used, one in line 2 and the other in ll. 7 and 44. The letter *la* has been written in three different ways, in ll. 1, 9 and 32. The sign denoting the medial *ṛi* is invariably reversed in the case of *kṛi*. And lastly, the side-stroke towards the left used to signify *ê* is very often attached to the bottom, and not to the top, of the letter, *e.g.* in ll. 11 and 24.— The language is **Sanskṛit** throughout. The grant commences with the usual word *svasti*. Then follows the curt line *sa vô=vyâd=mahâ-Vishṇuḥ*, and not the verse *sa vô=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma, etc.*, which we find at the beginning of almost all the Râshṭrakûṭa grants. Then nearly 20 lines are in verse, and the rest is in prose, excluding the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end. Most of the verses are found in the Sâmâṅgaḍ plates and in the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭa grants, but all of them occur only in the **Paiṭhaṇ** charter of **Gôvinda III.**— As regards **orthography**, it is worthy of note (1) that the rules of *saṁdhi* are not unfrequently disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*. Thus the consonant is doubled in *śarvvarîshu* (l. 2), *sarvv-ârtti-nirmmathanê* (l. 20), *etc.*, but not in *gôtramaṇir=babhûva* (l. 5 f.) *etc.*; (3) that there is a tendency to the substitution of *ḷa* for *la*, *e.g.* in *sakaḷa* (l. 22) and *Mâṇâvaḷôka* (l. 27); (4) that the final *m* of a word has been twice changed to *ñ* before *cha* of the following word, in ll. 16 and 38; and (5) that the *visarga* followed by *śa*, *sha* or *sa* is almost invariably changed to that letter, *e.g.* in *bhûpaś=śaśâṁka*° (l. 2), *vash=shaṭ*° (l. 29), and *yas=sahasâ* (l. 12).

This grant was made by **Gôvindarâja (II.)**,— the son of **Kṛishṇarâja (I.)** (vv. 7, 8) of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** family (v. 3), surnamed **Śubhatuṅga** (v. 9), **Akâlavarsha** (v. 10) and *Śrîpṛithivîvallabha* (l. 20 f.). Gôvindarâja was *Yuvarâja* or crown-prince at the time (l. 24). He had the special *birudas* of **Prabhûtavarsha** and **Vikramâvalôka** (l. 23 f.). Of the time of Kṛishṇa I. we have no record, and this is the first hitherto discovered that refers itself to his reign. The charter was issued by Gôvindarâja from his camp located near the confluence of the **Kṛishṇaverṇâ** and the **Musi** (l. 26), after he had humbled the lord of **Vêṅgi**. It is dated, in words, in the **six-hundred-and-ninety-second year of the Śaka era**, on the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Âshâḍha, **Saumya** being the Jovian year (ll. 29-31), *i.e.* in **A.D. 769.** The grant was made, we are told, at the request of one **Vijayâditya**, also styled **Mâṇâvaḷôka Ratnavarsha**, son of **Dantivarman** and grandson of **Dhruvarâja** (ll. 26-28). The grantee was a Brâhmaṇa of the name of Jaggu, son of Śrîdhara and grandson of Kêśava, of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* (l. 31 f.).

Wars frequently took place between the Râshṭrakûṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas who were the kings of **Vêṅgi.** The Râdhanpur plates[1] of Gôvinda III. inform us that, in obedience to his message, the lord of Vêṅgi attended upon him as a servant. The Śirûr inscription[2] states that worship was done to Amôghavarsha I. by the ruler of Vêṅgi. Again, Kṛishṇa II. is represented to have overrun the territory of the king of Vêṅgi.[3] One record[4] also mentions that Gôvinda IV. waged war with the lord of Vêṅgi. But from these plates it appears that hostilities had sprung up between the two rival dynasties long before the time of Gôvinda III. For, Gôvindarâja, son of Kṛishṇa I., is herein represented, while he was prince royal, to have reduced the king of Vêṅgi, and this event came off as early as the Śaka year 692 which is the date of our grant.

The verses descriptive of the genealogy teach us nothing new. It, however, deserves to be noticed that our grant mentions **Dantivarman** as the name of the predecessor of Kṛishṇa I., instead of Dantidurga as we find in all the Râshṭrakûṭa records except the Sâmângaḍ plates of this king, where both the names occur. Again, the early date of our grant settles a point regarding which there is a little divergence of opinion. A copper-plate charter from Kardâ[5] dated A.D. 972 states that Dantidurga, having left no issue, was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛishṇa I. The Bagumrâ grant[6] of A.D. 867 simply says that, after the death of Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I. came to the throne. But the Baroda charter[7] of A.D. 812 omits the name of Dantidurga and asserts that Kṛishṇa I. ascended the throne by ousting a relative of his who had taken to vicious courses. Since this last charter is a much earlier record and passes over Dantidurga, it has led some to suppose that Dantidurga was the relative whom Kṛishṇa I. ousted, and that the statements of the remaining two grants mentioned above must be discredited on the ground that they bear a later date.[8] But against this it may be urged that the verse in the Bagumrâ plates which says that, after Dantidurga had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇa I. became king, is also found in the Paiṭhaṇ grant[9] of Gôvinda III. dated in A.D. 794. This surely is an earlier record than the Baroda charter of A.D. 812 just referred to. Nay further, the same verse also occurs in our grant, which was issued in the reign of Kṛishṇa I. himself. The assertion, therefore, that Dantidurga was the relative whose throne Kṛishṇa I. usurped, has no grounds to stand upon, and the omission of the name of Dantidurga in the Baroda charter may be explained away on the ground that the object of the writer was only to trace the genealogy of the reigning prince, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral.

As regards the rivers mentioned in the inscription, the **Kṛishṇaverṇâ,** it need scarcely be said, is the river Kṛishṇâ. The **Musi** has preserved its name unaltered to the present day; it is the last important feeder of the Kṛishṇâ and joins it on the confines of the modern Kistna district of the Madras Presidency. **Alaktakâ,** the name of the province (*vishaya*, l. 32), a village of which was granted, corresponds to the present **Âḷatâ,** the name of a division in the Kôlhâpur State. **Arasiyavâḍa** (l. 34), the first part of which can be recognised in **Alâs,** the place where the plates were found, is perhaps now represented by that village.

TEXT.[10]

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति [॥*] स वोव्याद्ब्रह्मावि[ष्णु]रासोद्विषत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो[11]

2 [12]ध्वस्तनयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु [।*] भूपश्शशांकवदवाप्त-[13]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71.
[2] *Ibid*. Vol. XII. p. 219.
[3] *Ibid*. Vol. XX. p. 103.
[4] *Ibid*. p. 270.
[5] *Ibid*. Vol. XII. p. 267.
[6] *Ibid*. p. 187.
[7] *Ibid*. p. 162.
[8] See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 391.
[9] *Above*, Vol. III. p. 106.
[10] From the original plates.
[11] Read °विष्णुः ॥ आसीद्द्विष°.
[12] Read ध्वस्तिं नय°.
[13] In other Râshṭrakûṭa grants the reading is भूप: शुचिर्विधुरिवाप्त°.

3 दिगन्तकीर्त्तिः[1] गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः [॥ १*] तस्यात्म-
4 [जो][2] जगति विश्रुतदीप्तकीर्त्तिः[3] आर्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारि[4] [।*]
5 भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकक्कराज इति गोत्रम-
6 णिर्ब्बभूव । [२*] तस्य प्र[भि]न्नकरटच्युत[दा]नदन्तिदन्तप्रहा-
7 र[रु]चिरोल्लिखितांसपीठ[:*] । क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपित[श]त्रुरभू-
8 त्तनूजः स[द्रा]ष्ट्रकूटक[नका]द्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ३*] तस्योपार्ज्जितयशस(:)-
9 स्तनय[श्च]तुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याः [।*] भो[क्ता] भुवश्शत[क्र]तुसदृश[:*] श्री-
10 [5]दद्रिवर्म्माभूत् । [४*] का[ञ्ची]शकेरळनराधिपचोळपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रट[वि]-
11 भेदविधा[न]दक्षं [।*] कर्न्नाटकं[6] बलंमनन्तमजेय[म]न्यैः[7] भृत्यैः कि-
12 य[द्भि]रपि यस्सह[सा] जिगाय । [५*] भ्रूविभंगमगृहितनिशातशस्त्रं[8]

Second Plate; First Side.

13 मश्रात[म]प्रतिहिताज्ञ[मं]पेतयत्नं[9] [।*] [यो] वल्लभं सपदि दण्ड[बले]न
14 जित्टा[10] राजाधिराजपर[मे]श्वरतामवाप [॥ ६*] तस्मि[न्दि]वं प्रयाते
वल्लभराजे षि-[11]
15 तौ प्रजापालः [।*] श्रीकक्कर[ा*]ज[सू]नुर्म्महीपतिं[12] कृष्णराजोभूत[13] ॥ [७*]
यस्य स्वभुज-
16 पराक्रमनिश्शेषोत्सारितारिदिक्चक्रः[14] [।*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं च[रि]त[15] श्रीकृष्णस्य[16] ।
[८*] शु-
17 भतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरे[णू]द्ध्वंरुद्धरविकिरणं ॥ ग्रीष्मेपि[17] नभो [निखि]-
18 ल[18] प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं [॥ ९*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु
19 य[थेष्ट]चेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [।*] तत्क्षणमकाल-
20 व[र्षो] वर्षति सर्व्वार्त्तिनिर्म्मथने । [१०*] तस्याकालवर्ष[19] श्रीप्रिथि-
21 वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य(।) प्रिया-
22 [त्म]जः[20] सकळभुवनाभिष्टुतयौवरांज्याभिषेकपवित्रीकृतोत्तमां-[21]
23 गः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः प्रभूतवर्षविक्रमा-
24 वलोकश्रीगोविन्दराजो युवराजः[22] वेंगिमण्डलोपर्य्या-

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1 Read °कीर्त्तिर्गोविन्द°.
2 The letter जो is very badly engraved.
3 Read °कीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्ति°.
4 Read °धारी.
5 Read °दन्ति°.
6 Read कर्णाटकं बलम्°.
7 Read °म्यैर्भृत्यैः.
8 Read °गृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रात°.
9 Read °मपेत°.
10 Read जित्वा.
11 Read क्षितौ.
12 Read °पतिः.
13 Read °भूत्.
14 Read °दिक्चक्रं.
15 Read °कृष्णं चरितं.
16 Read श्रीकृष्णराजस्य.
17 Read ग्रीष्मेपि.
18 Read निखिलं.
19 Read °वर्षश्रीपृथि°.
20 The letter *m* in *tma* s unfinished and stands at an unusual distance from the other component of the group.
21 Read °यौवराज्या°.
22 Read युवराजो.

Alas Plates of the Yuvaraja Govinda II.—Saka-Samvat 692.

i.

ii a.

E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·67 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii b.

iii.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

25 यातविजयस्कन्धावारे कोशदण्डात्मभूमिसमर्पणे-

26 नानते वेंगीशे कृष्णवेर्ण्णामु[सो]संगमे ध्रुवराज-

27 पौत्रेण दन्ति[व]र्म्मपुत्रेण माणावर्ल्लोकरणवर्षश्रीविज-

28 यादित्येनाभ्यर्थितो [1]विक्रमावल्लोकस्सर्व्वानाम-

29 न्नयति स्म[2] [।*] विदित[म]स्तु [3]वष्षट्छते ह्रिनवत्यधिके शक-

30 वर्षे सौम्यसंव[त्स]रे[4] आषाढशुक्लपक्षे सप्त-

31 म्यां भारद्वाजगोत्राय केशवपौत्राय श्रीधरपुत्राय

32 जम्गुनाम्ने ब्राह्मणाय चलक्तकाविषये हरिय-

33 गिरेर्द्दक्षिणदिग्भागे प्रसादिनीतटे [5]उत्तरद्र-[6]

Third Plate.

34 ना[मा चर]सियवाडग्राम[वाने]न सह सभोगो दत्तः [।*]

35 [पूर्व्व]स्यां दिशि [7]परचुरगेनामग्रामः दक्षिणस्यां नीवीवा-

36 ड[ब्रा]ह्मणग्रामः पश्चिमस्यां मज्झिमग्रामः उत्तरस्यां प-

37 र्व्वत एव [।*] इति चतुराघाटशुद्धः [।*] एवं विदित्वास्मद्वंश्यैर-

38 न्यैश्च स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयः [।*] उक्तञ्च

39 भ[ग]वता वेदव्यासेन (वेद)व्यासेन । बहु[भि]र्व्वसुधा

40 दत्ता (।) राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः[8]

41 तस्य तस्य तदा पलं[9] । [११*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति

42 भूमदः[10] [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च (।) तान्येव नर[क][11] वसेत् ॥
[१२*]

43 विन्ध्याटविष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] [कृष्णा]ह[यो] हि

44 जायन्ते [12]ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः [॥ १३*] श्रीसेनेन लिखितमिदं · ति[13] [॥*]

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[1] This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in l. 23-24.

[2] The letters ति स्म are omitted in the text, but supplied at the foot of the plate; this omission has been indicated by a cross after य.

[3] First वो was engraved, and then it was corrected into व by erasure.

[4] Here and in the following the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed.

[5] I am not certain of the reading of the text from उत्तरद्र to सह in the next line.

[6] After उ two letters had originally been engraved, but were afterwards erased. For these the three letters चरद्र are to be substituted as is indicated by the cross.

[7] परचुरगे° is also possible.

[8] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[9] Read फलं.

[10] Read भूमिदः.

[11] Read नरके.

[12] Read ब्रह्म°.

[13] The letter before ति looks like भो, which perhaps is a mistake for इ.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail ! May the great **Vishṇu** protect you !

(Verse 1.) There was a king named **Gôvindarâja (I.)**, a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached the ends of the quarters, (*and*) who, raising his scimitar (*and*) facing (*them*), destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the moon, whose lustre spreads to the ends of the quarters, raising the tip of her disc (*above the horizon*), (*and transmitting her rays*) straight forward, dispels darkness at night.

(V. 2.) His son, known as the glorious **Kakkarâja (I.)**, a king whose brilliant fame was heard of throughout the world, who relieved the sufferings of the distressed, who possessed the spirit and valour of Hari,[1] who rivalled (Indra) the king of heaven, (*and*) who was grateful (*for services rendered*), became a jewel of (*his*) race.

(V. 3.) His son, king **Indrarâja (II).**, whose expansive shoulders were full of graceful scratches consequent upon the strokes of the tusks of (*hostile*) elephants from whose cleft temples ichor trickled down,[2] (*and*) who destroyed (*all his*) enemies on earth, became, as it were, the golden mountain (Mêru) of the excellent **Râshṭrakûṭas.**

(V. 4.) The son of him who had acquired fame, the glorious **Dantivarman (II.)**, who resembled Indra, enjoyed the earth whose garland is the circle of the four oceans.

(V. 5.) With a handful of followers he suddenly vanquished the countless forces of **Karṇâṭaka**, which were invincible to others, (*and*) which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lord of **Kâñchî**, the king of **Kêraḷa**, the **Chôḷa**, the **Pâṇḍya**, **Śrîharsha** and **Vajraṭa.**

(V. 6.) Without knitting his brow, without using any sharp weapon, without (*anybody's*) knowledge, without giving orders, without effort, he suddenly conquered **Vallabha** by the (*mere*) force of (*his*) royal sceptre (*i.e.* majesty) and attained to the state of 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'[3]

(V. 7.) When that **Vallabharâja** had gone to heaven, king **Kṛishṇarâja (I.)**, the son of the glorious **Kakkarâja (I.)**, became the protector of (*his*) subjects on earth.

(V. 8.) The career of that glorious **Kṛishṇarâja (I.)**, during which the multitude of enemies in (*all*) directions was completely driven away by the prowess of his arms, was spotless like that of Kṛishṇa.

(V. 9.) The whole sky, wherein the rays of the sun above were obstructed by the dust raised by the lofty steeds of **Śubhatuṅga** (Kṛishṇarâja I.), looked clearly like (*the sky in*) the rainy season, though it was summer.

(V. 10.) **Akâlavarsha** (*i.e.* 'the untimely rainer,' *viz.* Kṛishṇarâja I.) instantly rains (*i.e.* fulfills) unceasingly the desired objects of the miserable and the helpless, and of (*his*) favourites, in any way he likes, so as to remove all (*their*) distress.

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[1] The second line of this verse is one long compound which we should split up, as Dr. Bühler has done, into two parts, either of which should be taken as an attribute of Kakkarâja. But Dr. Bühler's rendering of the second part of the line is based on the etymological sense of the words *vikrama* and *dhâman*, and is therefore not likely to be the correct one.

[2] Both Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet connect *prabhinna-karaṭa-chyuta-dâna* with *ruchira*, and *danti-danta-prahâra* with *ullikhita;* but this course is objectionable because the word *dantin* occurring after *dâna* shows the preceding expression to be a *Bahuvrîhi* compound and an attribute of *dantin*.

[3] Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet adopt *sabhrûvibhaṅgam* for their Kâvî and Sâmângaḍ inscriptions respectively. Further, these plates read *daṇḍalakêna* instead of *daṇḍabalêna*, the reading of our grant, which is identical with that of the Paiṭhaṇ plates. This is a very knotty verse. First, it is very difficult to determine whether *abhrûvibhaṅgam etc.* are to be taken as adjectives or adverbs. Dr. Bühler supposes all of them to be adjectives except *sabhrûvibhaṅgam*. Dr. Fleet takes them all to be adverbs. This mode of interpretation is, I think, the correct one. Secondly, the meaning of *daṇḍabalêna* is not clear.

(L. 20.) Of this **Akâlavarsha,** the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara Bhaṭṭâraka,*— the favourite son, **Prabhûtavarsha Vikramâvalôka,** the glorious **Gôvindarâja (II.),** the heir-apparent, whose head was sanctified at (*his*) anointment as heir-apparent, which was hailed with delight by the whole world, (*and*) who had acquired the five great sounds,— from (*the camp of*) the victorious army that invaded the **Vêṅgi-maṇḍala,** when the lord of **Vêṅgi** was humbled by the cession of (*his*) treasury, (*his*) forces, and his own country, at the confluence of the **Kṛishṇaverṇâ** and the **Musi,**— being requested by **Mâṇâvaḷôka Ratnavarsha,** the glorious **Vijayâditya,** son of **Dantivarman** (*and*) grandson of **Dhruvarâja,**— (*this*) **Vikramâvaḷôka** notifies to all:—

(L. 29.) "Be it known to you (*that*), **in the Śaka year six-hundred increased by ninety-two,** in the (*cyclic*) year **Saumya,** in the bright half of Âshâḍha, on the seventh *tithi*, (*I*) have granted, with (*all*) enjoyments (*bhôga*), (the village) named **Uttarai,**— (*situated*) on the bank of the **Prasâdinî** (*river*), on the southern side of the **Hariyagiri** (*hill*), in the **Alaktakâ-vishaya,** together with the groves of trees (*? vâna*)[1] of the village of **Arasiyavâḍa,**— to a Brâhmaṇa of the name of Jaggu, of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, son of Śrîdhara (*and*) grandson of Kêśava.

(L. 35.) "(*The village is*) thus defined by the four boundaries:— To the east (*is*) the village named **Parachurage**; to the south the Brâhmaṇa village of **Nivivâḍa**; to the west the village of **Majjhima**; to the north the mountain only.

(L. 37.) "Knowing this, (*the village*) should be preserved by our descendants and others just as they would their own grants.

(L. 38.) "And it has been said by the holy **Vyâsa,** the compiler of the Vêdas:—

[Here follow three of the customary verses.]

(L. 44.) "This has been written by **Śrîsêna.**"

No. 19.— BELATURU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAJENDRADEVA; SAKA-SAMVAT 979.

By Rev. F. Kittel, Ph.D.; Tübingen.

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying in the field called Aḍḍakaṭṭe-hola on the eastern side of the village of **Beḷatûru** in the Heggaḍadêvankôṭe tâluka of the Mysore district. It has been published before by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV., Hg. 18. I re-edit it from inked estampages prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri and transmitted to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

The alphabet and language of the inscription are **Kannaḍa.** There are 23 verses in various metres, and short passages of prose in lines 33 f. and 36. Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following note. "Of the many metres used in the inscription two are particularly interesting, *viz.* **Akkaraṁ** and **Lalitavṛittaṁ.** On examination, these two are found to correspond to the Piriyakkara and Lalitapada which are described, respectively, in verses 302 and 233 of Nâgavarma's *Canarese Prosody*. Of the first it may be remarked that either the description given in the *Prosody* is transgressed in the inscription, or else the verse describing it has been misinterpreted; for while, according to Dr. Kittel's translation, verse 302 says that in Piriyakkara there ought to be, in the first line, one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra*; in the second line, one *aja*, four *vishṇus*, one *aja* (again) in the sixth place, and then a *rudra*; and that in the third and fourth lines the same should be repeated as in lines 1 and 2,— the Akkara of the inscription has one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra* throughout (*i.e.* in all the four feet). It is difficult to

[1] [Or correct *grâmagrâsêna* and compare above, Vol. V. p. 69, note 2.—E. H.]

understand how Malla, who calls himself "the friend of eminent poets," could deviate from the rule laid down by Nâgavarma. Accordingly verse 302 of the *Prosody* will have to be interpreted differently. I would translate it thus: "*Ajagaṇa* comes in the beginning without fail; then (come) five *gaṇas* which are *vishṇu*; in the place called the end (*i.e.* at the end), the *rudragaṇa* will remain permanently everywhere (*i.e.* in all the feet); in the foot counted the second,— if in the sixth (place) the *ajagaṇa* occurs in intimate connection, *at the choice of the author,*— we (then) have the wonderful (*i.e.* rarely used metre) Piriyakkara, O moon-faced one!" Thus we see that, the occurrence of the *ajagaṇa* in the sixth place being left to the option of the author, Malla adopted the *vishṇugaṇa* throughout. As regards Lalitavṛitta, it may be noticed that the name given to it by Dr. Kittel's manuscripts, *viz.* Lalitapada, over verse 233 of the *Prosody*, is rather misleading. The name occurs as Lalitavṛitta in the very verse which describes it, as well as in the subjoined inscription. If this name is not given to the metre, it is likely to be confounded with other Sanskṛit metres of the same name. It may be noted also that, according to a few manuscripts, Nâgavarma claims to have been the inventor of these two metres; see Dr. Kittel's Introduction to Nâgavarma's *Canarese Prosody*, p. xix." To this I would add that there is one verse in the Piriyakkara metre in Argaḷadêva's *Chandraprabhapurâṇa* (1189 A.D.), âśvâsa iv. v. 18.[1] Other Piriyakkaras occur in the *Pampabhârata* edited by Mr. Rice, pp. 112, 116, 153, 343, and Akkaras on pp. 331, 343.

Verse 1 of the inscription contains the **date,**— a specified week-day and *tithi* in the Śaka year 979 (in words), the cyclic year Hêmalambin, and the sixth year of the reign of the **Chôḷa** king **Râjêndradêva.** Professor Kielhorn has calculated the details of the date and found that it corresponds to **Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.**[2] A reference to Râjêndradêva's predecessor **Râjâdhirâja** is found in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-Permâḍi-Gâvuṇḍa, a surname of Raviga of Nugunâḍu (v. 7), which is derived from **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa,** one of the names of Râjâdhirâja.[3] The same verse of the inscription mentions, among other kings, **Siḷâmêgha** who seems to be identical with one of the two Ceylon kings named Vîra-Śalâmêgaṉ. The first of them was killed by Râjâdhirâja,[4] and the second by Râjêndradêva.[5]

Two families of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras) (vv. 6, 8, 9 and 22) are named in the inscription, *viz.* the **Avacha family of Nugunâḍu** (vv. 2, 6, 17, 19 and 22) and the **Kuṟuvanda family of Pervayal in Navalenâḍu** (vv. 13 and 17). To the first one belonged **Raviga** (v. 4), who was raised by the **Chôḷa** king to the rank of superintendent of a province (v. 8). Raviga's principal seat became **Beḷatûru** (v. 11), and he married Ponnakka, the daughter of the headman of **Nâlgôḍu in Eḍenâḍu** (v. 10), whose name is not mentioned. Raviga's daughter **Dêkabbe** was given in marriage to **Êcha** of the Kuṟuvanda family (v. 13). When the king killed Êcha at **Talekâḍu** (v. 14), his widow committed herself to the flames (vv. 15 to 20). Before her end she granted to Śiva a garden for a perpetual lamp, and a paddy-field for oblations (v. 18 f. and l. 33 f.). Dêkabbe's father, Raviga, set up the stone which bears the inscription, as a memorial of his daughter (v. 22).

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, **Beḷatûru** (v. 11) is identical with the village where the inscription exists. **Talekâḍu** (v. 14) is the old capital of the Western Gaṅgas,[6] at which the Chôḷa king seems to have been staying at the time of the inscription. **Nugunâḍu** is, perhaps, named after the river Nugu (also called Bhṛigu), a tributary of the

[1] In my manuscript the verse reads thus:—
Toṟeyal=end=irdda râjyaman enitirddum maṟeyal=end=idirdda bandhu-samûhamam
neṟapal=end=irdda sat-tavô-vṛittiyam maṟad=atirâga-vihvaḷateyindam |
toṟeyade maṟeyade neṟeyad=âyushyam paṟe paḍuvâgaḷe berchchid-ante
maṟaguva maruḷamg=ârayvand=î bhavam maṟu-bhavam nâḍeyum vyarttham alte ||

[2] Above, p. 23, No. 36.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 51.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 53 and 56.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 59 and 63.

[6] See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 299 and note 2.

Kabbani, in the Nañjangûḍ tâluka of the Mysore district. Both Nugunâḍu and **Navalenâḍu** are mentioned in a Western Gaṅga record.[1]

This is perhaps the first inscription that has been discovered, concerning **the self-immolation of a Śûdra's wife after her husband's death.** This self-immolation is not identical with the so-called suttee (*satî*) of Brâhmaṇical usage, according to which a wife, on being widowed, burned herself with the corpse of her deceased husband upon the funeral pile. In this instance there is no pyre (*chitâ, chiti, chityâ*, the *tadbhava*-form of which is *sidige* in Kannaḍa), but a *koṇḍa* (*tadbhava* of the Sanskṛit *kuṇḍa*), a hole in the ground for any fire, especially one for the fire of a burnt oblation.

The Śûdras at the time of the present inscription, worshippers of Śiva, probably in most instances disposed of their dead by cremation (instead of which the Liṅgavantas introduced burying), and thus the body of Êcha may have been burned at Talekâḍu. That *sahagamana* was customary among Śûdras, does not follow from the inscription ; the contrary seems to be proved, as the parents and relations of Dêkabbe strongly oppose her burning herself ; she herself however (who may have been influenced at the time somehow by Brâhmaṇical notions), seeks to justify her act by pointing out the dishonour that would be brought upon the families by her surviving as a widow.

The *koṇḍa* into which Dêkabbe threw herself was obviously neither at Talekâḍu nor at Pervayal, but at her native place Beḷatûru (where she had gone in the absence of her husband and heard the report of his death), near the house of her own people, and had been filled with kindled charcoal, *etc.*, for presenting funeral oblations.

Malla, the poet who composed the inscription, uses two epithets of a peculiar kind regarding Raviga, the father of Dêkabbe, who had the monument erected, *viz.* " a lion to the angry " and " powerful over the envious " (v. 22); and at the end (l. 36) the engraver quotes the very same two epithets. Malla also calls himself " a discus to those among Brâhmaṇas who fret " (v. 23). It is highly probable that these epithets are directed against Brâhmaṇas who might find fault with the erection of a monument that praised a Śûdra widow as, so to say, a suttee.

TEXT.[2]

1 [Ôṁ][3] [||*] Svasti[4] śrî-**Chôḷa**-râjaṁ sakaḷa-vasudheyaṁ koṇḍu **Râjêndradêva[ṁ]** [5]d[ṛi]st-âri-vrâta-ghâtaṁ negaḷe **barisam=âṛ=âge** mattaṁ **Sak-âbdaṁ** vi[stâ]-

2 ra[ṁ*] **tombhat-êḷ=ombhatum**=ene barisaṁ **Hêmaḷambi** prasiddhaṁ svastaṁ mâsaṁ gadaṁ **Kâ[r*]ttikam=asi[ta]-dinaṁ dvâdasi Sômavâraṁ | [1*]** Kandaṁ | Svasti śrîma-

3 tu sakaḷa-jaga-[stu]tar=**Avach-âgragaṇyar**=ûrjita-puṇyar[6] vistâra-châru-vîra-rasa-stitar=[7]iṛiv=îva [kâ]va **Nugunâḍ=adhipar** | [2*] Enipa kula[da]lli puṭṭi[da]-

4 n=anupaman=**Eṛeyaṁgan**=avana nija-sutan=**Êchaṁ** Manu-nibhan=avaṁge puṭṭida [8]tanûbhavaṁ **Javani[ya][r*]mman**=aṛiviṁg=ârmmaṁ | [3*] Ant=â Javanayyaṁgaṁ

5 kântâjana-tilakam=enipa **Jâkabbegam**=olpan=taḷeye puṭṭidaṁ ripu-santâna-nagêndra-viḷaya-pa[v]igaṁ **Raviga**ṁ | [4*] Ravigaṁ puṭṭidaḍ=oḍan=udbhava-

6 m-âyt=aṛiv=aṛivin=oḍane puṭṭiduḍ=âyaṁ sa[va]-sand=âyadoḍaṁ saṁbhavam-âdudu châgam=intuṭ=a[nya]roḷ=uṁṭê | [5*] Vṛittaṁ | Kuḍiyara[8] vallabhaṁ ku-

[1] See page 69 above.
[2] From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.
[3] Expressed by a symbol.
[4] Metre: Sragdhare.
[5] Read *dṛipt-*.
[6] The *r* of *-puṇyar* is written above the line.
[7] Read *-sthitar=*.
[8] Metre: Champakamâle.

7 ḍiyar=âbharaṇaṁ **Nugunâḍa** Râman=endaḍe Kalikâla-Karṇnana vinôdada châgada bîrad=ârppan=î gaḍina nikṛishṭa-nirgguṇa-nikṛitya-nirâchara-[nô]ṭavîṭaraṁ[1] kaḍu-

8 jaḍar=entu pôliparo dhanyan=enipp=**Avach-âgraganyana**[2] | [6*] Akkaraṁ | **Chôḷa Pallava Pâṇḍya Siḷ[â]m[ê]gha Kêraḷa Sôraṭar=Gôva**[3] **Bhôja Lâḷa Gajapati Hayapati**

9 **Narapatiy**=enipa mahîpâḷar=âstânadal[4] kêḷa tannane naṭa-vandi-mâgadhar[5] kai-koṇḍ[u] pogaḷalke negaḷe ballaṁ mêḷa-mâṇikav=e-

10 nipa **Jayaṁgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-Permmâḍi-Gâvuṇḍaṁ** takkaṁ | [7*] Kandaṁ | Pallava-sattige saṁkaṁ jhallaḷi jayamaṁgaḷaṁgaḷa[ṁ] **Chôḷa**-mahîvallabhan=ittaḍe

11 kuḍiyara vallabhan=uṟe maṇḍaḷika-padamaṁ paḍedaṁ | [8*] Kaḍala kaḍe-varam= Aj-âṇḍada kuḍi-varam=âsâ-gajêndrad=antu varaṁ taḷt=o-

12 ḍan=[o]ḍane parvv[i] baḷedudu kuḍiyara vallabhana kî[r*]tti-late kômaḷadiṁ | [9*] Manu-nibhan=**Edenâḍ**-adhipati vineya-nidhi[ṁ sa]-

13 tya-vâkya **Nâlgôḍina** mukhyana kula-vadhu **Bûtabbege** janiyisi [6]Kâlikâla-Sîte-vesaraṁ paḍedaḷ | [10*] Vanitâ-rannaṁ **Ponnakkana**-

14 **n**=**aḷ**tiye maduve-goṇḍu **Beḷatûr**-adhipaṁ Manu-nibhan=ene negaḷv=îtana vanitege bhû-vanitey-oḷage peṟa[r=e]ṇey=oḷarê | [11*] Vṛi-

15 tta[ṁ] | [7]Nirupama-sîḷadiṁ[8] guṇadin=uttama-dânadin=âtma-bhaktiyiṁ Gi[risute] Raṁbe Mînaki[9] Sarasvati Rugmiṇi Satyabhâmeyoḷ dore-

16 y=enal=allad=î gaḍina dushṭa-kanishṭa-duśîḷa-durgguṇ-âdhareyaran=entu pôliparo nirmmaḷa-chittada Ponnakabbeyaṁ | [12*] Akkaraṁ | Châr[u]-

17 châritre naya-vinay-âkare gôtra-pavitre [10][ś]usîḷa-yukte nârijana-rannam=enipa Ponnabbegaṁ Ravigaṁgaṁ puṭṭida **Dêkabbeya[ṁ]**

18 [vî*]raṁ **Navalenâḍ**-adhipati **Kuṟuvanda-gulada** **Pervvayal-âtan=Êchaṁg=iye** vârij-ânane [11]vinâya-chintâmaṇi pati-hitey=oḍa-gû-

19 ḍi sukhadin=iḷdu | [13*] Kandaṁ | Jeṭṭigan=ene negaḷ=ahita-gharaṭṭaṁ sukham= iḷdu tanna dâyigaraṁ taḷt=oṭṭajiyin=iṟidaḍ=avanaṁ netta-

20 ne **Talekâḍal**=uydu kondaṁ narapaṁ | [14*] Kalikâla-Vêḷan=enisida kali-châgiyan=iṟidu kondar=eṁbudu mâtaṁ lalit-âṁgi kê[ḷdu] Ravi-

21 gana kula-dîpaki sâyal=endu konḍake naḍedaḷ | [15*] Tandeyum=abbeyum= oḍaneya bandugaḷuṁ bandu magaḷe sâyade mâṇ=nîn=e-

22 (ne)nd=ellaṁ kâl-vididaḍ=anindite Dêkabbe munidu baggasi nuḍidaḷ | [16*] **Nugunâḍ**-adhipati Ravigana magaḷ=âgiyum=ante **Navale**-

23 **nâḍ**-adhipatig=âṁ negaḷe satiy=âgi bâḷp[u]du bagedappene koṭṭa konḍa mane yasam= aḷiyal | [17*] Endu parichchhêdisi nayadindaṁ dêvarge

24 tôṁṭa-khaṇḍada maṇṇaṁ nandâ-dîvigeg=itt=aravind-ânane sale nivêdyak=end=anu-nayadiṁ | [18*] Maḍida sale gôli-gaḷd[e]ya paḍuvaṇa kaḍeya-

25 lli teṁkal=ay-goḷa-bedeyaṁ kaḍugû[r]ttu[12] koṭṭu **Nugunâḍ**=[o]ḍeyana kula-putre pêlchi[13] mattaṁ mattaṁ | [19*] Vṛittaṁ | Nered=ellaṁ[14] bêḍa mâṇ=enda-

26 ḍe nuḍiyadiriṁ pôgiv=âṁ mâṇen=end=âdaradindaṁ bhûmi poṁ-puṭṭage pasu dhanamaṁ dânamaṁ nîḍutuṁ dêvara dêvaṁg=aḷti-

27 yiṁ kay-mugid=uriv=uriyaṁ pokku Dêkabbe tannaṁ dharey=ellaṁ mechchi nichchaṁ [po]gaḷe negaḷutuṁ dêva-lôk[a]kke vôdaḷ | [20*] Lalitavṛittaṁ |

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[1] *Nôṭavîṭaraṁ* is a compound of *nôṭa* and *mîṭaraṁ*, and represents *nôṭakke mîṭaraṁ*.
[2] Read °*gaṇyanu*.
[3] Or =*Gâvu*?
[4] Read =*âsthânadal*.
[5] The *r* of *-mâgadhar* is written above the line.
[6] Read *Kalikâla-*.
[7] The *ma* of *nirupama-* is written above the line.
[8] Metre: Champakamâle.
[9] Read *Mênake*.
[10] Read *suśîla-*.
[11] Read *vinaya-*.
[12] *Kaḍugûrttu* is a compound of *kaḍu* and *kûrttu*, 'having greatly desired.'
[13] Read *pêḷdu*.
[14] Metre: Mahâsragdhare.

Belaturu

E. HULTZSCH.

28 Śrî-ramaṇi Gauri Sachi Dhâriṇiya putri Rati Bhû-ramaṇiy=andada sarûpav-âṟiv-[1]oḷp-andâre-jaya-dhâre jasa-dhâre naya-dhâ-

29 r[e] bhaya-hâre pati-bhakte dḥrita-śaktey=ene saṁnd=[î][3] vîra-nidhiyaṁ chalada vâri-nidhiyaṁ guṇada châru-nidhiyaṁ n[e]gaḷda Dêkaleya-

30 n=int=î nârijana-rannamaṁn=[2]ad=âro maṟevar [4]śakaḷa-dhâriṇiyoḷ=intu vara-kânte-dorey=âva[ḷ] | [21*] Akkara[ṁ] | Paṇḍit-âśrayaṁ Nug[u]nâ-

31 ḍa Râghavaṁ munivara siṁga mâchakadâvaḷaṁ chaṇḍa-vikramaṁ kuḍiyara vallabhaṁ Kalikâla-Karṇna machchariparvara gaṇḍaṁ vandi-

32 chintâma[ṇi*] Śiva-pâda-śêkharaṁ nija-suteg=anurâgadiṁ maṇḍalakk=ellaṁ paḍi[cha]ndam=âge śilâ-staṁ[bha]ṁ śâsanam=âge naṭṭaṁ || [22*] ◎

33 Śrî Dêkabbe Mahâdêva[r*]gge biṭṭa pûṁ-bolaṁ tôṁṭa-khaṇḍamumaṁ Nîrmmaṇamaḷti-keṟeya t[eṁ]kaṇa kaḍeyal aydu-koḷagaṁ gaḷdeyu-

34 maṁ î vaṁśada[l*] puṭṭidavar kâ[ḍa]ḷisuge[5] salisad[a]var nara[ka]-bhâjanar=appar | Kandaṁ | Maṟupara chakraṁ dvijaroḷ kaṟe-maṟ[e]y-i-

35 ll=enipa kuṟipin=âdityaṁ sand=aṟikeyavagâda[6] **Mallaṁ** jaṟuchada kavirâja-bândhavaṁ baredan=idaṁ | [23*] ◎

36 Kaṇḍarisidaṁ[7] munichara-[8]siṁg-âchâriyuṁ machchariparа-gaṇḍ-âchâriyu[ṁ ||*]

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ. (Verse 1.) Hail! When the glorious **Chôḷa** king had taken possession of the whole earth,— (*he*) **Râjêndradêva**, the slayer of crowds of proud enemies,— (*and*) was renowned, **when six years** (*of his reign*) **had passed**, and when one said: "**the Śaka year** in (*its*) extent (*is*) **ninety-seven and nine**," (*and when*) the (*cyclic*) year (*was*) the well-known **Hêmaḷambi**, the auspicious month indeed **Kârttika**, (*and*) **the day of the dark** (*half*) **the twelfth** (*tithi*), a **Monday**,[9]—

(V. 2.) Hail! Glorious, praised by the whole world, the best of the **Avachas**, rich in virtue, firm in extensive and beautiful heroism, piercing (*enemies*), giving (*alms*), (*and*) protecting (*the subjects*)— (*such were*) the chiefs of **Nugunâḍu**.

(V. 3.) In the said family the matchless **Eṟeyaṅga** was born; his own son (*was*) **Êcha**, resembling Manu; the son born to him (*was*) **Javaniyarma**,[10] excelling in knowledge.

(V. 4.) Now to that Javanayya and to **Jâkabbe** who was called an ornament of women, so that they obtained (*great*) good (*by his birth*), was born **Raviga**,[11] (*who resembled*) a thunderbolt of destruction to the great mountains—hostile races.

(V. 5.) When Raviga was born, knowledge was produced along (*with him*); along with knowledge (*proper*) income (*or revenue*) was born; along with proper income liberality was generated: does so much exist among other people?

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[1] Read *-aṟiv-*.

[2] Cancel the *anusvâra*.

[3] Read *sand=î*.

[4] Read *sakala-*.

[5] *Kâdaḷisuge* is *kâdu* and *aḷisuge*, this *aḷisuge* being in meaning equal to *aḷavaḍisuge*; see *aḷavaḍisu* under *aḷa*, 2, in my Dictionary.

[6] Read *=aṟikeyavan=âda*.

[7] Regarding the verb *kaṇḍarisu* (which appears also as *khaṇḍarisu*), 'to engrave,' it may be remarked that it is a *tadbhava*-form of *khaṇḍisu*, 'to cut,' from the Sanskṛit *khaṇḍana*, 'cutting,' which noun appears also in the *tadbhava*-form of *khaṇḍaraṇe*, 'engraving,' as Dr. Hultzsch informs me. Compare the corresponding formation of *chêtarisu* and *chêtaraṇe* from *chêtana* (see my Dictionary). For the use of *khaṇḍarisu*, with the aspirated *kh*, see above, Vol. V. p. 214, p. 231, notes 8 and 13; and for *khaṇḍaraṇe* see p. 234, note 7.

[8] Read *munivara-*.

[9] This date must be connected with verse 15.

[10] Or Javanayya, v. 4. Javaniyarma stands for Javaniyaṟma, "the able or strong Javani" (=Javaniyâṟma). In *aṟiviṁg=ârmmaṁ* the *rêpha* represents an *ṟ* (i.e. *dṟmmam*), as it does also in *drppan* (i.e. *dṟppan*) in v. 6.

[11] He was surnamed "the Râma (or Râghava) of Nugunâḍu;" vv. 6 and 22.

(V. 6.) When one says: "the **Râma** of **Nugunâḍu,** the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras), (*and*) the ornament of Kuḍiyas," (*it refers to*) one who in (*this*) age of sin is fully equal in happiness, liberality (*and*) heroism to **Karṇa**: how can foolish people compare the base, the bad, the dishonest, the lawless, the men of a mere appearance of greatness at the present period, with the best one of the **Avachas,** who is called a blessed man?

(V. 7.) So that the kings who were called **Chôḷa, Pallava, Pâṇḍya, Siḷâmêgha, Kêraḷa, Sôraṭa, Gôva, Bhôja, Lâḷa, Gajapati, Hayapati, Narapati,** heard (*of it*) in (*their*) courts, (*and*) so that actors, bards (*and*) minstrels fixed their thoughts on him and were zealously active to praise (*him*),— (*so*) great was **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa-Permâḍi-Gâvuṇḍa,**[1] who was a ruby of assemblies, (*he*) the very worthy man.

(V. 8.) When the **Chôḷa** king[2] presented (*him*) with a pearl umbrella, a conch, cymbals (*and*) a royal elephant, (*he*) the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras) got indeed the rank of a *Maṇḍaḷika* *i.e.* of a superintendent of a province.)

(V. 9.) To the further shore of the sea, to the end of the world, (*and*) also to the great elephants of the points of the compass, there approached and quickly spread and nicely grew the creeper of the fame of the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras).

(V. 10.) To **Bûtabbe,** the virtuous wife of the headman (*of the village*) of **Nâlgôḍu,** who resembled Manu, (*and who was*) the chief of (*the district of*) **Eḍenâḍu,** a mine of refinement, (*and*) a veracious man, was born one who got the name of "the Sîtâ of the age of sin."[3]

(V. 11.) (*Her*), **Ponnakka,**[4] a pearl of women, the chief of **Beḷatûru,** from love, took in marriage,— he who was so renowned that he was called an equal of Manu: are others of the wives on earth equal to his wife?

(V. 12.) How could one compare Ponnakabbe of pure mind with the vicious, worthless, reprobate, ill-natured, low women of the present day, who are unfit to be called equal to Pârvatî, Rambhâ, Mênakâ, Sarasvatî, Rukmiṇî (*and*) Satyabhâmâ in matchless character, virtue, excellent liberality (*and*) innate devotion?

(V. 13.) When (*they*) gave **Dêkabbe,**[5]— who was born to Ponnabbe that was of pleasing conduct and decorous behaviour, a purifier of (*her*) family, of an amiable disposition, (*and*) a pearl of women, and to Raviga,— (*in marriage*) to the brave **Êcha,** (*the headman*) of **Pervayal,** the chief of **Navalenâḍu,** (*and*) of the **Kuṛuvanda** family, he lived happily with the lotus-eyed one, the gem of good conduct, who was devoted to (*her*) husband.

(V. 14.) When (*he*) the grinding-stone of (*his*) enemies, who was renowned as a wrestler, (*thus*) lived happily, (*but in course of time*) grappled with his kinsmen[6] and by (*his*) superiority pierced (*and killed them*), the king took him off straight to **Talekâḍu** and killed (*him*).

(V. 15.) When the beautiful woman, the light of the family of Raviga, heard the report that they had pierced and killed the strong hero who was called "the Vêḷa (Skanda) in the age of sin," she walked to the (*fire-*)pit in order to die.

(V. 16.) When (*her*) father, mother and near relatives came, said: "Daughter, do not die!; desist!," and all embraced (*her*) feet, the blameless Dêkabbe became angry and loudly spoke:—

(V. 17.) "As I am known as the daughter of Raviga, the chief of **Nugunâḍu,** and as the wife of the chief of **Navalenâḍu,** can I wish to live while the house which gave (*me and that*) which took (*me*) loses (*its*) good name?"

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[1] *I.e.* "the village-chief of His Majesty Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḷa," *viz.* of Râjâdhirâja; see above, p. 214 and note 3.

[2] Probably Râjâdhirâja, the predecessor of Râjêndradêva.

[3] *Viz.* Ponnakka, v. 11.

[4] Or Ponnakabbe, v. 12, or Ponnabbe, v. 13.

[5] Or Dêkale, v. 21.

[6] "His kinsmen" might be grammatically applied either to the kinsmen of the Chôḷa king or to those of Êcha.

(V. 18 f.) Thus the lotus-faced one spake, made a final decision, presented with propriety the soil of a garden-plot to the god for a perpetual lamp, and gave, with reverential deportment (*and*) with great desire, for oblations regularly repeated, after (*she*) would have died, the Gôḷi-paddy-field on the south-western side (*which requires*) five *koḷas* (i.e. *koḷagas*) of seed; and (*she*) the noble daughter of the lord of **Nugunâḍu** ordered (*thus*) again and again.

(V. 20.) Then all united said: "Do not (*die*)!; desist!;" (*but*) Dêkabbe said: "Speak not, but go!; I will not desist;" and respectfully giving land, gold(-*embroidered*) clothes, cows and money as a present, she piously put the palms of (*her*) hands together (*in obeisance*) to the god of gods, entered the blazing flames, and went with glory to the world of gods, so that the whole earth will be pleased (*with her*) and continually praise her.

(V. 21.) She who is known as possessing the beauty, knowledge, goodness, liberality and victory of the goddess Śrî, Gaurî, Śachî, the daughter of the earth (Sîtâ), Rati, (*and*) the goddess of the earth, (*and*) as being rich in renown, intelligent, dispelling fear, devoted to (*her*) husband, (*and*) firm in strength,—this mine of heroism, (*this*) ocean of resoluteness, (*this*) beautiful mine of good qualities, (*viz.*) the renowned Dêkale, this pearl of women,—who can forget her?; what woman on the whole earth (*is*) therefore equal to (*this*) excellent woman?

(V. 22.) The Râghava (Râma) of **Nugunâḍu**, the refuge of the learned, a lion to the angry, a chastiser of knaves,[1] ardent in prowess, the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras), a Karṇa in the age of sin, powerful over the envious, a wishing-stone to the bards, (*and carrying*) Śiva's feet on (*his*) head,[2] erected for his daughter from affection (*this*) stone-monument for the whole province, as a document (*and*) as a representation (*of what his daughter had done*).

(Line 33.) Hail! May those who are born in this family, protect and keep up the garden-plot (*that is*) a flower-field, and on the southern side of the Nirmaṇamaḷti-tank the paddy-field (*requiring*) five *koḷagas* (of seed), which Dêkabbe left to **Mahâdêva**! Those who do not fulfil (*this*), will become victims to hell.

(V. 23.) A discus to those among Brâhmaṇas who fret, a sun the (*distinguishing*) mark of which is that it has neither spot nor veiling, **Malla**, who has recognised knowledge, who is never (*excessively*) verbose, and who is a friend of eminent poets, wrote this.

(L. 36.) The *Âchâri*[3] of "the lion to the angry," the *Âchâri* of "him who is powerful over the envious,"[4] engraved (*this*).

No. 20.—BHIMAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I.; SAKA-SAMVAT 1037.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

This inscription (No. 473 of 1893) is engraved on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the **Nârâyaṇasvâmin** temple at **Bhimavaram** in the Cocanada division of the Gôdâvarî district. It consists of two **Sanskrit** verses and a passage in **Telugu** prose.

[1] This is a translation of the compound *mâchakaddâvaḷam*. *Mâchaka* stands for *mâjaka* and *tâvaḷam* is a *tadbhava* of *tâpana*, *v* having taken the place of *p* (compare *kavaḍa* for *kapaṭa*, *kavile* for *kapile*, etc.) and *ḷ* that of *n* (compare *chandaḷa* for *chandana*, *lambaḷa* for *lambana*).

[2] *I.e.* 'a worshipper of Śiva;' see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 388, note 7.

[3] *Âchâri* may be translated 'artificer'.

[4] According to verse 22, "a lion to the angry" and "powerful over the envious" were surnames of Raviga.

The date is **Śaka-Saṁvat 1037** (l. 14 f.) and **the 45th year of the reign** (l. 13 f.) of a **Châlukya** king who bore the surnames **Parântaka**[1] (l. 1), **Sarvalôkâśraya** and **Vishṇuvardhana-mahârâja** (l. 11 f.). If the regnal year is deducted from the Śaka year, the result is Śaka-Saṁvat 992 = **A.D. 1070** as the date of the king's accession to the throne. Consequently he must be identical with the **Châlukya-Chôḷa** king **Râjêndra-Chôḷa II.** *alias* **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.** whose reign is known to have commenced in A.D. 1070.[2]

The purpose of the inscription is to record the gift of a lamp to **Nârâyaṇa**[3] (l. 18), the deity of the temple in which it is still found, and which is stated to have been built by a Vaiśya named **Maṇḍaya**[4] (ll. 7 and 18). Bhîmavaram bore the name of **Châlukyabhîmâpura**[5] or °vura (ll. 6 f. and 17) and belonged to the district of **Sakaṭamantani-nâṇḍu** (l. 16 f.). The date of the grant was **the vernal equinox** (l. 15 f.). The donor of the lamp was a minister of the king, named **Mâdhava** (l. 3) and surnamed **Râjavallabha** (l. 2). He was a native of the Chôḷa country (l. 19), and his full Tamiḻ name was **Vêḷâṉ Mâdhavaṉ,** *alias* **Râjavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ** (l. 21 f.). The small Leyden grant (ll. 11 f. and 49), which was issued in the 20th year of the reign of Kulôttuṅga I., contains the name of a minister (*saṁdhivigrahin*) **Râjavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ,** who is perhaps identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription.

The following is a list of other **inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga I.** which contain both a Śaka date and a regnal year. All are in **the Bhîmêśvara temple at Drâkshârâma,**[6] with the exception of No. 1 which is near **the Nâgêśvara temple at Chêbrôlu.**[7]

A.— Inscriptions in which the king is designated only by his titles *Sarvalôkâśraya-śrî-Vishṇuvardhana-mahârâja.*[8]

1.— No. 151 of 1897.

1 Svasti [9]Śakha-varshaṁblu 998 n=êṁṭi Nala-śaṁvatsa-[10]
2 ra śrâhi svasti Sarvvalôkâśraya-śrî-
3 [11]Vishnuvarddhana-mahârâjula pravarddhamâ-
4 na-vijaya-râjya-śaṁvatsara[ṁblu][12] 7 n=êṇḍu . . .
6 . . . . . Mâgha-mâsamuna
7 punnamayu [13]Sukravâramuna sômagrahaṇa-
8 nimittamunan= . . . . .

2.— No. 190 of 1893.

1 [14]Saka-var[sha]mulu 1006 svasti [Sa]rvvalôkâśraya-śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâjula pravar[ddha]mâ-
2 na-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsaramu 15 gu [śrâ*]hi dina 307 ṇḍuṁ . . . . .

3.— No. 374 of 1893.

1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r*]shaṁbulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalôkâśraya-śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mâhârâjula[15]

[1] This had been the name of two Chôḷa kings; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 112.
[2] See above, Vol. IV. p. 266.
[3] According to other inscriptions the name of the temple was Râjanârâyaṇa-Vinnagara; see above, Vol. IV. p. 230 and note 8.
[4] In the Donepûṇḍi grant the temple is referred to as Maṇḍe-Nârâyaṇa; above, Vol. IV. p. 358.
[5] This name is derived from that of Châlukya-Bhîma I.; see above, Vol. IV. p. 227.
[6] See above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.
[7] See above, Vol. V. p. 142, and Vol. VI. p. 38.
[8] Prof. Kielhorn's calculations of the dates 1 and 3 will be published shortly.
[9] Read *Śaka-*.
[10] Read *-saṁvatsa°*.
[11] Read *Vishṇu°*.
[12] The syllable *tsa* is engraved below the line; read *-saṁvatsa°*.
[13] Read *Śukra°*.
[14] Read *Śaka-*.
[15] Read *-mahârâjula.*

2 [pra]varddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-divya-saṁvatsa 45 Dhanu-mâsamuna śukla-pa[kshamu]na êkâda-

3 [ś]iyu Budhavâramu-nâṇḍu Uttarâyaṇa-vyatiyipâta-[1]nimittamuna . . . . .

B.— Inscriptions in which the full titles and names of the king are given as follows:— *Samastabhuvanâśraya Śrîpṛithvîvallabha mahârâjâdhirâja râjaparamêśvara paramabhaṭṭ[â*]raka Ravikulatilaka Chôḍakulaśêkhara Pâṇḍyakulâṁtaka Samastarâjâśraya Râjarâjêṁdra Vîramahêṁdra Vikramachôḍa Vijayâbharaṇa Râjakêsarivarmma-permmanaḍigalu[2] Gaṁggâ-Kâvêrî-paryyaṁta-dharitrî-pati[3] saptamô Vishṇuvarddhanul=aina[4] tribhuvanachakravartti[5] śrî-Kulôttuṁgga-Chôḍadêva.*

4.— No. 365 of 1893.

7 . . . . . Śâk-âbdê nayan-âkshi-kh-êṁdu-gaṇitê[6] . . . . .

12 vat[sa][7] 31 ṇḍagu śr[â]hi dina 300 ṇḍa . . . . .

5.— No. 389 of 1893.

3 . . . . . Śâk-âbdâ[nâṁ pra]-

4 mâṇê nidhi-nayana-viyach-chaṁdra-gê[8] . . . . [sa]ṁ[k]râṁtyâṁ Vaishuvatyâm= . . . . .

11 . . . . . râjya-saṁ[va]tsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa Vishuvu-saṁkr[â*]ṁ-

12 ti-[ni]mittamuna . . . . .

6.— No. 386 of 1893.

4 . . . . . Śâk-âbdê nidhi-nê[tra]-kh-êṁdu-[gaṇi]tê[9] . . . . .

8 [râ]jya-saṁvatsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa . . . . . Vishuvu-saṁ[krâṁti-nimi]ttamuna . . . . .

7.— No. 402 of 1893.

4 . . . . . Śaka-va[rusha]ṁbulu 1034 . . . . .

8 . . . . râ-

9 jya-saṁvatsa [4]2 śrâhi dina 220 ṇḍan=Uttarâyana-saṁkr[â*]ṁti-nimityamunaṁ . . . . .

8.— No. 415 of 1893.

1 Svasti Śaka-varusha[ṁ]bulu [10]37 . . . . .

4 . . . . . râjya-divya-saṁva-

5 tsa 45 śr[â]hi . . . . .

9.— No. 194 of 1893.

3 . . . . . Śâ[k]-âbdê vyôma-vêd-âṁba[ra-śaśi]-ga[ṇi]tê[10] . . . . .

4 . . . . . Śaka-va[r*]shaṁbulu 104[0] ṇḍa . . . . .

7 [11]jya-divya-saṁvatsa 49 yagu śr[â*]hi dinamulu 250 . . . . . =Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkr[â*]ṁ[ti-ni]-

8 mtittamuna[12] . . . . .

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[1] Read *-vyatîpâta-*.

[2] No. 386 of 1893 omits this compound and inserts *nija-bhuj-ôpârjjita-* before *Gaṁggâ-*.

[3] Nos. 194, 365, 402 and 415 of 1893 omit *dharitrî-pati*.

[4] No. 365 of 1893 reads °*nuṇḍ=aina* (singular instead of plural).

[5] No. 365 of 1893 inserts *śrîmat-* before *tribhuvana*°.

[6] *I.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1022.

[7] Read *râjya-saṁvatsara*.

[8] *I.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1029.

[9] *I.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1029.

[10] *I.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1040.

[11] Read *râjya-*.

[12] Read °*mittamuna*.

TEXT.[1]

A.— West Face.

1 स्वस्ति [श्री]मत्समे परांतकनृपे चालुक्यराज्य-
2 श्रियं प्राप्तां रक्षति राजवल्लभ इति [ख्या]-
3 त: ख्यातो माधव: [।*] तन्मंत्रिप्रवर[:*] सबन्धुस-
4 दृ[शो लोक]स्य लो[को]त्तर[श्रीको]र्त्ति[:*] श्रितरक्षणै-
5 कनिपुणो लक्ष्मीपतिप्रीतिमान् [॥ १*] श्रीचा-
6 लुक्यधरासरीबुजसमे[2] चालुक्यभी-
7 मापुरे श्रीमन्मण्डयवैश्यवर्य्यर-
8 चिते लक्ष्मीपतेर्द्धामनि [।*] दत्वादाम-
9 ह्विषोस्तु विंशतिमतिश्लाघ्या [3]बभुषो-
10 रिणोराचंद्रार्क्कमनश्वरं स्थिरयशा
11 दीपं प्रदीपो भुव: [॥ २*] स्वस्ति सर्व्वलो-
12 काश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजु-
13 ल प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसं-
14 वत्सरंबुलु ४५ गु श्राह्वि सक-[4]

B.— South Face.

15 वषंबुलु[5] १०३७ गुनेण्टि[6] चे-
16 च्चविषुवुसंक्रांत्तिनि[मित्त]मुन सक-
17 टमंत्तनिनाण्टि चालुक्यभीमावुरमुन
18 मण्डयगुडि नारायणदेवरकुं
19 [जो]डमण्डलमुन विरुदराजभयं-[7]
20 क्करवलनाण्टि मन्निनाण्टि कडंबंगुडय-
21 [ण्डु] वेलाण्डु माधवुण्डेन राजवल्लभप-
22 ल्लवरयण्डु आचंद्रार्क्कंमुन[कु]नन्दक-
23 वत्तिगां बेट्टिन दीप[मु]न[कु] गुण्डि[य]-
24 [बो]युनि कोडकु पापन[बो]युनियुं गो-
25 सनबोयुनि कोडक्कु गु[ण्डि]यबोयुनि-
26 [यु] वससुनं बेट्टि[न] एनुमुलु २० [।*] वोनि-

[1] From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.
[2] Read °सरोंबुज°.
[3] Read बहु°.
[4] Read शक°.
[5] Read °वर्षंबुलु.
[6] Read °नेण्टि.
[7] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

27 कि मिवसमर्ष्टिं [कोयं]मव नेति राज-

28 राजमानयीक्षु[ष्ठु] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

A.—Sanskrit portion.

Hail! While king **Parântaka**, who resembled (Vishṇu) the lord of Śrî, was protecting the fortune, acquired (*by him*), of the **Châlukya** kingdom,— the best of his ministers, the pious **Mâdhava**, who was renowned by the name of **Râjavallabha**, who seemed to be a near relative of (*all*) men, whose prosperity and fame were extraordinary, who was excessively skilled in protecting refugees, who was devoted to (Vishṇu) the lord of Lakshmî, whose fame was constant, (*and who was*) the light of the earth,— having given a lamp, which was not to cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to the temple of the lord of Lakshmî, which had been built by the illustrious **Maṇḍaya**, the best of Vaiśyas, in **Châlukyabhîmâpura**, which resembles a lotus in the tank (*that is*) the prosperous **Châlukya** country,— gave twenty most excellent buffalo-cows which supplied much milk.

B.— Telugu portion.

Hail! In **the 45th year** of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalôkâśraya*), the glorious **Vishṇuvardhana-mahârâja**, (*and*) in **the Śaka year 1037**, on the occasion of **the Vishuva-saṁkrânti in Chaitra,— Vêlâṇḍu Mâdhavuṇḍu**, *alias* **Râja-vallabha-Pallavarayaṇḍu**,[1] the lord of **Kaḍambaṅgu[ḍi]**[2] in **Manni-nâṇḍu**,[3] (*a subdivision*) of **Birudarâjabhayaṁkara-valanâṇḍu**,[4] (*a district*) of **Chôḍa-maṇḍala**, gave a lamp, whose wick must not cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to **Nârâyaṇadêva**, (*the god*) of the **Maṇḍaya** temple at **Châlukyabhîmâvura** in **Sakaṭamantani-nâṇḍu**. For (*this lamp he*) gave 20 buffalo-cows into the possession of Pâpana-Bôya, the son of Guṇḍiya-Bôya, and of Guṇḍiya-Bôya, the son of Gôsana-Bôya. From these (*buffalo-cows*) one Râjarâja-measure[5] of ghee has to be supplied daily (*for feeding the lamp*).

No. 21.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

A.—Chêbrôlu Inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1049.

This inscription (No. 153 of 1897) is engraved on a slab in the **Kêśavasvâmin** temple at **Chêbrôlu** in the **Bâpaṭla** tâluka of the Kistna district. The **alphabet** is Telugu, and the **language** is likewise Telugu, with the exception of one corrupt Sanskrit *ślôka* at the end of the inscription.

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[1] The Telugu nominatives *Vêlâṇḍu* and *Pallavarayaṇḍu* represent the Tamil *Vêḷâṉ* and *Pallavaraiyaṉ*. *Mâdhavuṇḍu* is the Telugu nominative of *Mâdhava*.

[2] *Kaḍaṁbaṁgudayaṇḍu* corresponds to the Tamil *Kaḍambaṅguḍaiyâṉ*, an abbreviated form of *Kaḍambaṅ-guḍi-uḍaiyâṉ*.

[3] The district of Maṇṇi-nâḍu is mentioned in Tamil inscriptions; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 125, 324, 336, and Vol. III. p. 162.

[4] This territorial designation is derived from a surname of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I. which occurs in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 152.

[5] This measure may have been named after the Eastern Châlukya king Râjarâja I.

The date is the day of **a lunar eclipse** in the month of **Jyaishṭha** in the cyclic year **Plava**, which corresponded to **the Śaka year 1049** and to **the 9th year** of the reign of **Vikrama-Chôḷadêva** (l. 11 ff.).[1] Śaka-Saṁvat 1049 (expired) corresponds to the cyclic year **Plavaṅga** (not to Plava as the inscription has it) and to **A.D. 1127-28.** As this was the 9th year of the king's reign, he must have ascended the throne **about A.D. 1119.** This result is in accordance with the fact that his father Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I. ascended the throne in A.D. 1070[2] and reigned for 49 or 50 years[3] to about A.D. 1119. According to Professor Kielhorn's calculations, the inscriptions of Vikrama-Chôḷa in the Tamiḻ country seem to show that his reign began on the 18th July A.D. 1108.[4] This discrepancy may be explained by assuming that 1108 was the year in which he was appointed *yuvarâja*, while his actual accession to the throne took place after his father's death in A.D. 1119.

The name of the king is preceded by a list of his *birudas*. These are identical with the surnames borne by his father **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.**[5] Among them we find **Vikrama-Chôḷa** (l. 7 f.), which was one of the *birudas* of his father, but is rather out of place here because it is identical with the name of the king himself, and **Râjakêsarivarman** (l. 8 f.), which is known to have been a surname of the former, while Vikrama-Chôḷa in his Tamiḻ inscriptions bears the title **Parakêsarivarman.**[6]

The inscription records the grant of a lamp to the temple of **Kumârasvâmin** (l. 18 f.) or **Mahâsêna** (l. 33) at **Chembrôlu** (l. 18), the modern Chêbrôlu. Hence it appears that the slab containing the inscription, which is now in the Kêśavasvâmin temple, was originally set up in the temple of Kumârasvâmin, which is now called **Nâgêśvara.**[7]

The donor was a feudatory of Vikrama-Chôḷa,—the *mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Nambaya** (l. 30 f.) of the **Durjaya** family (l. 23 f.). Among his surnames are 'the lord of the city of **Kollipâkâ**' (l. 22 f.), 'the lord of the country of **six-thousand** (villages) on the southern bank of the **Kṛishṇaveṇṇâ** river' (ll. 25-27), and 'the scent-elephant of **Malla**' (l. 28). Kollipâkâ is mentioned as Koḷḷipâke in an inscription of the Western Châlukya king Jayasiṁha II.[8] and as Koḷḷippâkkai in the inscriptions of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.[9] and of Râjâdhirâja.[10] The second surname of Nambaya was borne later on by the chiefs of Amarâvatî.[11]

From another inscription of the same chief in the **Bhîmêśvara** temple at **Drâkshârâma** (No. 266 of 1893)[12] we learn that he ruled over the district of **Oṅgêṟumârga**:—[Svasti] sa[madhi]gata-paṁchchamah[â]śabda-mahâmaṇḍalêśvara **Kollipâkâ-puravar-êśvara Durjjayakula**-kumuda-chaṁdra ripuga[ja]-mri(mṛi)gêṁdra mallikâ-vallabba [pa]râṁgganâ-durllabha vilâsa-Vidyâdhara bhôga-Puraṁdara **Kri(kṛi)shṇ[a]veṇṇânadî**-tîradakshiṇa-[13] **shaṭ[s]ahasra**-vishay-âdî(dhî)śvara vîra-Mahêśvara kîrtti-sudhâkara guṇa-ratnâkara **Vêṁggi-Châlukya**-râjya-mu(mû)lastaṁbha [14]ripudalitakuṁbhikuṁbha Jayâṁgganâ-gri(gṛi)ha-tôraṇa **Mallana**-gaṁn[dh]avâraṇa nâm-âdi-samasta-praśasti-sah[i]taṁb[u]na śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalêśvaray=**Oṁgêṟumârggamuna Naṁbirâju** Śaka-[va][r*]shamulu 1052 ṇḍ=agun=êṁṭi Vaiśâkha-punnamayu Sômavâramu Vyatîpâta-ni[m]ittamunaṁdu . . . . . "On the

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1 Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

2 See above, p. 220, note 2.

3 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 55, and above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

4 Above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

5 See page 221 above. The only *biruda* which was not taken over by Vikrama-Chôḷa, is *saptamô Vishṇuvardhanaḥ*.

6 See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 68, and above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 263 f.

7 See above, Vol. V. p. 143.

8 Above, Vol. III. p. 231.

9 *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 67 and 68, and Vol. II. Nos. 9-20.

10 *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 52.

11 See above, p. 147 and note 4.

12 This inscription is noticed by Dr. Fleet from Sir Walter Elliot's transcript; *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 487 f., note 6.

13 Read *-dakshiṇatîra-*.

14 Read *dalitaripu*°.

occasion of Vyatîpâta on Monday, the full-moon ***tithi*** **of Vaiśâkha in the Śaka year 1052,"** *etc.*

The same slab bears an inscription of **Trailôkyamalla,** the son of Nambhirâja (No. 267 of 1893) :— Svasti samadi(dhi)gata-paṁchchamahâsha(śa)bda-mahâmaṇḍalêśvara **Kollipâkâ**-puravar-âdhîśvara **Durjjayakula-kumud[a]-chaṁdra** ripugaja-mri(mṛi)gêṁdra mal[l]ikâ-vallabha pa[r]âṁgganâ-rdullabha[1] [vilâ]sa-V[i]dyâdhara bhôga-Puraṁ[da]ra **Kr[i](kṛi)shṇaverṇṇânadî-tîradakshiṇa-shaṭsahasra**-vishay-âdhîśvara vîra-Mahêśvara kî[rtti]-sudâ(dhâ)kara guṇaratna-ratnâkara **V[êṁ]gg[i]-Châlukya-[râ]** . . . . [ri]pu[da]litaku[ṁ]bhikuṁbha Ja[y]â[ṁ]gganâ-gr[i](gṛi)ha-tôraṇa [sat]ya-Hariś[ch]aṁdra dînânâdha(tha)jana-sasya-pramêghavarsha **Naṁbbhana-gaṁdda(dha)vâraṇa** nâm-âdi-samasta-praśasti-sah[it]aṁbuna śrîman-[m]ah[âmaṇḍa] . . . . **r[gga]muna Naṁbh[i]râ[ju** ko]ḍu[ku **Trai]lôkyamallerâju** svasti [Śa]ka-[va][r*]shaṁbulu 1081 n=êṁṭṭi Vaiśâkha-bah[u]lapaksha ashṭamiyu Śa[ni]v[â]ramuna . . . . . **"On Saturday, the eighth** ***tithi*** **of the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha in the Śaka year 1081,"** *etc.*

It will be noticed that in this inscription Trailôkyamalla is called 'the scent-elephant of **Nambha,'** *i.e.* of his father Nambaya or Nambirâja. Consequently it may be assumed that the latter, who bore the surname 'the scent-elephant of **Malla,'** was the son of Malla. In this way we obtain three generations of the chiefs of Oṅgêṛumârga :— **Malla**; his son **Nambha, Nambaya** or **Nambirâja**; and his son **Trailôkyamalla.**

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks. "The date of No. 266 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 current, to Sunday, 5th May A.D. 1129, and for Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 expired, to Friday, 25th April A.D. 1130. In **Śaka-Saṁvat 1053 expired,** the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśâkha commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday, the 13th April A.D. 1131,** when the *yôga* was **Vyatîpâta** for about the last quarter of the day. I believe this to be the day intended, but can give no reason why the writer should not have quoted Tuesday (the 14th April) on which the full-moon *tithi* ended. The date of No. 267 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1081 current, to Wednesday, 23rd April A.D. 1158; for Śaka-Saṁvat 1081 expired, to Tuesday, 12th May A.D. 1159; and for **Śaka-Saṁvat 1082 expired, to Saturday, the 30th April A.D. 1160,** when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 hours after mean sunrise. In both dates the given Śaka year is short by 1 of the year of our Tables. This is not uncommon in dates from the eastern part of Eastern India."[2]

TEXT.[3]

A.— Front of Slab.

1 स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनाश्रय
2 [4]श्रीप्रिथ्वीवल्लभ मह[ा*]राजा-
3 धिराज राजपरमेश्वर प-
4 रमभट्ट[ा*]रक रविकुलतिलक चो-
5 ळकुलशेखर[5] पाण्ड्यकुलां-[6]
6 तक समस्तराजाश्रय राजरा-
7 जेंद्र वीरमहेंद्र विक्रमचो-

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[1] Read *-durllabha.*
[2] "See *e.g.* my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos. 367 and 370.
[3] From two inked estampages.
[4] Read श्रीपृथ्वी°.
[5] Read °शेखर.
[6] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

8 ೞ विजया[भ]रन[1] श्रीराजके-
9 [2]सरिवम्मपेर्म्मनडिगलु गंगा-
10 कावेरीपय्यांत(क)[3] श्रीम[त्*]त्रि[भु]-
11 वनचक्रवर्त्तिं विक्रमचो-
12 ೞदेवर [4]प्रवर्द्दमानवि-
13 जयराज्यसंवत्सरंबु-
14 लु ८ नेय[गुने][पिट] [5]सक[व]-
15 रुषंबुलु १०४८ प-
16 गु [6]ष्लवसंवत्सर जेष्ट-[7]
17 मास सोमग्रहननिमित्य-[8]
18 मुन चेंब्रोलि श्रीकुमा-
19 [रस्वा]मिदेवरकुनख-
20 [ण्डव]त्तिदिवियकु स्वस्ति
21 समधिगतपंचमह[ा]श-
22 ब्दमहामण्डलेश्वर कोल्लिपा-
23 कापुरवरेश्वर दुर्ज्ज[य]-
24 कुलकुलाचलस्त्रिगेंद्र[9] स-
25 त्यहरिश्चंद्र [10]क्रिष्णावेन्नान-
26 [11]दीदक्षिनतीरषट्सहस्र-[12]
27 महीवल्लभ मल्लिका-

B.—Back of Slab.

28 वल्लभ मल्लनगंधवारन[13]
29 नामादिसमस्तप्रसस्तसहि-[14]
30 तं [15]श्रीमनुमह[ा*]मण्डलेश्व-
31 र नंबय यिच्चिन गोೞय
32 ५० [।*] वीनिं चेकोनि संत्तानक्र-
33 मंबुनं गाचि मह[ा*]सेन-

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[1] Read °भरण. [2] Read °वर्म्म°.

[3] Read °पर्यंत and add °धरित्रीपति in accordance with some inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I.; see above, p. 221.

[4] Read प्रवर्द्धमान°. [5] Read शक°. [6] Read प्लव°.

[7] Read ज्येष्ठ° or, more correctly, ज्यैष्ठ°. [8] Read °ग्रहण°.

[9] Read °मगेंद्र. [10] Read कृष्णवेण्णा°. [11] Read °दक्षिण°. [12] Read °सहस्र°.

[13] Read °वारण. [14] Read °प्रशस्ति°. [15] Read श्रीमन्°.

34 मुन गित्व मानेब्बु नेयि
35 वोयंगलवाब्बु सूरबो-
36 युनि कोम्मय [।*] इंदुल
37 स्थानपतुलु मुन्नूर्व्वुरु
38 सानुलु मुन्नूर्व्वुरुवय्यलु प्र-
39 तिपालिंपंगलवार । स्वदत्त[1] प-
40 रदत्तं ग्वा यो हरेतु व-
41 सुंदर [।*] षषिं वरुषस-
42 हस्रनि मिष्टयां जा-
43 यते क्रिमि ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! In the **9th year** of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Râjaparamêśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the front-ornament of **the race of the Sun**, the crest-jewel of the Chôḻa family, the destroyer of the **Pâṇḍya** family, the asylum of all kings, *Râjarâjêndra*, *Vîra-Mahêndra*, *Vikrama-Chôḻa*, he whose ornament is victory, the glorious *Râjakêsarivarma-Permanaḍi*, [the lord of the earth] as far as the **Gaṅgâ** and the **Kâvêri**, the glorious emperor of the three worlds, **Vikrama-Chôḻadêva,—**

(L. 14.) On the occasion of **an eclipse of the moon** in the month of **Jyêshṭha** in the **Plava-saṁvatsara** which was the **Śaka year 1049,—**

(L. 20.) Hail! the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Nambaya**, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of **Kollipâkâ**, the best of cities; the lion of the principal mountain—the **Durjaya** family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; the lord of the country of **six-thousand** (*villages*) on the southern bank of the **Kṛishṇaveṇṇâ** river; the lover of the jasmine flower; (*and*) the scent-elephant of **Malla,—**

(Ll. 18-20 and l. 31 f.) gave 50 sheep to the temple of the god **Kumârasvâmin** at **Chembrôlu** for a perpetual lamp.

(L. 32.) Having received these (*sheep*), Kommaya, (*the son*) of Sûra-Bôya, with (*his*) descendants in succession, has to tend (*them*) and to supply daily to the **Mahâsêna** (*temple*) one *mâna*[2] of ghee.

(L. 36.) The three-hundred temple servants (*sthânapati*) (and) the three-hundred dancing-girls of this place have to protect (*this grant*).

[Ll. 39-43 contain one of the usual minatory verses.]

B.— Śevilimêḍu Inscription of the Sixteenth Year.

This inscription (No. 43 of 1900) is engraved on the west wall of the **Kailâsanâtha** temple at **Śevilimêḍu**, a village on the northern bank of the **Pâlâṟu** and about 2 miles south-west of Conjeeveram.

[1] This well known Sanskrit verse is here full of mistakes.

[2] See above, p. 156, note 3.

The inscription consists of eight verses in quaint **Sanskrit.** The alphabet is **Grantha.** The Tamiḻ letter *ṟ* is used in *Kômpuṟa* (vv. 4 and 7). Final *m* is employed instead of *anusvâra* in *chiram, vidushâm* (v. 2) and *labdham* (v. 5). Instead of *prôdghṛishṭa* and *udbhava* we find *prôtghṛishṭa* (v. 1) and *utbhava* (v. 3). *Âṁhvaya* occurs twice (vv. 1 and 2) instead of *âhvaya*, and *sâ*[*r**]*ddha* (v. 5) instead of *sârttha*. The Tamiḻ names *Kirâñji, Ôdimûkki, Kodi, Ponnambi* and *Kômbuṟa* are spelt *Kirâñchi* (v. 8), *Ôtimûkki* (v. 4), *Koti* (v. 5), *Ponnampi* (v. 6) and *Kômpuṟa* (vv. 4 and 7), with *ch*, *t* and *p* instead of *j*, *d* and *b*.

The date is **Monday,** the day of **Uttara** in the **second fortnight** of **Vaiśâkha** during **the sixteenth year** of the reign of **Vikrama-Chôḻadêva** (v. 3).[1] This king bore the surnames **Akalaṅka** and **Tyâgavârâkara** (v. 1). According to Mr. Venkayya, the former is applied to Vikrama-Chôḻa in the *Kulôttuṅga-Śôḻaṉ-ulâ*, an unpublished Tamiḻ poem composed in honour of Kulôttuṅga II., and **Tyâgasamudra,** with which Tyâgavârâkara is synonymous, occurs in the *Vikkirama-Śôḻaṉ-ulâ*[2] and in the Piṭhâpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadêva.[3]

The inscription records that three persons assigned to the **Śiva** temple in the village of **Râjasundari** (v. 2) or **Nṛipasundari** (v. 3) some land (v. 3) and a garden (v. 5). The village of Râjasundari is evidently identical with **Śevilimêḍu,** and the temple of Śiva, to which the grant was made, is the **Kailâsanâtha** temple[4] on which the inscription is engraved.

Besides the subjoined inscription, six Tamiḻ inscriptions have been copied in the same temple, the ancient name of which was **Mûlasthâna.** In three of them (Nos. 40-42 of 1900) the village is named **Śevâṇamêḍu.** It belonged to **Viṟpêḍu-nâḍu**[5] or Viṟpêṭṭu-nâḍu, a subdivision of **Kâliyûr-kôṭṭam,**[6] a district of **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chôḻa-maṇḍalam,** and bore the surname **Nagariśvara-chaturvêdimaṅgalam.**

TEXT.[7]

1 स्वस्ति श्री ॥— राजा विक्रमचोळ एष ज[य]ति प्राणीश्वरो भूस्त्रि-
योर्भूयस्सन्नतराजमौलिमकुटप्रोत्घृष्टपादाम्बुजः[8] [।*] दूरोत्सारि[त]पापराशिरतुल-
श्रीस्त्यागवाराकरस्सत्सम्पत्तिविवृद्धिहेतुरनिशम्देवोकळंकाह्वयः[9] ॥— [१*]

2 पुण्यपण्यविपणिस्सरस्वतीवासभूमिरमला सुमीन्द्रधी:[10] [।*] राजसुन्दरि-
समांह्वयश्चिरम्[11] ग्राम एष विदुषाम्[12] विराजते ॥— [२*] [13]श्रीमद्विक्र[म]चोळदेव-
नृपतेर्व्व[र्षे] शुभे षोडशे ग्रामे श्रीनृपसुन्दरीति विदिते वैशाखमासेपरे [।*] पक्षे
सोत्तरचन्द्रवारविदिते काले शिवा-

3 यादिशन् [14]कुप्पूरभवकृष्णभट्टनिधि[ल]श्राद्धेन लब्धाम् महीम् ॥— [३*]
कम्मत्तिप्रभवः कृष्णपुरदेवोवळ्ळाळकः [।*] पात[त]कोम्पुṟजो भट्टावोतिम्[श्रि]-

[1] Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 309 and note 1. [3] Above, Vol. IV. p. 228.

[4] The present name of the temple is perhaps alluded to in verse 5 by the words "the ancient (god) who resides on the Kailâsa (mountain)."

[5] The same *nâḍu* is mentioned also in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 117, and Corrigenda on p. 184. Viṟpêḍu is the modern Vippêḍu, 2 miles west of Śevilimêḍu.

[6] The same district is referred to in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 84, 85, 147, 148, and Vol. III. pp. 2, 138, 142.

[7] From three inked estampages. [8] Read °प्रोद्धृष्ट°. [9] Read °ह्वयः.

[10] Read °धीः. [11] Read °समाह्वयश्चिरं. [12] Read विदुषां.

[13] The म of °विक्र[म]° is engraved below the line. [14] Read °द्भव°.

तृसवेंकटौ[1] ॥— [४*] प्रादुस्त्रयोपि त्रितयं स्ववप्रं कैलासवासाय चिर[न्त]नाय [।*] आद्येन लब्धम्[2] कोतिवीरवल्ल्यो: कृष्णाश्रया-

4 म्रं सतुरीयसार्थम्[3] ॥— [५*] पोन्नम्पि[न]ाम्ना ग्राममाध्यस्थेन मया त्विदम् [।*] साधुप्रियेण लिखितम् प्रमा[णं] साक्षिण: परे ॥— [६*] [4]दक्षि-णामूत्तिभट्टोयमक्कूर्द्विजवरस्सुधी: [।*] कृष्णद्वैपायनो यज्वा वेदकोम्पु℘जनय: [॥ ७*] ह्वत्वित्[5] किराश्विजनितावक्काळसंज्ञौ तौ ताणकप्रभव-

5 रामयुताविती मे [।*] लेख्यं ग[त]ास्सुव्रतसाक्षिण एव धमृमं[6] रक्ष-न्त्विमनृपवराश्रिवभक्तकाय ॥— [८*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) Victorious is this king **Vikrama-Chôḷa**, the husband of the Earth and of Fortune, whose lotus-feet are frequently rubbed by the diadems on the heads of bowing kings, who has driven far away all sins, whose glory is matchless, the ocean of liberality (*Tyâgavârâkara*) who continually causes the increase of the prosperity of good men, the king named **Akaḷaṅka.**

(V. 2.) Resplendent for a long time is this village of learned men, named **Râjasundari**, a market for the trade in good deeds, the pure place of residence of the goddess of learning, (*and*) the seat of lords of sages.

(V. 3 f.) In the auspicious **sixteenth year** (*of the reign*) of the glorious king **Vikrama-Chôḷadêva,** in the month of **Vaiśâkha,** in **the second fortnight,** at the time known as **Monday** combined with **Uttara,**[7]— the two *Bhaṭṭas* Kṛishṇapuradêva Aruḷâḷaka, born at **Kammatti,** and Ôdimûkki,[8] born at **Âttaṅ-Kômbuṛa,** together with Vêṅkaṭa, assigned to **Śiva,** at the village known as the prosperous **Nṛipasundari,** land which (*they*) had received through the great piety[9] of Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa, born at **Kuṇḍûr.**[10]

(V. 5.) The same three persons gave to the ancient (*god*) who resides on the Kailâsa (*mountain*) their three-fold garden,[11] which (*they*) had received through the piety of Kodi and Vîravali,[12] in which *kôkilas* (*kṛishṇa*) lived on mango-trees, (*and*) which possessed a number of men of the fourth (*caste*) (*as attendants*).

(V. 6.) By me, the village arbitrator (*madhyastha*)[13] named Ponnambi, the friend of good men, this document (*pramâṇa*) was written. Witnesses (*are*) the following.

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1 Read °स्त्वेंकटौ.

2 Read लब्धं.

3 Read °सार्त्थम्.

4 Read °मूर्त्ति°.

5 Read चलिक्.

6 Read धर्म्मं.

7 *Uttiram* is the usual Tamiḻ form of *Uttara-Phalgunî*. The Tamiḻ form of *Uttara-Bhadrapadâ* is *Uttiraṭṭâdi*, and that of *Uttarâshâḍhâ* is *Uttirâdam*.

8 The same name, which seems to mean 'narrow-nosed,' occurs in an inscription at Ukkal; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 6.

9 *Śrâddha* seems to be used incorrectly for *śraddhâ*.

10 A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Maṇimaṅgalam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 75.

11 I take this meaning of *vapra* from Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*. The meaning 'field' does not fit here because mango-trees are stated to have grown in the *vapra*.

12 The same name occurs in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74.

13 See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 2.

(V. 7 f.) Dakshiṇâmûrti-Bhaṭṭa, a wise Brâhmaṇa of **Aḷḷûr**,[1] Kṛishṇa-Dvaipâyana Yajvan, Jannaya Ṛitvij of **Vêda-Kômburạ**,[2] (*and*) the two persons named Aruḷâḷa, who were born at **Kirâñji**,[3] together with Râma, born at **Tâṇaka**. These were written down as the only witnesses of (*this*) pious gift. Let the best of kings and the devotees of Śiva protect this grant!

No. 22.— KONDAVIDU PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1442.

BY H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of this inscription[4] were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn with the following note: "On four faces of a pillar near the *agrahâra* at **Koṇḍaviḍu**. The pillar is supported on two sides (north and south) by stones which made it impossible to copy and ink the top lines of the inscription in full."[5]

The inscription contains 166 lines of writing. The average **size of the letters** is ¾".— The **alphabet** is Telugu and, with few exceptions, resembles that of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.[6] Several times *ka* appears here in the old form; see *e.g.* ll. 3, 6, 15, 16, 30, 43, 118, 145 (*ka*); 27, 111 (*kâ*); 142, 146 (*ki*); 11 (*kî*); 17, 157 (*ku*); 7 (*kṛi*); 11 (*kê*); 142 (*kku*), while such forms as *ka* in ll. 7, 64, *ku* in l. 46, *kê* in l. 92, *kau* in l. 39, may be called transitional. The *sha* occasionally shows the younger form occurring also in the Vânapalli plates; see ll. 69 (*sha*); 24 (*shṭha*); 33 (*kshmâ*). *Ḷa* appears throughout in the form of the Bitragunṭa grant and the Vânapalli plates. In *dha* the *ottu* is used only in *dhi* in l. 19 (*vârâṁ nidhir*), *dhi* in l. 72, and in the subscript *dh* of *ḍhdha* in l. 34. But in *gha* and *ḍha* it is used quite regularly, and in *bha* it is only missing in *bhû*, *bhu*, *bhô* in l. 163, and in *bhṛi* in ll. 5, 59 and *bhyâ* in l. 7 on account of the subscript sign. In the groups *rma*, *rya* and *rva* the full sign of *r* is generally used, but in *ryâ* in l. 20 and *rmmyai* in ll. 28, 92 it appears in the secondary form, as in all other combinations, and in *rvê* in l. 163 and *rma* in l. 165 it is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.— The **language** is Sanskṛit from the beginning to l. 108, and again from the middle of l. 162 to the end. The rest is in Telugu.[7] With exception of the concluding words *śrî śrî śrî* in l. 108, the Sanskṛit portion is in verse, whereas the Telugu portion is in prose throughout.— The **orthography** calls for few remarks. In the interior of a word *k, g, ch, t, d* and *v*, if followed by a vowel, are generally doubled after *anusvâra*; exceptions are *śaṁkur* (l. 20), *-âṁkuraḥ* (l. 21), *-âṁka* (l. 34), *saptâṁgô-* (l. 29), *paṁchâ-* (l. 107), *maṁdâra* (l. 12), *Maiṁdavôluṁ* (l. 102), and several words in the Telugu portion (see for *ṁk* ll. 127, 145; *ṁg* ll. 113, 115, 130, 141, 156, 158; *ṁch* ll. 117, 118, 119, 145, 153, 157; *ṁd* ll. 111, 121, 135). *ḍ* also is doubled in *śrîkhaṁḍḍa* (l. 76), *Koṁḍḍaviṭi(ṭi)* (ll. 98, 111), and *dh* in *baṁdhdhushu* (l. 40), *-âruṁdhdhatî* (l. 41); compare also *chiṁttapaṁdhdhu* for °*paṁḍu* in l. 134. *tr* is written *ttr*

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[1] A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Maṇimaṅgalam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74. It may be identical with 'Allur' in the Madurântakam tâluka between the 'Perumbair' and 'Olakur' railway stations.

[2] Compare Dvêdai-Kômburạm in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 259 and note 3.

[3] The same place is mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 168.

[4] No. 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

[5] This defect is not very serious, as the few missing *aksharas* in ll. 87-89 can easily be replaced from other inscriptions.

[6] See my remarks, above, p. 108 f.

[7] The text and translation of the Telugu portion have been contributed by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

after *anusvâra* in the word *mantrin* in ll. 30, 85, 103, but with a single *t* in ll. 40, 92. Final *anusvâra* has caused the doubling of *g* in *-âkaratvaṁ ggatâḥ* (l. 17). As first letters of a group *t* and *d* are doubled in *ttritaya* (l. 29), *puttrâ-* (l. 35), *kaḷattri* (l. 43), *puttrâv* (l. 44), *ddrumaṁ* (l. 7), *pâyâdd=raghû-* (l. 8), *kalpaddruṁ* (l. 72), *ddyô-* (l. 80), whereas a double mute is represented by a single mute in *tatva* (l. 89) and *ujvalataraṁ* (l. 98). After *r* a consonant is doubled in *-ârkka* (l. 78), *mârggayaṁttê* (l. 33), *mârggaṁ* (l. 80), *mûrchchhan* (l. 78), *-âtivartti* (l. 38), *kirttiḥ* (l. 50), *kirtti* (ll. 54, 106), *harmmyair* (ll. 28, 92), and in the Telugu *samarppiṁchchi* (l. 121). *ddh* is always written *dhdh*. A superfluous *anusvâra* has been inserted in *prapaṁnnâḥ* (l. 68), *-âtikhiṁnnâḥ* (l. 32) and some Telugu words in ll. 119, 125, 161. In *amṛitapaḷḷakunnu* (l. 119 f.) and *kârâmaḷḷu* (l. 133), the double *ḷ* is expressed by *ḷ*+*l*. In accordance with the pronunciation of Sanskṛit in the Telugu country we find a nasal inserted before *h*, followed by a consonant, in *praṁhv-êṁdrâ-* (l. 3) and *grâṁhyâ* (l. 164), and even with the complete loss of the *v* in *jiṁhâlâ-* (for *jihvâlâ-*; l. 58). On the other hand this pronunciation has led to the erroneous insertion of a *v* after an original *ṁh* in *siṁhvâsanâ-* (l. 14). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhâna* are always written *maṁṭapa* and *prathâna*; compare ll. 95, 116; 23, 88, 113, 153.

The object of this inscription is to record some grants by **Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa**, the governor of **Koṇḍaviḍu**, during the reign of Kṛishṇarâya of Vijayanagara. The inscription has much in common with the Maṅgalagiri and Kâzâ pillar inscriptions edited above, p. 108 ff. Up to v. 26, it contains only 3 verses not found in those inscriptions (vv. 1, 3 and 7),[1] among which only v. 7 deserves to be noticed, as **Kṛishṇarâya** is styled here a descendant of **Yadu**. This is apparently a mistake of the author; for, though Yadu was actually the reputed ancestor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the second dynasty, to which Kṛishṇarâya belonged, traced their origin back to Yadu's younger brother Turvasu.[2] Nevertheless the inscription is of some importance because it clearly shows that in Śaka 1442 Gôpa was governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, the verses about Appa's dignities[3] being omitted here altogether.

With v. 26 begins a list of some gifts made by Nâdiṇḍla-Gôpa. V. 26 is identical with v. 29 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription and refers to the same gift as that mentioned in the next verse. Vv. 27-28 record that **in the Śaka year counted by the eyes (2), the yugas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vikrama** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1442 expired), he presented, by order of **Sâḷva-Timma**, the minister of king **Kṛishṇarâya**, an exceedingly high temple (*prâsâda*) furnished with nine gilt domes (*kalaśa*), a gate-tower (*gôpura*), a wall (*prâkâra*), and a festive hall (*utsava-maṇṭapa*), to the holy **Râmabhadra**, and images for processions (*utsava-vigraha*), golden ornaments, two pearl necklaces, a great quantity of excellent beautiful ornaments, and the performance of *niyôga*, exceeding seventy-two,[4] to **Râma** in the town of **Koṇḍaviṭi** for the benefit of **Sâḷva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmî.**[5] V. 29 adds that, by order of **Sâḷva-Timma,** he assigned to the temple of the holy **Râghava,** the lord of the town of **Yajñavâṭi,** the customs[6] on all the roads in the country of Koṇḍaviṭi and the village of **Maindavôlu,** at the same time keeping up the former donation of the village of **Lemballe.**

The Sanskṛit part of the inscription concludes with a verse in praise of Sâḷva-Timma (30) found also in the Maṅgalagiri inscription, and another (31) stating that the *mahôpâdhyâya*, who

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[1] Vv. 1 and 3 are in praise of Râma. V. 1 alludes to the legend quoted above, Vol. III. p. 251, note 9.

[2] See *e.g.* Hampe inscription of Kṛishṇarâya, above, Vol. I. p. 361 ff.; Saṅkalâpura inscription of the same, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 266 ff.; British Museum plates of Sadâśivarâya, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 1 ff.; Ûṇamâñjêri plates of Achyutarâya, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 147 ff.

[3] Vv. 21 and 35 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

[4] Regarding this term see note 1 on p. 113 above.

[5] Regarding this term see note 3 on p. 114 above.

[6] *Mâlavisa* is a Telugu word about which see below, p. 232, note 6.

was acquainted with the doctrine of the five fires, the performer of the *dvâdaśâha* ceremony, **Lôlla-Lakshmîdhara Yajvan**,[1] was the author of the record.

In the **Telugu portion** (l. 109 ff.) the date given above is further specified, and a more detailed account of Gôpa's donation is given, especially as regards the establishment of the customs. It may also be noted that Nâdiṇḍla-Timma is incidentally said here (l. 114) to have been a follower of the Yajuḥśâkhâ and the Âpastambasûtra, and that Sâḷva-Timma's wife is called here **Lakshmamma** (l. 155). Mr. H. Krishna Sastri contributes the following translation of the Telugu portion :—

(L. 109.) "Hail! Prosperity! **On the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse, on Wednesday the 15th** (*tithi*) **of the bright** (half) **of Vaiśâkha in the** (cyclic) **year Vikrama which corresponded to 1442 of the years of the victorious and increasing Śâlivâhana-Śaka,— Gôparsayyaṅgâru**,[2]— the son of **Nâdiṇḍla-Timmarâja** who belonged to the Kauśika-*gôtra*, followed the Âpastambasûtra, and was a student of the Yajuḥśâkhâ,— and the nephew of **Sâḷuva-Timmarsayyaṅgâru**, the glorious chief minister who bore the burden of the empire of the glorious **Kṛishṇadêva-mahârâya,**— built a spire for the sacred (temple) of the god Raghunâyaka of **Yajñavâṭikâ** in **Koṇḍaviḍu**, carried out the whitewashing (in connection with other) spires, *maṇḍapas* and towers, set up golden pinnacles, built the hall surrounding the temple,[3] and the enclosure (*prâkâra*), presented idols (to be carried) in processions (*utsava-vigraha*), restored the village of **Lemballe** which had previously been granted (to the temple), and bestowed the village of **Maindavôlu** for all enjoyments,[4] rice[5] and festivals, [and assigned] *mûlavîsas*[6] at all places in the country (*sîma*) of **Koṇḍaviḍu** where tolls were paid, (*viz.*) at *vasantagaruvus*[7] in (the town of) **Koṇḍaviḍu**, at water-sheds,[8] at salt-beds and market-towns,[9] and at roads frequented (by people), such as (those to) the **Tirumala** hills.[10]

(L. 125.) . . . . "at the rate of half a *paikamu*[11] on every bag of the following (articles): great millet, millet, ... , salt, mangoes, myrobolan fruits, brinjals, clearing-nuts, and *mâvena* ;[12] at one *paikamu* on every bag of the following: green gram, black gram, Bengal gram, horse-gram, red gram, wheat, sesamum seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamarinds, gall-nuts, myrobolan seeds, yam, *châma*, (and) *chirugaḍam*

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[1] [In the colophon of his commentary on Śaṁkarâchârya's *Saundaryalaharî* (Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. I. p. 73, No. 333), Lakshmîdhara-Dêśika calls himself the seventh in descent from the *mahôpâdhyâya* Mahâdêvâchârya, who was 'the founder of the doctrine of the Lôlla-kula' and 'the commentator on the *Lôllagrantha*.' The author of the inscription, Lôlla-Lakshmîdhara Yajvan, who also calls himself a *mahôpâdhyâya*, may have belonged to the same school or sect.— H. Krishna Sastri.]

[2] The affix *ayyaṅgâru* or *ayyagâru* is the plural of *ayya*, a *tadbhava* of *ârya*. The appellation *ayyaṅgâr* is now monopolised by a class of Śrî-Vaishṇava Brâhmaṇas, while *ayya*, *ayyagâru* and its Tamiḻ equivalent *aiyar* are restricted to non-Vaishṇava Brâhmaṇas. That *ayyaṅgâru* and *ayyagâru* are both used in the inscription for the same person, shows that in the 16th century these two appellations bore no religious or sectarian significance.

[3] *Tiruchuṭṭumâle* or *tiruchuṭṭumâlika* (above, Vol. IV. p. 330, text line 14) are corruptions of the Tamiḻ *tiruchchuṟṟumâḷigai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 139.

[4] Regarding *aṅgaraṅgavaibhava* see above, Vol. IV. p. 269 and note 2.

[5] For *amṛitapaḍi* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 82, note 5.

[6] For the fiscal term *vîsa* see above, Vol. V. p. 23 and note 6.

[7] This word is not found in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. Perhaps it denotes a rest-house somewhat like the modern *vasantamaṇṭapa*, which, according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, means 'a shed erected in gardens, near roads and temples, used during the hot weather for recreation's sake *etc.*'

[8] *Âruvaṇṭya* is apparently the same as the Kanarese *aṟavaṭige*, *aṟavaṭṭige* or *aṟavaṇṭige*, which means 'a water-shed.' Another Kanarese word which occurs in this inscription is *hâdi* (l. 125).

[9] *Karavaṭa* is the same as the Sanskrit *kharvaṭa*, 'a market-town.'

[10] This refers to the hill of Tirupati in the Chandragiri tâluka of the North Arcot district.

[11] According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *paikamu* means 'a small copper coin, a farthing, a half-penny.'

[12] This is perhaps the same as *mâmenu*, which means 'a fragrant root like sarsaparilla.'

(roots); at one *damma*[1] on every bag of the following: onions, turmeric, dammer, fenugreek, cumin, mustard, *salagas*[2] of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits, (and) cocoa-nuts; at two *dammas* on every bag of the following: jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, *saṅgaḍi*,[3] flowers of the Bassia Latifolia (tree), dry ginger, iron, and steel chisels; at three *dammas* on every bag of mango jelly; at four *dammas* on every bag of the following: sugar, areca-nuts, cotton thread, and betel leaves; at six *dammas* on every bag of the following: long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves,[4] nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, (and) copper; and at one *chavela*[5] on a double bullock-load of women's garments:— the *mûlavîsas* levied at this rate from many (people) were granted (to the temple) by **Nâdiṇḍla-Gôparsayyaṅgâru** for the merit of the glorious chief minister **Sâḷuva-Timmarsayyagâru** and his wife **Lakshmamma.**

(L. 157.) "If (any) **Oḍḍa** kings[6] and **Teluṅgu** kings shall violate this charity, they shall incur the sin of killing cows on (the banks of) the **Gaṅgâ**; if (any) **Turuka** (*i.e.* Musalmân) kings shall violate (this charity), they shall incur the sin of eating pigs."

The inscription ends with one of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskṛit and the first half of another. Although the Śaka year is called a current year, the addition of the cyclic year leaves no doubt that really the expired year was intended. For Śaka 1442 expired=Vikrama the date corresponds, according to Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, to **Wednesday, the 2nd May A.D. 1520,** when a partial eclipse of the moon, visible at Vijayanagara, took place 18 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

The village of **Maindavôlu** is the modern Mayidavôlu,[7] 12 miles east-south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa. The village of **Lemballe** I am unable to identify. **Yajñavâṭipura** seems to have been the name of a quarter or a suburb of the town of Koṇḍavîḍu.

TEXT.[8]

North Face.

1 श्रीरामचंद्र[:*] श्रियमातनोतु सीता-
2 सहायो मुनिधर्मपत्न्याः । यस्यांघ्रिपंकेरुहरे-
3 णुरासीदाश्मव्रतोद्यापनकर्महेतुः[9] ॥ [१*] [10]मंखेंद्रादिकिरी-
4 मणिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखारुणं भूषावृषभिदश्मरश्मिलह-
5 रीभृंगाळिभृंगारितं । मंजीरक्वणितैर्मराळवनितामंजुल-
6 नैरंचितं वंदे रामपदारविंदमनघं मंदारकल्प-

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[1] This is apparently the same as *dramma*; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. p. 21, notes 1 and 6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 168 f.; *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 180; and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. I. Introd. p. 8.

[2] According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *śalaga* or *śelaga* is 'a word used in measuring grain *etc.*, one lot from which a new reckoning begins.'

[3] This term is not intelligible. It occurs in the obscure *biruda Saṅgaḍirakshapâlaka* of a Reḍḍi king, in an unpublished Amarâvatî inscription (No. 258 of 1897).

[4] *Karâṁbhuü* is probably the Tamiḷ *karâmbu* or *kirâmbu*, 'cloves.'

[5] *I.e. chavalamu*, 'the fraction ¼ (of a pagoda *etc.*).' According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this is about one shilling.

[6] *I.e.* kings of Orissa. The special mention of these kings and of the Muhammadans in the imprecation shows that they were continually disturbing the peace of Kṛishṇarâya's dominions.

[7] See above, p. 84 and note 4.

[8] From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

[9] The last *akshara* has been corrected.

[10] Read महेंद्रा°.

7 द्रुमं ॥ [२*] यल्लाटाचस्य करुणक्रोधाभ्यां शबलीकृतः । विभी-[1]
8 षणे रावणे च स वः पायाद्रघूद्वहः ॥ [३*] अव्यादादिवरा-
9 हो वत्सरसामुद्दहन्महीं । निजांगसंगसंजात-
10 सांद्रस्वेदोदयादिव ॥ [४*] उरसि निहितलक्ष्मीबाहुवल्लीयु-
11 गेन स्वकरयुगळमेकीकृत्य कीळीविनोदे । कुवलयदळदामा-
12 [2]नघ्नमंदारमालां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ॥ [५*]
13 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राजन्यचूळिकारत्न-
14 नीराजितपदांबुजः ॥ [६*] [3]सिंहासनानर्हतया द्वापरे लब्ध-
15 या हलिः[4] । कलौ सिंहासनासीनः कृष्णरायो यदूद्व-
16 हः ॥ [७*] श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कवीनां गृहा नाना-
17 रत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अब्धिः[5] केवलनीर-
18 पूरनिलयस्संभाव्यते सज्जनैरंभोधिर्जलधिः पयोधि-
19 रुदधिर्वारां निधिर्वारिधिः ॥ [८*] आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिप-
20 शोर्यूपस्समीकाध्वरे वैरिस्वांतनिखातशंकुरुदितो
21 दीप्रः प्रतापांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणी[6] वराहवपुषो दंष्ट्रा
22 विभिद्योद्गता श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपस्य भाति विजयस्तंभः कळिंगांगणे ॥ [९*]
23 महाप्रथानः[7] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मस्सचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृ-
24 पतेस्साम्राज्यमधितिष्ठति ॥ [१०*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मसचिवः कौंडिन्यकु-
25 लशेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्यनंदनः ॥ [११*] वि-
26 श्वो नैकं विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विद्वदग्रेसराणां पद्मावाणी-
27 विलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः पक्ष्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्राका-
28 रहर्म्यैरतुलपरिकरैरश्वहस्त्यादियानैस्साम्यत्नेभ्यो विभेदं[8]
29 समरविजयतस्साळ्वतिम्मस्य जाने ॥ [१२*] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तित्रि-
30 तयचतुरुपायैकमंत्रीशसाळ्वे तिम्माख्ये कोंडवीड्यां
31 गजपतिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटीमाटीक-
32 माने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासातिखिन्नाः शाकाब्दान् मा-
33 र्गयंते गिरिपुरजलधिष्वासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ॥ [१३*] साळु-
34 वांकशकवत्सरगण्याषाढशुभ्रहरिवासरसौरौ[9] । साळ्व-
35 तिम्मसचिवेन गृहीतं कोंडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ॥ [१४*] पुष्पा-

1 After विभी a superfluous ष has been effaced.
2 Read नद्ध°.
3 Read सिंहा°.
4 Read बलिः?
5 Read अब्धिः.
6 Read °ळाजरणौ.
7 Read °प्रधानः.
8 The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
9 Read °शुभ्र°.

36 रामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधि:[1] काव्यं चे[ह परत्र]
37 [सौख्य]जनकास्संतानकास्सम तान् । भा ृत्तान् म[सकातिव]-
38 र्त्तिं कृतवानासेतुशीताचलं श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालमौक्तिकवचि-
39 व[:*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मप्रभुः ॥ [१५*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो नादिंडु-
40 कुलशेखर: । भस्ति तिम्मयमंत्रीशस्सम्मतस्सर्वबंधुषु[2] ॥ [१६*]
41 कृष्णांबारुंध्वती[3] नूनं भर्तृवाक्यमरुंधती । भनसूया
42 हि सर्वत्र ह्यनसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७*] नादिंडुतिम्मयामात्य:

West Face.

43 काळ्मी कृष्णमांबया ।
44 तत्पुत्रावप्पयामात्य-
45 गोपयामात्यशेखरौ ॥ [१८*]
46 जंभद्विट्कुंभिकुंभद्व-
47 यसचिवशचीचारुवक्षो-
48 जकुंभव्यक्तव्यामानुलि-
49 सप्रस्फमरमसृणक्षोद-
50 कर्पूरपूर: । यत्कीर्त्ति:
51 कार्त्तिकेंदुं परिहसति नि-
52 जै[:*] श्वेतिमाद्वैतवादैस्सोयं
53 नादिंडुयप्पप्रभुमणि-
54 रखिलस्तुत्यकीर्त्तिप्रताप: ॥ [१९*]
55 [4]यघ्धाटीघोटकोटीखरखु-
56 रदळितक्ष्मातलोध्धूतधूलि-[5]
57 पाळीपाताळकेळीकृतधरणित-
58 लि खड्गयुग्यस्य बाहु: । जिं-[6]
59 ह्वालाभीलभूयश्भुजगप-
60 रिवृढो लक्ष्यते [7]सिध्धसंघैस्सो-
61 यं नादिंडुयप्पप्रभुर-
62 वनिभराभास्वाहुप्रतिष्ठ: ॥ [२०*]
63 गोपो नादिंडुगोपश्च तुष्या-

---

[1] Read °निधि.
[2] Read °बंधुषु.
[3] Read °रुंधती.
[4] Read यद्धाटी°.
[5] Read °द्धोद्भूत°.
[6] The *anusvára* stands at the beginning of the next line; read जिह्वाला°.
[7] Read सिद्ध°.

64 विति कथं ब्रुवे । एकसंतान-
65 वान्पूर्वस्मसंतानवान्परः ॥ [२१*]
66 एके चाध्यापिता ये विलक्षण-
67 निगमान्वेधसा सिंधुचंद्र-
68 [प्रा]या जाड्यं प्रपंचाः कति
69 च पद्मदृषद्दारुजात्यातिमू-
70 ढाः । धत्ते चाध्यापयंस्तान् वि-
71 तरणनिगमान् गोपयार्यः क-
72 रेब्धिं कल्पद्रुं कामधेनुं हृ-
73 दि वदनदृशोश्चंद्रचिंताम-
74 णी च ॥ [२२*] यद्वैरिक्षोणिपालप्र-
75 करपुरमहाचंद्रशालाग्र-
76 हांत:श्रीखंडस्तंभग्नु-
77 भुजगपरिवृढालीढदेहा-
78 श्चैवाहाः । मूर्छन्मोहा[:*] स्ख-
79 लंतस्सपदि गतविषा वैनते-
80 येन सद्यो घ्योमार्ग्गं यां-
81 त्ति सोयं दिनमणि[वि]तुती
82 भाति नादिंडुगोपः ॥ [२३*] श्रीकृष्ण-
83 क्षितिपालमौळिसचिवः श्रीसाळ्व-
84 तिम्मप्रभुर्जामातर्यवरे धु-
85 रंधरवरे श्रीगोपमंत्रीश्वरे ।
86 प्रादत्ताखिलकोंडवीटिनगरी-

South Face.

87 साम्राज्य[धौरेयतां मत्तेभाश्वप]दातिसैन्यकलितां प-
88 श्वंक्तिका[1] चा[मरे ॥] [२४*] [श्रीकृष्णरायन]रनाथशिर:प्रधानः[2] श्रीसाळ्व-
89 तिम्मसचिवेश्व[रभागिनेयः । नादिंडु]गोपसचिवो नयतत्व-[3]
90 वेदी श्रीकोंडवीटिनगरैकधुरंधरीभूत् ॥ [२५*] राघवाय १४४२
91 गणिते शकवर्षे राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्यां । वप्रगोपु-
92 रयुतैर्नवहर्म्यैर्गोपमंत्रितिलकेन सपर्या ॥ [२६*] शाका-
93 ब्देक्षियुगाब्धिचंद्रगणिते संवत्सरे विक्रमे श्रीकृष्णक्षिति-

[1] Read पंक्तिका.
[2] Read °प्रधानश्रीसाळ्व-.
[3] Read °तत्त्व-.

94 पालमौळिसचिव:[1] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्माज्ञया । प्रासादं नव-
95 भिश्च हेमकलशैरत्युन्नतं गोपुरप्राकारोत्सवमंट-
96 पैरुपचितं श्रीरामभद्राय च ॥ [२७*] ॥ रामायोत्सवविग्र-
97 हांश्च कनकाकल्पांश्च मुक्तावळी मुख्यं चाभरणौघ-
98 मुज्वलतरं[2] श्रीकोंडवीटीपुरे । हासमत्यधिकां नियोग-
99 रचनां नादिंडुगोपप्रभुर्लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिम्मवि-
100 भवे पुण्याय कृत्वादिशत् ॥ [२८*] ॥ श्रीयज्ञवाटिपुरनायक-
101 राघवाय श्रीकोंडवीटिसकलाध्वसु मूलवीसान् ।
102 लेंबक्षेमाख्यमनुपाख्य च मैंदवोलुं श्रीसाळ्वतिम्म-
103 वचसादित गोपमंत्री ॥ [२९*] यावज्जह्नुसुताचियंब-
104 कसुताश्रीकृष्णवेण्णापय:पूरास्ते पुनते भुवं च विपुला[3]
105 श्रीकोंडवीटीपुरीं । यावत्काव्यसुधांबुराशिलहरी-
106 हेलां विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साळुवतिम्मकीर्तिलतिका पुष्यत्वज-
107 स्रं भुवि ॥ [३०*] महोपाध्यायपंचाग्निदीक्षितो हादशाह्कृत् [।*]
108 लोल्ललक्ष्मीधरो यज्वा [4]प्राहैतध्वर्मशासनं ॥ [३१*] श्री श्री श्री ।[।*]
109 स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] जयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्षंबुलु १४४२
110 अगुनेंटि विक्रमसंव्वत्सर वैशाख शुध्द[5] १५ बु[6] । सोमग्रहण-
111 पुण्यकालमंदु कोंडवीटि श्रीयज्ञवाटिकारघुनायकुलकु
112 श्रीकृष्णदेवमहारायल साम्राज्यधुरंधर श्रीम-
113 न्महाप्रथान[7] साळुवतिम्मसंय्यंगारि मेनल्लुडैन कौशिक-
114 गोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र यजु:शाखाध्यायुलैन नादिंडु-
115 तिम्मराजुंगारि कुमारुंडैन गोपसंय्यंगारु दे-
116 वुनिकि शिखरमु गट्टिंचि शिखरमंटपगोपुरालु सुव-
117 र्णुलु चेयिंचि प[यि]डिकुंडलु येत्तिंचि तिरु-
118 चुट्टुमाळिनु प्राकारमुनु कट्टिंचि उत्सवविग्रह[ा]-
119 ल समर्पिंचि भंडारंभवैभवालकुंनु अमृतपड्ल-
120 [कु]नु उत्सवालकुनु पूर्वान सागि वच्चि[न*] लेंबक्षेग्रामसु
121 सागिंचि मैंदवोलि ग्रामसु समर्प्पिंचि कोंडवीटि
122 सीमलोनु सुंखमु[8] सागिन चोटनल्लानु मूलवीसालु
123 [कों]ड[वी]डु[वुं]डु वसंतगरुडलानु भावंव्यालानु

[1] Read °सचिवश्रीसाळ्व°. [2] Read मुज्ज्वलतरं. [3] Read विपुलां.
[4] Read प्राहैतधर्म°. [5] Read शुद्ध. [6] I.e. बुधवार.
[7] Read °प्रधान. [8] Read सुंकमु.

124 [उप्प]ल[ालु]कार[वट]ालानु तिरुमलपर्वतालु मोद[लै]न वस्ति [पो]-
125 [इ][1] इादि [म]ा . . . . . [न नि]र्न[य] . . . ओं[म]लु को[ळ]लु मा . .

East Face.

126 उप्पु मामिडिकायलु उम्रि[रि]-
127 केकायलु वोंकायलु इं-[2]
128 इुपुकायलु मावेन वीनिकि
129 [गो]ने १ कि मरपैकं लेखनु[3] । पेस-
130 लु मिनुमुलु सनंगलु उलुव-
131 लु कंदुलु गोधुम-
132 लु नुवुलु मामदालु
133 कारामळ्लु मनुमुलु प्रत्ति
134 चिंत्तपंध्यु[4] करक्काय उम्रिरि-
135 कोपप्पु कंद चाम चिरुगडं
136 वोंनिकि गोने १ कि [5]पइकमुनु [।*] उल्लि प-
137 सपु गुग्गिलं मैंत्ति जिलकळ मा-
138 वालु कोत्तगोनेल सलग मक्षं नि-
139 म्मपंड्लु टेंक्कायलु वोनि[कि] गो-
140 ने १ कि दम्ममुनु [।*] वेल्लमु दूदि [ने]-
141 इ[6] मासुदं संगडि इप्पपू मों-
142 ठि इनुमु उक्कुटुलुलु वोनिकि
143 गोने १ कि दम्मालु रेंडुनु [।*] मा[मि]-
144 [डि]तांड्र गोने १ [कि] दम्म[ा*]लु मुंडु[7] [।*]
145 पंचधार पोंकलु नूलु तम-
146 लपाकुलु वोनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु
147 नालुगु [।*] पिप्पलि मिरियालु गं-
148 धमु करांभुउ जाजिकाय
149 जाजिपत्रि सोससु तगरमु रा-
150 गि वोनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु मारु [।*] को-
151 काल मलगकु चवेल [।*] ई मर्याद-

[1] Read पोये.
[2] The *anusvára* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[3] Read लेक्कनु.
[4] Read °पंडु.
[5] Read पेक°.
[6] Read नेय्यि.
[7] Read मूंडु.

152 नु पेर्क्कुयात मूलवोसालु
153 [इ]प्पिंचि श्रीमन्महाप्रधान[1] सा-
154 ळुवतिम्मसंय्यगारिकिवि वारि दे-
155 वुलु लक्ष्मम्मगारिकिवि पुण्यमु-
156 [ग]ानु नादिंडुगोपसंय्यंगा-
157 रु समर्पिंचनु[2] । ई धर्मानकु बो-
158 [3]डेराशुलु तेलुंगुराशुलु
159 त[पि]रा[4] गंम्गलीनु गोवूत्य[5] चेसि-
160 न दोषान बोवुवारु [।*] तुरुकरा-
161 शुलु तप्पिरा पंदि दिं[न] दोषा-
162 न [6]बोडवारु ॥ ए[कैव] भगिनी लोके
163 सर्वेषामे[व][7] भूभुजां [।*] न भोज्य[ा]
164 [न] करग्रांह्या[8] देवदत्ता वसुंध-
165 रा ॥ [१२*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये[9] दाना-
166 च्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥

No. 23.—RADHANPUR PLATES OF GOVINDA III.; SAKA-SAMVAT 730.

By F. Kielhorn, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; Göttingen.

This inscription has already been edited, with a translation and a photo-lithograph, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., by the late Professor Bühler, to whom the original plates were lent by the authorities of **Râdhanpur,** a Native State under the supervision of the Political Superintendent of Pâlanpur, in the Bombay Presidency. As it is considered desirable to issue a true facsimile of this record, I now re-edit it from ink-impressions placed at my disposal by Dr. Fleet, who obtained the original plates on loan from the Political Superintendent of Pâlanpur in 1884. There is no information as to whom the plates may actually belong to.

The inscription is on **two copper-plates** the first of which is engraved on one side only. It is incomplete; the third plate that would have completed it is lost; and so are the ring and seal which probably accompanied the plates. Either plate measures about 11¼" by 7⅞". Their edges were fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; but the surfaces are a good deal corroded by rust—a fact which was altogether obscured by the manipulated photo-lithograph issued with Professor Bühler's paper in 1877—and some letters, in

---

1 Read °प्रधान.
2 Read °चेनु.
3 Read पोळ्ड°.
4 Read तप्पिरा.
5 Read गोहत्य.
6 Read बोवु°.
7 The *r* of सर्वेषा° is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.
8 Read करग्राह्या.
9 The *r* of °पालनयोर्मध्ये is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.

consequence, are more or less illegible. The weight of the two plates is 4 lbs. 6¾ oz. The letters shew through faintly on the back of the first plate; they bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is between about $\frac{3}{16}$" and ¼".—The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may perhaps be drawn to the initial *â* in *â-chandr-*, l. 51; to *ṅ* in *Vêṅg-îśvarô*, l. 34; *ja*, *e.g.* in *Kṛishṇarâjaḥ*, l. 3; *jâ* in *jâtu*, l. 8; *ñ* in *kin=n=âjñ=êva*, l. 21, and *pañcha°*, l. 54; *ṭô* in *bhaṭôddhatêna*, l. 11; *ḍa* in *nigaḍa*, l. 24; *ḍha* in *upagûḍha*, l. 2; the subscript *ṇ* in *Kṛishṇa°*, l. 3, and *karṇṇâ°*, l. 7; *pha* in *phalakê*, l. 25; and to the final *t*, *e.g.* in *bhrâjitât*, l. 3. The very rare letter *jh*, which occurs in *nirjjhara*, l. 11, and probably in *duvêjha*, l. 47, unfortunately in either case is not very distinct.—The **language** is Sanskṛit, but some proper names from the southern vernaculars occur in the formal part of the grant, in lines 44-48. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be mentioned. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; *j* is used for *y* in *jâtê*, l. 22; *chchha* for *tsa* in *âdhichchhayâ*, l. 22; and the vowel *ṛi* is seven times employed for *ri*, *e.g.* in *-bhay-âśṛita*, l. 3, and *-śṛiyam=*, l. 15. An original final *n* before a following consonant is generally (altogether 14 times) wrongly changed to *anusvâra*, *e.g.* in *saṁ* (for *san*), l. 7, *spṛishṭavâṁ*, l. 12, and *tasmiṁ*, l. 21. *Visarga* is everywhere (permissibly) omitted before following *sth*, *sp* and *sph*, *e.g.* in *urasthala-*, l. 1, *ya spṛishṭavâṁ*, l. 12, and *°bhûshitâ sphuṭam=*, l. 19. The rules of *saṁdhi* have been frequently neglected, and occasionally an *akshara* has been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the **Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvindarâja [III.]**, or, as he is called in lines 39-41, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara* and *Pṛithvîvallabha*, the glorious **Prabhûtavarsha**, the glorious *Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*, the glorious **Dhârâvarshadêva.** After the word *ôṁ*, and the well-known verse *Sa vô=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma*, it has nineteen verses glorifying the kings **Kṛishṇarâja [I.]**, his son **Dhôra (Dhruva) Nirupama Kalivallabha**, and his son **Gôvindarâja [III.]**, the donor of the grant. With the exception of verses 7, 15 and 19, the first half of verse 12, and part of verse 13 of the present inscription, the same verses also occur in the Waṇî grant, edited by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157 ff.; and all the nineteen verses are found—generally in a very corrupt form, yet with one or two more correct readings—in the Maṇṇe grant mentioned in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 5, of which a photograph, received from Mr. Rice, has been lent to me by Dr. Fleet. Verse 9 also occurs in the Śirûr inscription, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218, lines 2 and 3 of the text. An examination of the language and general style of most of these verses can leave no doubt that their author or authors[1] for their expressions and poetical devices are greatly indebted to such works as Subandhu's *Vâsavadattâ* and Bâṇa's *Kâdambarî* and *Harshacharita*; and to shew this, I have quoted in the notes on my translation some of the parallel passages which I have collected from those literary works. Regarding the facts recorded in the verses and their historical bearing, I could not add anything of value to what other scholars already have stated; but, concerned as I am with the proper interpretation of the text, I must submit here at least one short remark on the first words of verse 5, which I have found great difficulty in translating and may not perhaps have translated very satisfactorily. The words *jyêshṭh-ôllaṅghana* of that verse I have rendered, with reference to Dhôra, by 'the passing over of his eldest brother,' because, in regard to the moon with which Dhôra is compared, I had to translate the same words subsequently by 'after having passed Jyêshṭhâ.' But I would not wish the reader to understand from my translation that the author must necessarily be taken to say that Dhôra immediately succeeded his father, to the exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. The words of the original text may equally well mean that Dhôra superseded his eldest brother after the latter had succeeded their father, or that he secured the throne for himself by revolting against that brother. The verb *ul-laṅgh* and

[1] In the verses 13 and 19 of the present inscription, their author—if my readings be correct—has employed a construction and a form for which analogies may be found in epic poetry, but which are contrary to the rules of classical Sanskṛit; see my notes on the text.

To be issued as an Appendix to an early volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*:—

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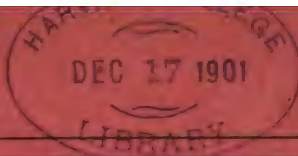
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E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST.

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ullaṅghana are generally equivalent to *ati-kram* and *atikrama*—in fact, I believe our author to have used *jyêshṭhôllaṅghana* in actual imitation of the expression *jyêshṭhâtikrama* which occurs in the passage from the *Kâdambarî* quoted in my notes—and may well convey the various meanings of the latter.[1] Nor would the circumstance that Dhôra's action is compared with a certain proceeding of the moon be at all calculated to enlighten us on what the author meant exactly to express by the word *ullaṅghana*, because, in accordance with the very nature of the figure of *ślêsha*, that word might denote one thing with regard to the moon, and something quite different in the case of Dhôra. The question, therefore, whether Dhôra immediately succeeded his father, or superseded his eldest brother after the latter had ascended the throne, cannot in my opinion be answered from a consideration of the words under discussion.

The *praśasti* which is spoken of in the above, and of which a full translation will be given below, is followed in line 38 of the plates by another, very common verse :—

(V. 21.) "Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he (Gôvindarâja) has devised this gift to a Brâhmaṇ, most meritorious on account of a donation of land."

And in the prose passage which follows this verse, the king, here called **Prabhûtavarsha** (l. 40) and described as already stated above, in the usual terms issues an order to the *Râshṭrapatis* and other officials, to the effect that, while in residence at **Mayûrakhaṇḍi** (l. 42), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on a date to be given below, he granted the village of **Rattajjuṇa** (or **Rattajuṇa**, ll. 45 and 49), situated in the **Râsiyana** *bhukti*, to Paramêśvarabhaṭṭa—a son of Chandiyamma-Gahiyasâhasa,[2] and son's son of Nâgaiyyabhaṭṭa who dwelt at **Tigavi** (l. 43), was a member of the community of *Trivêdins* (or students of the three Vêdas) of that place, and a student of the Taittirîya Vêda, and belonged to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*—for the purpose of keeping up the so-called five great sacrifices.

The boundaries of the village of **Rattajjuṇa** (or **Rattajuṇa**) were (l. 45) : on the east, the river **Sinhâ** ; on the south, **Vavulâlâ** ; on the west, **Miriyathâṇa** ; and on the north, **Varaha-grâma**, 'the village of Varaha.' And regarding the village it is further stated that it was (the village) of certain Brâhmaṇs—the chief of whom were Anantavishṇubhaṭṭa, Viṭṭhu-duvê[jha ?],[3] Gôindamma-shaḍaṅgavid, Savvaibhaṭṭa, Chandaḍibhaṭṭa, Kuṇṭhanâgaibhaṭṭa, Mâdhavairiyappu, Viṭṭhapu, Dêvaṇaiyyabhaṭṭa, Rêyaiyyabhaṭṭa, *etc.*—associated with the forty *Mahâjanas*.[4] This latter remark I can only understand to mean that the people mentioned were settled at the village.

---

[1] From my first note on the translation of verse 5 it will be seen that the commentator of the *Nirukta* uses *ati-kram* with reference to the action of a younger brother who had himself crowned to the entire exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. But *atikrama* in *jyêshṭh-âtikrama* quoted *ibid.* from the *Kâdambarî* is understood by the commentator merely to mean 'the transgression of the commands' (*nirdêś-ôllaṅghana*) of an eldest brother. Similarly, *atikrama* is explained by *âjñ-âtikrama* in the commentary on Yâjñavalkya, II. 232; and in Manu, III. 63, *brâhmaṇ-âtikrama* is translated by 'violence to Brahmans' and 'irreverence to Brâhmaṇas,' while the different commentators on Manu paraphrase *atikrama* here by *adhikshêp-âdi*, *tiraskâr-âdi*, and *apûjana*.

[2] *Gahiyasâhasa* apparently is equivalent to *ghaisâsa* which we have in the names *Prabhâkara-ghaisâsa* and *Vâsiyaṇa-ghaisâsa*, above, Vol. III. p. 216, l. 11 of the text, and in other names, *e.g.* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 305, and Vol. XIV. pp. 71 and 72. *Ghaisâsa* is a family name now found among Chitpâvan Brâhmaṇs; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 124.

[3] The word affixed to the next name, *shaḍaṅgavid*, 'knowing the six Vêdâṅgas,' shews that the word affixed to the name *Viṭṭhu* most probably is some equivalent of the Sanskṛit *dvivêda* or *dvivêdin*, 'a student of two Vêdas;' but I know no rule by which either could become *duvêjha*. In the Waṇî grant, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 39, we have *duvêdi-* for *dvivêdi-*, and elsewhere (*ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 71, ll. 1 and 2) occur *dvêdi* and *duvê*. The last might suggest *Viṭṭhu-duvê*, but I do not see my way to connect the *akshara jha* (if it is really correct) with the following proper name which, standing for *Gôyindamma*, *Gôvindamma* (*Gôvindappa*), seems unobjectionable.

[4] Above, Vol. V. p. 10, note 2, Dr. Fleet has stated that the *Mahâjanas* of a village were the collective body of the Brâhmaṇs of the village. I cannot reconcile this statement with the circumstance that the present inscription speaks of the Brâhmaṇs of the village as associated with (or accompanied by) the forty *Mahâjanas*.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the preceding, **Râsiyana,** from which the *bhukti* was named in which the village granted was situated, has been already identified by Prof. Bühler with the modern Râsin, a town in the Ahmadnagar Collectorate of the Bombay Presidency,[1] the 'Raseen' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, in lat. 18° 26′, and long. 74° 59′. The village granted, **Rattajjuṇa** or **Rattajuṇa,** is identified in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 352, with the village of 'Rátájan,' the 'Rátanjan' of the Postal Directory, and 'Ratunjun' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, about 24 miles north-north-east of 'Raseen.' It lies on the western bank of the river Sînâ ('Seena') which is the **Sinhâ** river of the grant. Three miles almost exactly south of it is 'Baboolgaon,' the **Vavulâlâ** of the grant; and a little more than two miles west of 'Ratunjun' we find 'Meerujgaon,' which must be **Miriyaṭhâṇa.** Lastly, the name of **Varaha-grâma** which was north of Rattajjuṇa survives in the names 'Wurgaon' and 'Wurgaon-kota-che,' which are found in the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, eight and five miles respectively north by west of 'Ratunjun.'— **Tigavi,** the place of residence of the grantee's grand-father and most probably his own, is suggested by Dr. Fleet to be 'Tugaon,' a village about eight miles north-east by north of Saṅgamnêr, the 'Sungumner' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 38; it would be distant about 80 miles north-west by north from 'Ratunjun.'— On **Mayûrakhaṇḍi** whence the grant was issued, see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 396.

As has been already stated, the grant was made on the occasion of **a solar eclipse;** and **the date** on which this eclipse took place is given (ll. 53 and 54) as the new-moon *tithi* of the dark half of Śrâvaṇa in the (Jovian) year Sarvajit and the Śaka year 730 (given in words only). I have already had occasion to shew— see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 131, No. 108, and compare Vol. XXV. pp. 267, 269 and 292— that this date for Śaka-Saṁvat 730 expired corresponds to **the 27th July A.D. 808, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India.** At Râsin the greatest phase of this eclipse was about 5 digits, and the moment of the greatest phase was shortly after true sunrise. The year **Sarvajit** can be connected with the date only by the so-called northern system, because by the strict mean-sign system Sarvajit had ended on the 26th May A.D. 808, and by the southern system Sarvajit corresponds to Śaka-Saṁvat 730 current.

The second plate ends with the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee in the enjoyment of this grant, and the missing third plate may be assumed to have contained some similar remarks and a number of benedictive and imprecatory verses.

I consider it unnecessary to publish a full translation of the prose part of this inscription; as regards my translation of the introductory verses, I can only say:— *Yatnê kṛitê yadi na sidhyati kô 'tra dôshaḥ?*

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

Ôṁ[3] [||*] Sa[4] vô=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâbhi-kamalaṁ kṛitaṁ [|*] Haraś=cha yasya kânt-êndu-kalayâ kam=alaṁkṛitaṁ [|| 1*] [5]Bhûpô=bhavad=vṛi(bṛi)had-urasthala-râja-

2 mâna-śrî-kaustubh-âyata-karair=upagûḍha-kaṇṭhaḥ[6] [|*] satyânvitô vipula-chakra-vinirjit-ârichakrô=py=akṛishṇacharitô bhu-

[1] See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 734.

[2] From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

[3] Denoted by a symbol.

[4] Metre: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[5] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

[6] Originally the sign of *anusvâra* was engraved above *ka*, but it has been struck out again.

3 vi **Kṛishṇarâjaḥ** [|| 2*] [1] Pakshachchhêda-bhay-âśṛi(śri)t-âkhila-mahâbhûbhṛitkula-bhrâjitât[2] durlaṁghyâd=aparair=anêka-vimala-bhrâjishṇu-

4 ratn-ânvitât [|*] yaś=**Châlukya**-kulâd=anûna-vivu(bu)dha-vrât-âśrayô vâridhêr=Lakshmîn(m)=Mandaravat=sa-lîlam=achirâd=âkṛishṭavâṁn=[3]**Vallabhaḥ** [|| 3*]

5 Tasy=âbhût=tanayaḥ pratâpa-visarair=âkrânta-digmaṇḍalaḥ[4] chaṁṇḍâṁśôḥ sadṛiśô=py=achaṇḍakaratâ-prahlâdita-kshmâtalaḥ [|*] **Dhôrô**

6 dhairya-dhanô vipaksha-vanitâ-vaktrâmvu(mbu)ja-śrî-harô hârîkṛitya yaś[ô] yadîyam=aniśaṁ dig-nâyikâbhir=dhṛitaṁ [|| 4*] Jyêshṭh-ô[l*]laṁghana-

7 jâtay=âpy=amalayâ lakshmyâ samêtô=pi saṁ[5] yô=bhûn=nirmala-maṇḍala sthiti-yutô dôshâkarô na kvachit [|*] karṇṇ-âdhasthita-dâna-saṁ-

8 tati-bhṛitô yasy=ânya-dân-âdhikaṁ dânaṁ vîkshya su-la[j*]jitâ iva diśâṁ prântê sthitâ diggajâḥ [|| 5*] [6] Anyair=na jâtu vijitaṁ

9 guru-śaktisâram=âkrânta-bhûtalam=ananyasamâna-mânaṁ [|*] yên=êha va(ba)ddham=avalôkya chirâya **Gaṁga**[ṁ*]

10 dûraṁ sva-nigraha-bhiy=êva **Kaliḥ** prayâtaḥ [|| 6*] [7]Êkatr=âtma-va(ba)lêna[8] vâ[r]inidhin=âpy=anyatra rudhvâ[9] ghanaṁ nishkṛishṭâ[si*]-[10]

11 bhaṭ-ôddhatêna viharadgrâh-âtibhîmêna cha [|*] mâtaṁgân=madavâri-nirjjhara-muchaḥ prâpy=ânatât=**Pallavât**

12 tach=chitraṁ madạ-lêśam=apy=anudinaṁ ya spṛishṭavâṁ[11] na kvachit [|| 7*] [Hêlâ]-svî[kṛi]ta-**Gauḍa**-râjya-kamalâ-mattaṁ pravêśy=âchirât[12] du-

13 rmârgaṁ maru-madhyam=aprativa(ba)lair=yô **Vatsarâjaṁ** va(ba)lai[ḥ] [|*] **Gauḍîyaṁ** śaradindu-pâda-dhavalaṁ [13]chchhatra-dvayaṁ kêvala[ṁ] tasmân=n=âhṛi-

14 ta tad-yaśô=pi kakubhâṁ prântê sthitaṁ tatkshaṇât [|| 8*] [14]Lavdha(bdha)-pratishṭham=[15]achirâya Kaliṁ sudûram=utsârya śuddha-charitair=ddhara-

15 ṇî-talasya [|*] kṛitvâ punaḥ Kṛitayuga-śṛi(śri)yam=apy=aśêshaṁ chitraṁ kathaṁ **Nirupamaḥ Kali-vallabhô**=bhût [|| 9*] [16]Prâbhûr=dhairyavataḥ

16 tatô **Nirupamâd**=indur=yathâ vâridhêḥ śuddh-âtmâ paramêśvar-ônnata-śiraḥ-saṁsakta-pâdaḥ sutaḥ [|*] padm-ânandakaraḥ

17 pratâpa-sahitô nity-ôdayaḥ sônnatêḥ pûrv-âdrêr=iva bhânumân=abhimatô **Gôvindarâjaḥ** satâṁ [|| 10*] Yasmi[ṁ][17] sarva-

18 guṇ-âśrayê kshitipatau śrî-**Râshṭ[r]akûṭ**-ânvayô jâtê **Yâdavavaṁśavan=Madhuri**[pâ*]v=âsîd=alaṁghyaḥ paraiḥ [|*] dṛishṭ-âśâ-

Second Plate; First Side.

19 vadhayaḥ kṛitâsyasadṛiśâ[18] dânêna yên=[ô]ddhatâ muktâhâravibhû[shitâ][19] sphuṭam=iti pratyarthi[nô=p]y=arthin[ô]=py=asy=âkâra-[20]

---

[1] Metre of verses 3-5: Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [2] Read *-bhrâjitâd=*.
[3] Read *°shṭavân=*. [4] Read *°lat=chaṇḍâṁśôḥ*. [5] Read *san=*.
[6] Metre: Vasantatilakâ. [7] Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[8] This reading is quite certain; Prof. Bühler read *-vahêna*. [9] Read *ruddhvâ*.
[10] *Nishkṛishṭâsi-* is the reading of the Maṇṇe grant. Prof. Bühler's text has *nishkṛishṭâri-*, and the photo-lithograph actually has the *akshara ri* at the end of line 10; but, so far as I can judge, that *akshara* was never really engraved, and owes its presence solely to Prof. Bühler's conjectural reading.
[11] Read *spṛishṭavân=na*. Prof. Bühler has suggested the reading *yat=spṛishṭa°*, but this alteration of the original text seems to me unnecessary.
[12] Read *=âchirâd=*. [13] Read *chhattra-*. [14] Metre: Vasantatilakâ.
[15] Originally the sign of *anusvâra* was engraved above *shṭha*, but it has been struck out again.
[16] Metre of verses 10-20: Śârdûlavikrîḍita.— Read *prâbhûd=dhairyavatas=*.
[17] Read *yasmin=*. [18] Read *kṛitâḥ susadṛiśâ*.
I should have expected *°bhûshaṇâ*; but the plate seems really to have *°bhûshitâ*, which is the reading of the Waṇî and Maṇṇe grants.
Read *=arthinâm* [|| 11*]. *Yasy=âkâra-*.

20 m=amânushaṁ tṛi(tri)bhuvana-vyâpatti-raksh-ôchitaṁ Kṛishṇasy=êva nirîkshya yachchhati pitary=aikâdhipatyaṁ bhuvaḥ [|*] âstâṁ tâta ta-

21 v=aitad=apratihatâ dattâ tvayâ kaṇṭhikâ kin=n=âjñ=êva mayâ dhṛit=êti pitaraṁ yuktaṁ vachô yô=bhyadhât [|| 12*] Tasmiṁ[1] svarga-

22 vibhûshaṇâya janakê jâ(yâ)tê yaśaḥśêshatâm=êkîbhûya samudyatâṁ[2] vasumatî-saṁhâram=âdhichchhayâ[3] [|*] vichchhâyâṁ[4]

23 sahasâ vyadhatta nṛipatîn=êkô=pi yô dvâdaśa khyâtân=apy=adhika-pratâpa-visaraiḥ saṁvartakô=rkân=iva [|| 13*] Yên=â-

24 tyanta-dayâlun=âtha nigaḍa-klêśâd=apâsy=âyatât svaṁ dêśaṁ gamitô=pi darpa-visarâd=yaḥ prâtikûlyê sthitaḥ [|*] yâ-

25 van=na bhrutu(ku)ṭî lalâṭa-phalakê yasy=ônnatê lakshyatê vikshêpêṇa vijitya tâvad=achirâd=va(ba)ddhaḥ sa **Gaṁgaḥ** punaḥ [|| 14*] Saṁ-

26 dhây=âśu śilîmukhâṁ[5] sva-samayâṁ[6] vâ(bâ)ṇâsanasy=ôpari prâptaṁ varddhita-vaṁ(baṁ)dhujîva-vibhavaṁ padm-âbhivṛiddhy-anvi-

27 taṁ [|*] sannakshatram=udîkshya yaṁ śarad-ṛituṁ parjanyavad=**Gûrjarô** nashṭaḥ kv=âpi bhayât=tathâ na samaraṁ sva-

28 pnê=pi paśyêd=yathâ [|| 15*] Yat-pâdânatimâtrak-aika-śaraṇâm=âlôkya lakshmî[ṁ*] nijâṁ dûrân=**Mâlava-nâ-**

29 yakô naya-parô yaṁ prâṇamat=prâṁjaliḥ [|*] kô vidvâṁ[7] valinâ sah=âlpa-va(ba)laka sparddhâṁ vidhattê paraṁ[8] nî-

30 tês=tad=dhi phalaṁ yad=âtma-parayôr=âdhikya-saṁvêdanaṁ [|| 16*] **Viṁdhy-âdrêḥ** kaṭakê nivishṭa-kaṭakaṁ śrutvâ charair=yaṁ nijaiḥ svaṁ dêśaṁ

31 samupâgataṁ dhruvam=iva jñâtv[â] bhiyâ prêritaḥ [|*] **Mâr[âśa]rva-**mahîpatir=drutam=[ag*]âd=aprâptapûrvaiḥ paraiḥ[9] yasy=ôchchhâm=a-

32 nukûlayaṁ[10] kula-dhanaiḥ pâdau praṇâmair=api [|| 17*] Nîtvâ **Śrîbhavanê** ghanâghana-ghana-vyâpt-âṁva(ba)râṁ prâvṛishaṁ tasmâ-

33 d=âgatavâṁ[11] samaṁ nija-va(ba)lair=â-**Tuṁgabhadrâ**-taṭaṁ [|*] tatra-sthaḥ svakara-sthitâm=api punar=na(ni)ḥśêsham=âkṛishṭavâṁ[12] vikshêpair=api

34 chitram=ânata-ripur=yaḥ **Pallavânâṁ** śṛi(śri)yaṁ [|| 18*] Lêkhâhâra-mukhôdit-ârddha-vachasâ yatr=aitya **Vêṅg-îśvarô** nityaṁ kiṁkaravad=vya-

---

[1] Read *tasmin=*.

[2] Read *samudyatân=*. From the St. Petersburg *Dictionary* it will be seen that *udyata, abhyudyata, pratyudyata, samudyata, etc.,* occur in various epic and purâṇic texts where we should have expected *udgata, etc.* The case is the same with the word *samudyatân* in the present passage. Here the fact that the twelve princes are compared with twelve suns shews beyond a doubt— see the passages which will be quoted in connection with the translation of the verse— that we want a word which means "risen," and this could only be *samudgatân*. I prefer this explanation to the assumption that *samudyatâṁ* might have been erroneously put by the writer for *samudyatô* (from *sam-ud-i*).

[3] Originally *vasumatîṁ* was engraved, but the sign of *anusvâra* clearly is struck out. In the two *aksharas mâdhi* the *â* of *mâ* also looks as if it had been struck out, and *dhi* may perhaps have been altered, but I do not see what alteration could be resorted to. As the Maṇṇe grant actually has *vasumatî-saṁhâram=âdhitsayâ*— the Waṇî grant, omitting part of the verse, has *vasumatî n=êkô=pi yô dvâdaśa*— I adopt the same reading also for the present grant; but it should be stated that the construction of a noun substantive like *âdhitsâ* (derived from the Desiderative) with the accusative case, though not unknown in epic poetry, is contrary to the strict rules of classical Sanskṛit. Prof. Speijer in his *Sanskrit Syntax* quotes *e.g.* *Mahâbhârata,* I. 113, 21, *jigîshayâ mahîm,* 'with the desire of conquering the earth.'

[4] Read *vichchhâyân=*.

[5] Read °*mukhân=*.

[6] Read °*mayân=*.

[7] Read *vidvân=balinâ.*

[8] Originally *parâṁ* was engraved, but the vowel *â* of the second syllable appears certainly to have been struck out.

[9] Read *parair=*.

[10] Read °*kûlayan=*.

[11] Read °*tavân=*.

[12] Read °*shṭavân=*.

Radhanpur Plates of Govinda III.—Saka-Samvat 730.

i.

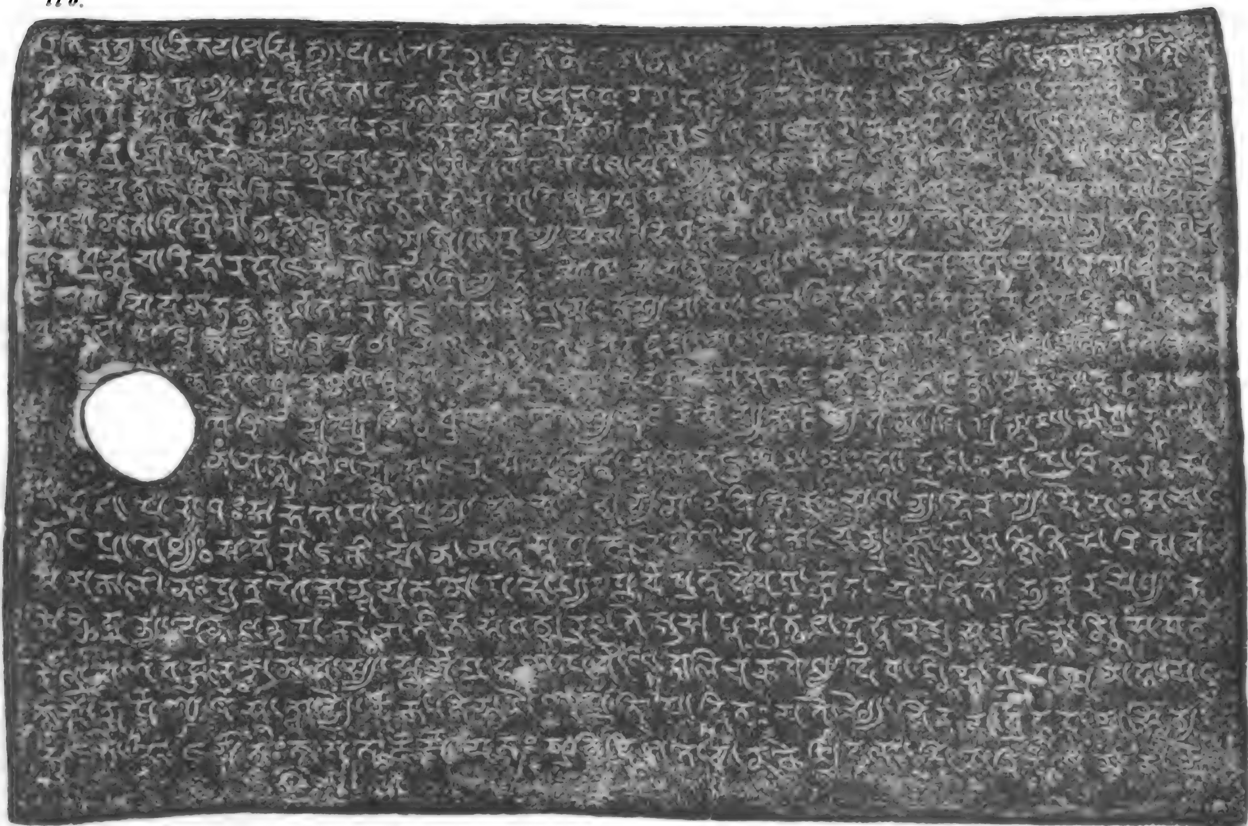


ii a.



J. F. FLEET. SCALE ·54 W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

ii b.



35 dhâd=aviratah karma svaśarm-êchchhayâ [|*] vâhyâlî-vṛitir=asya yêna rachitâ vyôm-âgra-lagn=â[ra]chat[1] râtrau mauktika-[2]mâli-

36 kâm=iva vṛitâ[3] mûrddhastha-târâ-gaṇaiḥ [|| 19*] Saṁtrâsât=para-chakra-râjakam=agât=tatpûrva-sêvâvidhiḥ[4] vyâvaddh-âṁjali-

37 śôbhitêka(na) śaraṇaṁ mûrdhnâ yad-aṁhṛi(hri)-dvayaṁ [|*] yad-yad-datta-parârddhya-bhûshaṇa-gaṇair=[5]n=âlaṁkṛitaṁ [ta*]t=tathâ mâ bhaishî-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

38 r=iti satya-pâlita-yaśasthityâ yathâ tad-girât[6] [|| 20*] [7]Tên=êdam=anila-vidyu[ch*]-chaṁchalam=avalôkya jîvitam=asâraṁ [|*] kshiti-

39 dâna-paramapuṇyaḥ pravartitô vra(bra)hma-dâyô=yaṁ [|| 21*] Sa cha paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrîma-

40 d-**Dhârâvarshadêva**-pâdânudhyâta-paramabharamabhaṭṭâraka-[8]mahârâjâdhirâja-paramê-śvara-pṛithvîvala(lla)bha-śrîmat-**Prabhû-**

41 **tavarsha**-śrî-Śrîvallabhanarêndradêvaḥ kuśalî sarvân=êva yathâ-samvadhyamânakâṁ[9] râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmakûṭâkûyu-[10]

42 ktaka-niyuktak-âdhikârika-mahattar-âdîṁ[11] samâdiśaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathâ śrî-**Mayûrakhaṇḍî**-samâvâsitê-

43 na mayâ mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=ch=aihik-âmushmika-puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê |[12] **Tigavivâstavya**-[13]ta[t*]traividyasâmânya-Tê(tai)ttirîya-

44 [14]yasavra(bra)hmachâri-Bhâradvâjasagôtra-Nâgaiyyabhaṭṭa-pautrâya [15]Chandiyammagahiyasâhasa-putrâya Paramêśvarabha-

45 ṭṭâya **Râsiyanabhukty**-antargataḥ[16] **Rattajjuṇa**-nâma-grâmaḥ tasya ch=âghâṭanâni pûrvataḥ **Sinhâ** nadî dakshiṇataḥ **Va-**

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[1] Read =*drachad*=. Instead of *rachat*, Prof. Bühler's text has *na chêt*, and in the photo-lithograph the first *akshara* of the group is figured as *na*. But in the original plate that *akshara* is very different from what it has been represented to be in the photo-lithograph in the *Ind. Ant.*, and certainly is not *na*. It looks like a *ru*, the *u* of which, as is shewn by the back of the paper impression, may have been struck out; the Maṇṇe grant also, after *lagnâ*, has *rucham*. The consonant of the second *akshara* of the group is *ch*, with a mark above it which Prof. Bühler has taken to be the sign for *ê*; but that mark is so far away from the *ch*, and differs so much from the sign for *ê* generally here used, that I regard it as an accidental scratch. At any rate, I am convinced that, if *ê* was really engraved, it has been struck out. The actual reading therefore is -*lagnâruchat* or -*lagnârachat*, and I adopt the latter because in *drachat* we obtain a verb that may govern the following accusative case *mauktika-mâlikâm* which otherwise, like Triśaṅku, would stand in the air — derived from the root *rach* which is frequently found in construction with *mâlâ*, 'a garland.' Compare *e.g. Harshach.* p. 167, *rachita-muṇḍamâlaka*; *Kâd.* p. 139, *vâshpajalavindubhir=drachitâṁ sphaṭikâkshamâlikâm*; and *Daśakumârach.*, Prof. Bühler's 2nd ed., p. 45, *drachita-muñjamâla*, 'one who has assumed a beautiful garland.' The difficulty which remains is, that in classical Sanskṛit *rach* is a root of the 10th class — compare *e.g. Harshach.* p. 158, *lavaṅgamâlâ rachayantîbhiḥ* — and that our author, in writing *drachat*, would have used a form for which an analogy could be found only in epic poetry. For this compare the construction of *âdhitsâ*, above, p. 244, note 3.

[2] Originally *mauktikê*- was engraved, but the superscript *ê* has been struck out.

[3] Prof. Bühler gives *dhṛitâ*, which would be a possible reading.

[4] Read °*vidhi-vyâbaddh*-.

[5] Between *ṇai* and *rnâ* another *akshara* may have been originally engraved.

[6] Read *tad-girâ*.
[7] Metre: Âryâ.
[8] Read -*paramabhaṭṭâraka*-.

[9] Read -*saṁbadhyamânakân*=.
[10] Read -*grâmakûṭ-âyu*-.
[11] Read -*âdîn=samâdiśati* | *Astu*.

[12] This mark should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.

[13] Prof. Bühler read the name of the village *Tigaṁvi*, but in the impression I fail to recognise any sign of *anusvâra* over the word.

[14] The *akshara ya* has been wrongly repeated here and should be struck out.

[15] Originally the sign of *anusvâra* seems to have been engraved over the first *ya* of this word. Prof. Bühler read the name *Chandriyamma*°.

[16] Here and in other places below the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed,

46 vulâlâ paśchimataḥ **Miriyaṭhâṇa** uttarataḥ **Varaha-grâmaḥ**[1] êvam=ayaṁ[2] chaturâghâṭan-ôpalakshitaḥ tathâ A-

47 [3]nantavipṇu(shṇu)bhaṭṭa-Viṭṭhuduvê[jha]-[4]Gôinda[ṁ]mashaḍaṁga[v]i[ṭ?[5]]-Savvaibhaṭṭa-Chandaḍibhaṭṭa-Kuṇṭhanâgaibhaṭṭa-Mâdha-

48 vairiyappu-Viṭṭhapu-Dêvaṇaiyyabhaṭṭa-Rêyaiyyabhaṭṭ-êty-êvamâdi-pramukhânâṁ(ṇâṁ) vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâ-

49 nâṁ chatvâriṁśad-mahâjana-samanvitânâṁ **Rattajuṇa-grâmaḥ** s-ôdraṁgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ sa-

50 daśâparâdhaḥ sa-bhûtôpâttapratyâyaḥ s-ôtpadyamânavishṭikaḥ sa-dhânyahiraṇyâdêyaḥ a-châṭa-

51 bhaṭa-prâvêśyaḥ sarva-râjakîyânâm=a-hastaprakshêpaṇîyaḥ â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvata-

52 samakâlînaḥ putra-pautr-ânvaya-kram-ôpabhôgyaḥ[6] pûrvapratta-dêvavrâ(bra)hmadâya-rahitô=bhyantarasi[d*]dhyâ bhû-

53 michchhidra-nyâyêna **Śa[ka*]nṛipakâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu triṁ(triṁ)śad-uttarêshu Sarvajin-nâmni saṁvat[sa]-**

54 rê **Śrâvaṇa-vahula**[7] **amâvâsyâṁ** **sûryagrahaṇa-parvaṇi** va(ba)li-charu-vaiśya(śva)dêv-âgnihôtra-pañchamahâyajña-[8]

55 kṛi(kri)y-ôtsarpaṇârthaṁ snâtv=âdy=ôdak-âtisargêṇa pratipâditaḥ [|*] Yatô=sy=ôchitayâ vra(bra)hmadâya-sthityâ

56 bhuṁjatô bhôjayataḥ kṛishatô karshayataḥ pratidiśatô vâ na kaiśchid=alp=âpi paripaṁthanâ kâryâ

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-20.

Ôṁ. (Verse 1.) May He[9] protect you the lotus of whose navel was made by Brahmâ into his own abode, and Hara[10] too, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon!

(V. 2.) There was on the earth a king **Kṛishṇarâja**, whose neck was clasped by the outstretched hands of Fortune[11] shining on his broad chest, who was gifted with truth,[12] and who by his large armies defeated the armies of opponents—[and who thereby was like the god Kṛishṇa] whose neck is hidden by the long rays of the *Kaustubha* gem glittering on his broad chest, who is united with Satyâ, and who with his broad disc defeats hosts of enemies— yet whose deeds were not like Kṛishṇa's[13] [*i.e.* whose deeds were not black (*kṛishṇa*)].

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[1] Prof. Bühler read the name *Vaḍaha-*, but the second *akshara* undoubtedly is *ra*.

[2] Prof. Bühler read *êvam=êva*.

[3] In the names in this line and the next Prof. Bühler read 14 *aksharas* differently.

[4] I am not absolutely certain that the *akshara* in brackets is really *jha* in the original, but it certainly looks more like *jha* than anything else. See above, p. 241, note 3.

[5] Very probably this final *ṭ* was engraved above the line, between *vi* and *sa*, where the impression and the accompanying collotype shew a kind of blot which has been carefully effaced in the photo-lithograph accompanying Prof. Bühler's paper.

[6] Originally *-kramôṁpabhôgyaḥ* was engraved. [7] Read *-bahul-âmâvâsyâṁ*.

[8] Before this word one would have expected to read, as in the Waṇî grant, *-âgnihôtr-âtithi-*.

[9] *I.e.* Vishṇu. [10] *I.e.* Śiva.

[11] Referred to the king, *śrî-kaustubha* would literally mean 'Fortune (as bright as) the Kaustubha gem,' and referred to the god Kṛishṇa it might mean either 'the glorious Kaustubha gem' or 'Lakshmî and the Kaustubha gem.' Similar compounds are most common; and so is the idea that Fortune rests on a king's breast.

[12] *Satyânvita* = *satya* + *anvita* and *Satyâ* + *anvita*, and *Satyâ* is a shorter form of the name *Satyabhâmâ*, denoting one of Kṛishṇa's wives. Compare *Vâs.* p. 122, *Kṛishṇa iva satyabhâmôpêtaḥ*, 'he was endowed with truth (*satya*), spendour (*bhâ*), and fortune (*mâ*), and therefore like Kṛishṇa who is united with Satyabhâmâ.'

[13] Only for those who are not familiar with the devices of Indian poets, I would state that these words are by no means intended either to convey any censure of the god Kṛishṇa, or to draw a distinction between that god and the king. The poet merely employs the figure of speech termed *virôdha* (or *virôdhâbhâsa*). In saying that

(V. 3.) Aided by[1] the total number of his wise men, He easily and swiftly drew to himself, **Vallabha** as he was,[2] Fortune from the **Châlukya** family, which was illustrious because all the families of great monarchs resorted to it from fear of being shorn of their partisans, was difficult to be thwarted by others, and possessed of many stainless brilliant treasures[3]— just as the **Mandara** mountain,[4] supported by the whole assemblage of the gods, easily and swiftly drew **Lakshmî** forth from the sea which glittered with the throng of all the great mountains that had sought refuge with it from fear of having their wings clipt,[5] is difficult to be crossed by others, and full of many flawless sparkling gems.

(V. 4.) He had a son who— though like the cruel-rayed sun which with the intensity of its ardour torments the quarters all around, he dominated the circle of the regions by the excess of his prowess— yet delighted the dwellers of the earth by his mild taxation:[6] **Dhôra,** who, setting store by fortitude only, robbed of their beauty the lotus-faces of his opponents' wives, (*and*) whose fame the guardian mistresses of the quarters incessantly wore as their garland.

(V. 5.) United with Fortune unblemished, even though attained by the passing over of his eldest brother, [and thereby like the moon] when she shines with a pure lustre even after having passed Jyêshṭhâ, yet [surpassing the moon, whose orb is not spotless, who was wanting in continence, and is ever 'the maker of night'] He kept those around him free from blemish, was endowed with steadfastness, and noways a source of vice.[7] Seeing that His liberality exceeded the

Kṛishṇarâja was like the god Kṛishṇa, and that yet his deeds were not like Kṛishṇa's, he expects the reader to reconcile the two apparently contradictory statements by taking the second of them to mean that his deeds were not black. Compare *Kâd.* (here and below, except when otherwise stated, Prof. Peterson's edition), p. 10, *atiśuddha-svabhâvam api kṛishṇa-charitam*, 'although his character was very pure, his deeds were black' [*i.e.*, really, his deeds were like Kṛishṇa's].

[1] The compound ending with *âśraya* I of course take as a Bahuvrîhi. For the double meaning of *vibudha* compare *Vâs.* p. 14, *Mêrur iva vibudhâlayaḥ*, 'he was a home of the learned, and therefore like the Mêru which is the habitation of the gods.'

[2] By the way in which the poet pointedly places the word *Vallabhaḥ*, at the end of the verse, and in close proximity to the word *âkṛishṭavân*, I understand him to suggest that Kṛishṇarâja, just because he was Vallabha, had a right, or was particularly qualified, to draw to himself Fortune from the Châlukya family. And he had this right or qualification, and Fortune came to him willingly, because he was 'the favourite' of Lakshmî, *śriyô vallabhaḥ*, as he is called in another inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 107, l. 26 of the text).

[3] *Ratna*, 'a jewel,' may be used to denote any possession of great value ('*ratnaṁ śrêshṭhê maṇâv=api*' *iti Viśvaḥ*). The epithet *ratna-viśêsha-bhâj* in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI. 1, is explained by *tattachchhrêshṭha-vastubhâgin*. In *Kâd.* p. 80, the prince Chandrâpîḍa looks upon the horse Indrâyudha sent to him by his father as one of the king's *sakalatribhuvana-durlabhâni ratnâni*; and in the gloss on *Harshach.* p. 142, horses, elephants and a beautiful woman are enumerated among the *mahâ-ratnâni* of monarchs.

[4] Compare *Harshach.* p. 109: the king Pushpabhûti (Pushyabhûti) was *Mandaramaya iva lakshmî-samâkarshaṇê.*

[5] In *Kâd.* p. 90, the author describes the royal palace as *udadhim iva bhayântaḥpravishṭa-sapaksha-bhûmibhṛit-sahasra-saṁkulam.*

[6] Or by the leniency with which he took tribute from those whom he had subjugated.

[7] In this first half of the verse the poet uses the figure of *vyatirêka*. In one respect Dhôra was like the moon, but in others he surpassed that luminary. The clouds generally begin to gather and to hide the moon at the beginning of the month of Âshâḍha— compare the *Mêghadûta*, v. 2, *Âshâḍhasya prathama-divasê mêgham âślishṭa-sânuṁ . . . dadarśa*— which follows immediately upon Jyaishṭha; yet occasionally the moon may be clearly visible even in the rainy season. Similarly, it has ever been considered sinful for a younger prince to set aside in the succession— compare *Nirukta*, II. 10, *adharmas tvayâ charitô jyêshṭhaṁ bhrâtaram antarity=âbhishêchitam*, where *antaritya* is paraphrased by *atikramya*— or generally to act in opposition to, an elder brother; yet in the case of Dhôra who was guilty of such conduct, his action— the wording of the verse does not make it certain wherein it exactly consisted— and the personal advantage derived from it, were regarded as free from blemish. On the other hand— so the poet suggests— the moon's orb always has a dark spot; (in carrying off Bṛihaspati's wife Târâ, though he had many beautiful wives of his own) the Moon was wanting in continence; and the very name *dôshâkara*— really 'the maker of night'— of the moon shews its possessor to be 'a mine of vice.' Dhôra's qualities on the contrary, as may be seen from the translation, were the very reverse of all these blemishes.— As regards particulars, compare in the first instance *Kâd.* p. 56, *śaśinô jyêshṭhâtikramaḥ*; in Târâpîḍa's reign

liberality of others, while their own practice of liberality lagged behind that of Karṇa[1] [*i.e.* while the stream of their rutting-juice flowed beneath their ears (*karna*)], the elephants of the quarters, utterly abashed as it were, posted themselves at the confines of the quarters.

(V. 6.) The Kali age— witnessing how the **Gaṅga**, who, of consummate strength, had never been conquered by others, and who, having overrun the face of the earth, was filled with unparalleled conceit, at last by Him was imprisoned— fled far away, for fear, as it were, of being chastised in its own body.

(V. 7.) Having closely hemmed in the **Pallava**, on the one side by his army abounding in warriors with drawn[2] swords, and on the other by the sea fearful with sporting sharks, and having received from him, bent in submission, elephants shedding streams of rutting-juice, He, strange (*to record*), day after day touched never even an atom of rutting-juice[3] [*i.e.* He betrayed never even an atom of pride].

(V. 8.) By his matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert[4] **Vatsarâja** who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of the **Gauḍa**, He in a moment took away from him, not merely the **Gauḍa's** two umbrellas of state, white like the rays of the autumn moon, but his own fame also that had spread to the confines of the regions.

(V. 9.) Since by the pure conduct of the dwellers of the earth He swiftly drove far away the Kali age that was established here, and completely reinstated the glory of the golden age,[5] it is marvellous how **Nirupama** came to be **Kali-vallabha**, 'the Favourite of the Kali age.'

(V. 10.) As the moon, whose rays cling to Paramêśvara's[6] lofty head, emerges bright from the sea, and as the sun, causing joy to the lotus, day by day rises brilliant from the high orient mount, so from that **Nirupama**, firm of character, was born a son of pure disposition, whose feet

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the moon indeed passed Jyêshṭhâ, but otherwise there was not found on the earth any *jyêshṭhâtikrama*, *i.e.* overstepping or, as the commentator puts it, transgression of the commands (*nirdêśôllaṅghana*) of an eldest brother. For the moon's behaviour towards Bṛihaspati's wife compare *Vâs.* p. 273, *Gurudâra-grahaṇaṁ dvijarâjô 'karôt*; *Harshach.* p. 97, *dvijânâṁ râjâ Gurudâra-grahaṇam akârshît*; and especially the beautiful story told *ibid.* p. 281. For *dôsha*, 'vice,' and *dôshâ*, 'night,' see *e.g. Kâd.* p. 37, *gharmakâla-divasa iva kshapita-bahu-dôshaḥ*, 'he had subdued many vices, and was therefore like a summer day which shortens the long night;' and for the double meaning of *maṇḍala* compare *Vâs.* p. 189, *surôjêva rakta-maṇḍalaḥ . . . rajanîpatiḥ*, where *maṇḍala* is paraphrased by *bimba*, 'orb,' and *amâtyâdi-samûha*, 'the collection of ministers *etc.*'

[1] The adjective ending with *-saṁtatibhṛitaḥ* can only be taken to qualify *diggajâḥ*. Employed in accordance with the figure of *kâvyaliṅga*, it gives the poet's reason why the elephants were ashamed and retired to the confines of the quarters. The king's liberality exceeded that of *all* others, theirs was inferior at any rate to that of Karṇa. Karṇa is well-known as a pattern of munificence. For the double meaning of the word *karṇa* compare *Vâs.* p. 62, *Suyôdhana-dhṛitim iva karṇa-viśrânta-lôchanâm*, 'her eyes extended to her ears (*karṇa*), and she therefore was like Suyôdhana's firmness which left him when he saw Karṇa;' for that of *dâna*, *ibid.* p. 74, *matta-mâtaṅga iva . . . adharîkṛita dânaḥ*, 'he eclipses the liberality (of others), and is therefore like a rutting elephant whose rutting-juice is flowing down;' *Kâd.* p. 90, *diggajam iv=âvichchhinna-mahâdâna-saṁtânam*; *etc.*

[2] The ordinary Sanskṛit expression for 'to draw' the sword is *ut-khan*, and the dictionaries give no quotation to shew that *nish-krish* has the same meaning; but the latter verb is used *e.g.* in *Harshach.* p. 180, *nishkṛishṭa maṇḍalâgrau*, 'with drawn swords.'

[3] In *Harshach.* p. 220, it is similarly said of Skandagupta, the commandant of Harsha's elephant troop: *âtmastha-samasta-matta-mâtaṅga-sâdhanô 'py=aspṛishṭô madêna*, 'with a whole army of rutting elephants at his disposal, he was yet untouched by rut' (*i.e.* presumption; compare Prof. Cowell's Translation).

[4] Or 'Maru country' (Mârvâḍ); and 'the king of the Vatsas.'

[5] Beneath the rule of Prabhâkaravardhana 'the golden age (*kṛita-yuga*) seemed to bud forth in close packed lines of sacrificial posts, the evil time (*kali*) to flee in the smoke of sacrifices meandering over the sky;' see *Harshach.* p. 133, and Prof. Cowell's Translation.

[6] *I.e.* Śiva's. For the double meaning of *paramêśvara* compare *e.g. Harshach.* p. 162, *idânîṁ tu śaś=îva śirasâ paramêśvarêṇ=âsi vôḍhavyô jâtaḥ*, 'but now you are one to be supported by the king, like the moon by Paramêśvara (Śiva), on his head;' for that of *pâda*, *ibid.* p. 215, *kshmâpatînâṁ śiraḥsu śarat̤savit=êva lalâṭaṁtapân prayachchha pâda-nyâsân*, 'like the autumn sun, set your forehead-burning footsteps (rays) upon the heads of kings (the tops of mountains).'

rest on the proud heads of monarchs, who causes delight to millions,[1] is endowed with valour and ever rising— **Gôvindarâja,** the beloved of the good.

(V. 11.) When this king, the resort of all that is excellent, was born, the glorious **Râshṭrakûṭa** lineage became unsurpassable by others, as the Yâdava clan did on the birth of Madhu's foe;[2] a king who— causing haughty adversaries to seek the confines of the regions and to relinquish food and ornaments by his harassment[3] — clearly made even them quite like unto the suppliants, who see their desires granted to the full and are adorned with pearl-strings by his munificence.

(V. 12.) When, seeing his superhuman form, like that of Kṛishṇa, fit to ward off calamity from the three worlds, his father offered to him the sole sovereignty of the earth, He addressed to him the seemly words: "Let it be, dear father! This is yours. Have I not worn, like a command unchallenged, the necklet (of heir apparent)[4] which you have given to me?"

(V. 13.) When, to adorn the heavens, that father of his had gone to that state where nothing but his glory was left, He, though unaided, by the profusion of his superior splendour at once deprived of their lustre the twelve princes, famous though they were, who jointly rose with the desire of appropriating his land, just as the world-destroying fire does to the twelve suns[5] which rise together to bring about the destruction of the earth.

(V. 14.) Afterwards, when in his infinite compassion He had released the **Gaṅga** from the long suffering of captivity and sent him to his own country, and when that **Gaṅga** in the excess of his arrogance nevertheless continued in hostility, He, even before a frown appeared on his high broad forehead, defeated him by a raid[6] and again threw him into prison.

(V. 15.) As the rains cease on the approach of the starry season of autumn, which, having quickly placed its bees on *bâṇa* and *asana* flowers,[7] enhances the beauty of the *bandhujîva* flower

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[1] The word *padma,* in the sense in which I take it here, denotes really 1,000 millions or billions; compare above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 6.

[2] *I.e.* the god Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa.

[3] Commentators would paraphrase *dâna,* as used here, by *khaṇḍana* and *vitaraṇa.* Passages in which the word is similarly employed are *Vâs.* p. 11, *Nṛisiṁha iva darśita-hiraṇyakaśipukshêtra-dâna-vismayaḥ,* 'he caused astonishment by granting gold, food and clothing, and land, and was therefore like the Man-lion (Vishṇu) who did so by mangling the body of Hiraṇyakaśipu;' and p. 128, *lakshadâna-chyutiḥ sâyakânâm,* 'missiles failed to hit their aim — the bestowal of lacs (of money) never failed.' — The word *dâ* often conveys the two meanings which it has in this verse; see *e.g. darśitâśa* in the verse in *Kâd.* p. 149. With *muktâhâra°* one may compare *vimuktâhâra* in the verse *ibid.* p. 12.

[4] On *kaṇṭhikâ* see above, Vol. V. p. 138, note 2.

[5] These twelve suns are mentioned frequently; compare *e.g. Vâs.* p. 160, *pralayakâlôdita-dvâdaśaravi-kiraṇakalâpa-tîvravirahâgni-dahyamânânâm atikṛiśâṁ viprâṇâm iva tanuṁ bibhrati;* and *Harshach.* p. 209, *kshaṇa-divasa iv=ôdita-dvâdaśadinakara-durnirîkshya-mûrtiḥ.*

[6] So the word *vikshêpa* is translated (in my opinion, correctly) by Prof. Cowell in *Harshach.* p. 170, *adharma-vikshêpair=iva luṇṭhitam,* 'sacked by the raids of demerit;' and the same meaning (in addition to its ordinary sense) the word even more clearly has in *Kâd.* p. 107, *dûrasthitâny=api phalân=iva daṇḍa-vikshêpair mahâkulâni śâtayanti,* 'by the raids of their troops they humble great families, even though they be far away, as by throwing sticks one brings down fruit that grows on a high (tree).' Compare below, v. 18.

[7] To make it convey this meaning, I take *bâṇâsana* of course as a Dvandva compound. The *bâṇa* and *asana* flowers are mentioned in the *Śiśupâlavadha,* VI. 46 and 47, both as blossoming in autumn. With the whole passage compare especially *Kâd.* p. 21 of the Calcutta ed. of Saṁvat 1919, *samarôdyata-patâkin=îva bâṇâsan-ârôpita-śilîmukhâ,* the Vindhya forest 'where bees are settled on *bâṇa* and *asana* flowers, and which therefore is like an army intent on battle where arrows are placed on bows;' (Prof. Peterson in his ed., p. 19, has adopted the wrong reading *bâṇa-samârôpita°*); compare also the similar passage *ibid.* p. 127 of Prof. Peterson's ed., *samaramukhair=iva puṁnâga-samâkṛishṭa-śilîmukhaiḥ . . . pâdapaiḥ.* A passage in which, in addition to the *bâṇa* and *asana* flowers, three others are mentioned in a similar way occurs in the *Nalachampû,* p. 26. In inscriptions, we have the same double meanings of *śilîmukha* and *bâṇâsana* (with special reference to the autumn) in the description of Dhruvasêna III. of Valabhî, *e.g.* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 88, ll. 37 and 38 and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 176, l. 36; and in the Kûram plates, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 149, l. 27, we find, instead of *bâṇâsana, śarâsana,* used similarly in a double sense.

and favours the growth of the day-lotus, so the **Gûrjara**—on seeing how He, who made the lives and wealth of relatives prosper, and was favoured by increase of fortune, and before whom warriors desponded,[1] had come near, quickly placing on his bow the arrows aimed at himself—in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle.

(V. 16.) Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at His feet, the lord of **Mâlava**, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands. What wise man, whose power is small, will compete with one powerful? For that is the prime result of the rules of policy, to know the superiority in strength of oneself and one's adversary.

(V. 17.) Having heard through his spies that his camp was pitched on the ridges of the **Vindhya** mountain, and apprehending that He was moving towards his own country like (the comet) Dhruva,[2] king **Mârâśarva**, driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate[3] his mind by choice heir-looms, such as He had never received before, and his feet by prostrations.

(V. 18.) Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is densely covered with thick clouds, at **Śrîbhavana**, He thence went with his forces to the banks of the **Tuṅgabhadrâ**; and staying there, He, strange[4] (*to say*), even by flinging it away, again completely drew to himself the fortune of the **Pallavas** though it was already in his hand—his enemies having submitted.

(V. 19.) Thither the lord of **Vêṅgî** repaired when (*the king's*) letter-carrier had only half uttered the command, and longing for his own comfort, steadily like a servant without ceasing did such toil that the enclosure constructed thereby for His camp,[5] touching the summit of the sky, at night seemed to assume a garland of pearls,[6] surrounded as it was by the groups of stars above it.

(V. 20.) With their heads embellished by their hands folded then for the first time[7] to render

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[1] The word *sannakshatra* represents both *san* (i.e. *sat*) + *nakshatra* and *sanna* + *kshatra*; compare *Vâs.* p. 28, *Triśaṅkur=iva nakshatrapatha-skhalitaḥ*, where *nakshatrapatha-* is both *nakshatra-patha-* and *na kshatra-patha-*. *San-nakshatra* would of course be equivalent to *vidyamâna-nakshatra*; and *sanna-kshatra* would have to be dissolved by *sannaṁ kshatraṁ yêna*, and might also be translated by 'he by whom warriors were humbled, or destroyed;' compare with it *sanna-śatru* in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII. 61.

[2] Compare the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, XI. 42, Prof. Kern's Translation in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. V. p. 71: "But the princes on whose warlike equipments, the countries on whose dwellings, trees, and hills, and the householders on whose implements this luminary (*viz.* the comet Dhruva) is seen, are doomed to destruction."

[3] In the Sanskṛit text the Present Participle is accounted for by Pâṇini, III. 2, 126.

[4] The strangeness in the first place lies in the fact that he drew to himself something by flinging it away (*vikshêpa*); and secondly in the circumstance that this thing which he drew to himself already was in his hand (*kara*). His action ceases to be strange as soon as we take the words *vikshêpa* and *kara* to mean 'raid' and 'tribute:'—'He by his raids completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas which was tributary to him' (or, as we should say, who were his tributaries).—On *vikshêpa* see the note on v. 14. The double meaning of *kara* is most common; compare *e.g. Kâd.* p. 10, *akaram api hastasthita-sakalabhuvanatalam*, 'although he had no hands, the whole extent of the earth was in his hand,' *i.e.* 'the whole extent of the earth was in his hand and he took no tribute from it.'

[5] For the use of the word *vâhyâlî* (or *bâhyâlî*) which I have translated by 'camp,' I only can refer the reader to the passages quoted in von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary*. The word occurs in the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* (Dr. Stein's edition), VII. 392; 976; 986; and VIII. 46. *Aśva-vâhyâlî* we have in line 11 of the *Uttamacharitra-kathânakam* (*Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wiss.* 1884, Part I. p 276), meaning something like 'stabling for horses,' or 'horse-barracks;' and its synonym (though explained differently by the commentator in the Nirṇaya-sâgar Press ed.) *turaṅga-vâhyâlî* occurs in *Kâd.* p. 75, l. 1, *uparachita-turaṅgavâhyâlî-vibhâgam . . . vidyâ-mandiram*.

[6] Pearls and stars are frequently compared with each other; but while as a rule the stars are the *upamâna* and pearls the *upamêya*, here the reverse is the case (*viparyâsôpamâ*). The stars which the enclosure seemed to wear on its crest were like a pearl-garland. Compare *Vâs.* p. 85, *muktâphala-śabalitaśikharatayâ śirô-lagnaṁ târâ-gaṇam iv=ôdvahan*; *ibid.* p. 220, *śikharagata-muktâjâla-vyâjêna . . . târâ-gaṇam iv=ôdvahadbhiḥ . . . prâsâdair=upaśôbhitam . . . Vâsavadattâ-bhavanam*.

[7] *I.e.* they never before had rendered obeisance to any king. For the use of *tatpûrva* compare—I take this quotation from the St. Petersburg *Dictionary*—*Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 42, *ishu-prayôgê tatpûrva-saṅgê*, 'in the discharge of the arrow which (discharge) then for the first time was checked;' and *Kumârasambhava*, V. 10, *tatpûrva-nibaddha*, 'then for the first time tied on.'

obeisance, the kings of hostile realms in their terror approached for protection His feet, which became less adorned by the many exquisite ornaments presented, than by His own words "Do not fear !," the trustworthiness of which guards the stability of his fame.

No. 24.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE DHARWAR DISTRICT.

By J. F. Fleet, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

A.—AN INSCRIPTION AT DIDGUR.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 below) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887.

Diḍgûr is a village about thirteen miles towards the south-west from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tâluka of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Dindgoor,' with a nasal in the first syllable for which it is difficult to account; and moreover, as compared with the map that I mention next, it transposes the position of it with the position of a neighbouring village named Timâpur. The Map of the Dhârwâr Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deergoor.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Didgur.' Line 3 of the record, taken in connection with the general purport and with its existence at Diḍgûr, suggests that **the earlier name of the place was Mugunda.** And the reference to the governor Dosi has the effect of placing Mugunda, and the other village that is mentioned, Saṅgavûr, **in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province.** The **inscription** is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No. 1 of Diḍgûr.

At the top of the stone there are **sculptures,** which shew, in the centre, a seated figure, squatting and facing full-front, on a seat of three tiers, and holding in each hand apparently some weapon which looks like a short spear; on the proper right of this figure, there is a boar, standing to the proper left, *i.e.* towards the central figure; and on the proper left there is some animal which, in the drawing submitted to me, looks more like a badly sketched horse or donkey than anything else, standing to the proper right, *i.e.*, again, towards the central figure.—The extant portion of the **writing** covers an area ranging in breadth from about 10″ in line 8 to 2′ 3″ in line 2, by about 1′ 9½″ high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and is legible with certainty almost throughout. But, owing to parts of the stone having been broken away and lost, letters are missing at the ends of the lines from line 4 onwards, and at the beginning of lines 7 and 8. And there must have been originally at least one more line, containing the usual end of the imprecatory verse of which there is a remnant in line 8.—The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them[1] ranges from about ⅜″ in the *ṛ* of the *ṛe* in *teṛeya*, line 3, to about 1¼″ in the *s* of the *sâ* in *sâsi*[*ra*], line 6; and the *ḷbi* in line 2, No. 17, is about 4″ high, on the slant. The superscript long *î* is used throughout, for the short *i* as well as for the long vowel. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is used; and it is very pointedly marked in the *ḍi* of *keḍisi*[*doṁge*], line 5, No. 15. There is a final form of the *ḷ* in line 4, No. 12, in *grahaṇa*[*do*]*ḷ*. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *ṅ* do not occur.[2] The *j* occurs twice, in lines 1 and 3, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; it can be seen best in the *ja* of *mahâjanadâ*, line 3, the last *akshara* but one. The *b* occurs seven times, and is, throughout, of the old square type, closed; but the actual form of it, being mostly composed of curves rather than of straight lines, must be looked on as a somewhat cursive form of the old square

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[1] See page 41 above.

[2] In *kâdonge*, line 5, where either the guttural nasal or the *anusvâra* would be permissible, the writer mistakenly used the dental nasal.

type: the intended form can be seen best in the upper *b* of the *rbba* in *sâsirbbar*, line 6, No. 5; and a noticeable feature in it, is the marked crook, halfway up the left side of the letter, with which the formation of the character commenced: we can see that the writer began at that point, and formed the rest of the character by one steady sweep of the pen, running along the top, down the right side, along the bottom to the left, and then up to the starting-point; and it is easy to realise that the later cursive type may have been developed almost directly from this particular form of the old square type, by making the downstroke immediately after completing the crook, and then forming the rest of the character to the right instead of to the left. We have the *l* in the *la* of *kâlaṁ*, line 4, No. 3; and it, also, is of the old square type: it occurred again in *phalam*, line 5; it is almost entirely destroyed there; but such traces as are discernible in the impression, indicate that there, also, the old square type was used.— We have the remains of a Sanskṛit imprecatory verse in line 8. But the **language** of the body of the record is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In *Mugundaduḷ*, line 3, we have the somewhat exceptional locative ending *uḷ*;[1] but we have the usual ending *oḷ* in [*Vâra*]*ṇâsiyoḷ* in line 6, and apparently also in *grahaṇa*[*do*]*ḷ*, line 4.— The **orthography** does not present anything calling for comment.

The **inscription** refers itself to the reign of **a king Kattiyara,** under whom a certain **Dosi** was governing **the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province.** The object of it was to record a general assignment of some tax under the orders of the king, and the special assignment by Dosi of a quarter-share of the tax of the village of **Saṅgavûr** to the *Mahâjanas* of **Mugunda,**— doubtless for expenditure by them on communal objects.[2]

Of the two villages mentioned in the record, **Saṅgavûr** is evidently the modern '**Sungoor**' of the maps, about two miles on the north of Diḍgûr.[3] **Mugunda** seems to be the earlier name of **Diḍgûr** itself. The record tacitly, but plainly, places both these villages **in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province.** And it seems likely that the Mugunda mentioned here is the town from which there was named a group of villages called **the Mugunda twelve,** of which mention is made in an inscription of A.D. 1075 at Baḷagâmi. That record registers the grant, for the temple of the god Nârasiṁha at Baḷḷigâve, of a town or village (*bâḍa*) named Kundavige in "**the Mugunda twelve which was a kampaṇa of the Banavase nâḍ.**"[4] The maps do not shew any such names as Mugunda and Kundavige in the neighbourhood of Baḷagâmi. Diḍgûr is only twenty-four miles away towards the north-by-east from Baḷagâmi. And, though there, also, the maps do not shew any such names now, there is no objection, such as on account of excessive distance from the temple to which the grant was made, to locate Kundavige somewhere near Diḍgûr.[5]

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to **closely about A.D. 800.** The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Râshṭrakûṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that **Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya,** who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III.[6] And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter. Further, it seems likely that, of the emblems on the stone, **the boar** belongs to the king Kattiyara, and the other animal to the

[1] See page 99 f. above.

[2] Compare page 102 above.

[3] There are inscriptions at 'Sungoor' and at the neighbouring village of 'Koolenoor,' which might possibly throw further light on the matter of the present record.

[4] *P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* No. 161, lines 33, 34; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. pp. 209, 211; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 143.

[5] Moreover, there are various indications that the names of places in that neighbourhood have changed very considerably in the course of time,— probably through the splitting up of towns into small villages.

[6] See page 197 above; also page 249 above, where we have Prof. Kielhorn's translation of the verse, No. 13, in the Râdhanpur plates.

Inscription at Didgur.



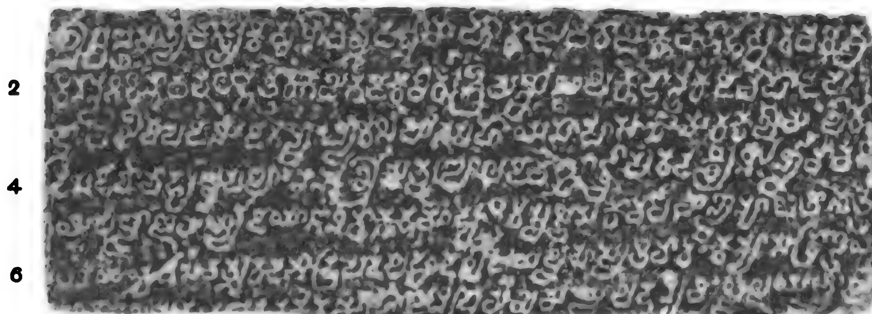
SCALE ·20

Inscription at Gudigere.



SCALE ·20

Mulgund Inscription of Panchaladeva.—A.D. 975.



J. F. FLEET. SCALE ·20 W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

governor Dosi. From this it would follow that **Kattiyara was a Chalukya**, descended from, or at least connected with, the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi, and that we have in him the **Kattiyaradêva** who is mentioned as an ancestor of the later Châlukya dynasty of Kalyâṇi in the Managôḷi inscription of A.D. 1161.[1]

TEXT.[2]

1 Svasti[3] **Śrî-Kattiyara** prithivi-râjyaṁ-keye **Dosi** **Banavâsi-**
2 panniḻchâsiranum[4]=âḷe nû(?)[5]ṟuvaka(?ra)ḷagaḍigaḷ=biḍise **Saṁ-**
3 **gavûr[â]** teṟeya bhâgamân=**Mugundaduḷ=Dosi** mahâjana-
4 dâ kâlaṁ kaḻchi biṭṭon=**grahaṇa[do]ḻ** chandra-sûry[y]aṁ-[baraṁ] [||*] [I]-
5 dân=kâdonge[6] aśvamêdhadâ pha[la]m=akkuṁ keḍisi[doṁge Vâra]-
6 ṇâsiyoḷ=sâsirbbar=ppârbbaruṁ sâsi[ra kavileyumaṁ konda]
7 [p]â pam=akkuṁ yu . . vûrumân=aḷi . . . [||*] [Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ]
8 [vâ yô] harêta vasundharâṁ sha[shṭ]i . . . .

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious **Kattiyara** was reigning over the earth; and while **Dosi** was governing the **Banavâsi twelve-thousand**:— On **(Kattiyara)** causing to be assigned[7] . . . .,[8] **Dosi** laved the feet of the *Mahâjanas* at **Mugunda,** and assigned (*to them*), **at the time of an eclipse,** a quarter[9] of the tax of **Saṅgavûr,** [to continue as long as] the moon and sun [may last].

(Line 4.) To him who protects this, there shall accrue the reward of an *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice; to him who destroys it, there shall attach the guilt of [killing] a thousand Brâhmaṇs and a thousand [cows] at Vâraṇâsi! . . . .[10]

(Verse 1; line 7) [He who] confiscates land [that has been given, whether by himself or by another], ...

B.—AN INSCRIPTION AT GUDIGERE.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. It was originally brought to my notice by the then Mâmlatdâr of Lakshmêshwar, in February, 1883. I edit it, and the accompanying collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1892.

Guḍigere is the head-quarters town of an outlying tâluka of the same name belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Goodagerree,' in lat. 15° 26′, long. 75° 6′, six miles towards the west of Lakshmêshwar. The Map of the Dhârwâr Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Goodeegeree.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Gudgiri.' The Railway

[1] Above, Vol. V. p. 16, text line 5; note 4 below the translation on page 20 may now be cancelled.

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] The sign for the superscript long *î* is used throughout to denote the short *i* also. It does not seem necessary to encumber the text by shewing the long vowel in each case and entering the corrections.

[4] Read *panniḻchâsiraman*.

[5] This is rather a nondescript *akshara*. It looks more like *sâ* than anything else. But it may possibly be *ku* or *kâ*.

[6] Read *kâdoṅge*, or *kâdoṁge*.

[7] For the meanings given to *biḍisu* here and to *biḍu* in line 4, see page 107 above, note 4.

[8] The word before *biḍise* is unintelligible.

[9] *Bhâga* seems to be used in this specific sense (for which see Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary), rather than in the vague meaning of 'a share.'

[10] The original contained some words here,— perhaps introducing the name of another village, or perhaps only deprecating the destruction of the village itself,— of which not enough remains to make the sense intelligible.

officials have adopted the form 'Gudgeri.'[1] We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of **A.D. 1076-77,**[2] which gives its name in the Kanarese form of **Guḍigere** and in the Sanskṛitised form of **Dhvajataṭâka.** An earlier mention of it is found in the Tâḷgund inscription of **A.D. 997,**[3] which mentions, as a feudatory of the Western Châlukya king Taila II., a certain Bhîmarasa,[4] with the *biruda* of Tailapanaṅkakâṛa or "the champion of Tailapa," who was then governing the [Banavâ]si twelve-thousand, the Sâtaḷige thousand (the Sântaḷige thousand of other records),[5] the Ki[sukâ]ḍ seventy, and **an agrahâra** the name of which is either **Samasi-Guḍigeṛe** or possibly Savasi-Guḍigeṛe.[6] The first component of this name evidently denotes the modern '**Sownshee**' of the maps, seven miles north-west-by-north from **Guḍigere.** The two villages thus constituted in ancient times an *agrahâra,* which was named after both of them. And, as the Tâḷgund record cites, among the witnesses to the matter which it registers, (the people or elders of) the *padineṇṭ-agrahâra,* it would appear that **the Samasi-Guḍigeṛe agrahâra was one of the eighteen agrahâras.** The present **inscription** is on a stone on the north side in front of a temple of Kalamêśvara at Guḍigere.

The sketch submitted to me shews a narrow high stone, with a tall panelled head, probably about four feet high, rounded at the top. At the bottom of the outer panelling, on each side there is a full-blown water-lily; and at the bottom of the middle panel there is a large circle, with a big dot in the centre of it, standing on a square or rectangular pedestal, from each side of which there projects a floral ornamentation. Then comes the writing, immediately below the above, on the bottom part of the panelled head. Below the writing the stone contracts to a square face, probably about one foot square, on which there is the **sculpture** of an elephant, standing to the proper left, with his trunk hanging down and the tip of it turned up inwards, and, in fact, depicted very similarly to the elephant at the top of the stone at Baḷagâmi which contains the inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya and the Sêndraka prince Pogilli,[7] and—(except that there is a band or strap round the body of the elephant)—to the elephant at the top of the Peggu-ûr Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 978.[8] Below

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[1] It may be remarked that the name-boards exhibited at railway stations, while large enough and clear enough, are anything but a safe guide to the actual forms of place-names, though they are likely to do more than anything else towards perpetuating certain erroneous or imperfect forms. I have seen, more than once, the same name exhibited in three different spellings on the same platform,—in one form in Kanarese characters, in another in Marâṭhî characters, and in still another in English characters,—and not one of them absolutely correct in all details.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 35.

[3] *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions,* No. 214; and see *Mysore Inscrs.* p. 186.—Here, as in various other cases, the details given by me from the photographs of the records are not all presented in *Mysore Inscriptions.* No doubt, more complete and correct accounts of the contents of the records included in that book, will be given when Mr. Rice issues the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* which will deal with the Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts. Meanwhile, his *Mysore Inscriptions* still serves as an index and guide to the use of the photographs from Colonel Dixon's collection which were reproduced in my *Pâli, Sanskṛit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions.*

[4] He is probably described as a *Mahâsâmanta*; but the last four syllables cannot be read with certainty in the photograph.

[5] The photograph seems to distinctly give the name here as Sâtaḷige,—without any nasal after the *â.*

[6] In the second syllable of the first component of the name, the original has a character, namely, the mediæval form of *m* or of *v* noticed on page 258 below, which in the photograph may be read either as *m* or as *v.* It is probably *m.* But an ink-impression is required, to settle the point definitely.

[7] For a photograph, shewing the elephant, see No. 98 of Colonel Dixon's collection, reproduced as No. 152 in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscrs.* For the bearing of the emblem on the Baḷagâmi inscription, see page 72 above.

[8] See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, and *Coorg Inscrs.,* opposite p. 5.—There is a very similar elephant on the stone that contains the Gaṅga inscription at Kyâtanahaḷḷi (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147, lithograph); where, however, it is depicted with its head raised and its back sloping.—For another Gaṅga elephant, see the lithograph of the Tâyalûr inscription (*ibid.,* Md. 14); but that one differs from the others, in being represented as walking or running and with the tip of its trunk turned up forwards.—Sir Walter Elliot has given us a representation of the elephant-seal of one or other of the spurious grants of the Gaṅga series, in his *Coins of*

this, the stone widens out again to the same breadth as above the facet containing the elephant; and the sketch indicates that here there was a continuation of the writing, which, however, is now altogether illegible: it also indicates that, after a space representing about ten lines of writing, the remainder of the stone is broken away and lost.— The extant portion of the **writing**, represented in the collotype, covers an area about 2′ 1″ broad by 6¾″ high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any uncertainty.— The **characters** are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ⅝″ in the *ya* of *hesadeyara*, line 2, to 1⅝″ in the *ḷ* of *âḷe*, line 3; and the *ṇṭi* of *mêṇṭi*, line 2, and the *nnâ* in line 3, are 2″ high. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is very clear in lines 2 and 3. There is a final form of *n* in line 1, and of *r* in line 2. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *l* do not occur. The *j* occurs twice, in line 1, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; in the collotype, it can be seen best in the *jya* of *râjyaṁ*, line 1, No. 17. The *ṁ* occurs in the same word, in the *akshara ṁge*, line 1, No. 18; and, following the *j* in the usual manner,[1] it, also, is of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs once, subscript, in the *akshara ḷba*, line 1, No. 7; and it, again, is of the old square type, closed.— The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record presents, in line 2, *mêṇṭi*, as a variant of *mêṭi*, 'a big man, a chief, a head, a head servant.' And it includes, in line 2, a word, *gôsdsa*, which is not found in dictionaries, and in respect of which we can only conjecture that it is an amplified form of *gôsa*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *gôshṭha*, 'a cow-pen, a station of cow-herds.'[2]— The **orthography** does not present anything calling for comment, except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Subhachandra*, line 1.

The extant portion of the **inscription** is only the opening passage of a record, introductory to matter which is now lost. It refers itself to the reign of **a king named the Mahârâja**

Southern India, Plate iii. No. 120; here, the elephant seems to be "caparisoned." And Dr. Burnell has given us the seal of apparently another grant of the same series, in his *South-Indian Palæography*, the Plate opposite p. 106, the seal marked Chêra; here, again, the elephant has a band or strap round apparently the throat. In both these instances, the elephant is standing, and has the tip of its trunk turned up inwards.

[1] See a remark on page 46 above.

[2] As, however, this meaning is not conclusively established yet, the word itself will be used, without translation.— Other cases in which the same word, *gôsdsa*, occurs, are as follows:— (1) The Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text line 5. Here, the harlot Bâdipoḍḍi or Bâḷipoḍḍi is mentioned as having given to the temple (of Lôkêśvara) an *uttama-gôsdsa*, "an excellent *gôsdsa*, a *gôsdsa* of the best kind," and a horse-chariot and an elephant-chariot, and as giving some land and an *ubhayamukhi* or pregnant cow.— (2) An inscription of the time of Amôghavarsha I. at Chiñchli in the Gadag tâluka, dated in the Vijaya *saṁvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṁvat 793 by mistake for 795 (expired), in A.D. 874: not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. This inscription records that, on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Phâlguna, someone, whose name is illegible in the ink-impression, fasted and, having laved the feet of the fifty-seven *Mahâjanas* of Chiñchila and having given them a thousand cows, gave them a *gôsdsa*; and it further records that a son of one of the village-headmen gave a *gôsdsa*, together with a tank and a garden (*árame*; perhaps here meaning, rather, a pasture-ground). This latter record, in particular, tends to connect *gôsdsa* with cows. And, considering how important a part the cow plays in the private as well as the religious life of the Hindûs, we may easily imagine that in former times the cows at night, instead of being brought home to individual houses inside the villages and towns as is done now, were kept and guarded all together in large communal cow-pens in charge of regularly appointed officials, and that the gift of such a cow-pen, whether to the establishment of a temple or for a whole village, would be a highly meritorious act.— From *gôsdsa* we have, with the affix *iga*,— an affix which forms nouns denoting "makers, changers (dealers), persons in employment," *etc.* (see Dr. Kittel's edition of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, p. 232, sûtra 197),— *gôsdsiga*, which seems to mean 'a person in charge of a *gôsdsa*,' and to be equivalent to the *gôsdsada mêṇṭi* of the present record; it occurs in the Aihoḷe inscription of the time of Vijayâditya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, text line 3), where mention is made of "Maruvarma, of the *Gôsdsigas* of Sûravaḷ."— And we also have *gôsdsi*, apparently as a shorter form of *gôsdsiga*. This word occurs, qualifying a proper name, in an inscription at Nîralgi, to be published hereafter. And an inscription of A.D. 1060 at Sûḍi in the Rôṇ tâluka— (not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression)— mentions, among the boundaries of a village named Sivuṇûr, a tank called *gôsdsiya-kere*, "the tank of the *Gôsdsi* or of the *Gôsdsis*."— It may be added that the Bombay Postal Directory shews a village named 'Gosási' in the Khêḍ tâluka of the Poona district.

Mârassalba, under whom a certain **Daḍigarasa** was governing the district,— meaning, of course, the district that included the village at which the record is ; the name of it is not specified.

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to **closely about A.D. 800.** And there can be no doubt that the person whom it mentions as **Mârassalba** is to be identified with the **Mârâśarva** of a verse, used in the account of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III. in the Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807,[1] which runs :—" Having heard, through his own spies, that he (Gôvinda III.) was encamped on a slope of the Vindhya mountains, and recognising that (*though so far away*) he had (*practically*) arrived at his own territory just as if it were Dhruva (*on a previous occasion*), king **Mârâśarva,** impelled by fear, quickly went to satisfy his (Gôvinda's) desires by (*giving up*) his choicest heir-looms, such as had never been amassed before, as well as to propitiate his feet by doing obeisance to them." Further, we may safely take it that **Mârassalba-Mârâśarva** was, like the Kattiyara of the Diḍgûr inscription, **one of the twelve confederate kings and princes headed by Stambha-Kambayya,** who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of Gôvinda III.[2] And, as **the elephant,** depicted so prominently on the stone, can hardly be taken as the emblem of the Daḍigarasa of the record, who was plainly a person of very minor rank and importance, we can only understand that it stamps **Mârassalba-Mârâśarva** as belonging to **the family of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâḍ.**[3] We shall have to consider hereafter who, exactly, **Mârassalba** may have been. He may be some member of the Gaṅga family whose existence the Mysore records have not yet disclosed. Or the name may possibly be another appellation of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa, who in the course of his career did unquestionably find an opportunity to assume the paramount power and titles. Or it is possible that it may be the name from which, first by substituting the synonymous *śiva* for the *śarva* of its Sanskṛitised form, and then by metathesis, the persons who fabricated the spurious records of the Western Gaṅga series may have obtained the name of Śivamâra II. as an alleged son of Śrîpurusha-Muttarasa.

In connection with the general history of the period, it is convenient to make here a note regarding the identification of a place which is mentioned in the verse in the Waṇî and Râdhanpur grants which comes next after the verse that mentions Mârassalba-Mârâśarva. The verse tells us that **Gôvinda III.** spent a rainy season at a place named **Śrîbhavana,** and then marched thence, with his army, to **the Tuṅgabhadrâ,** where he conquered and despoiled **the Pallavas.**[4] Mr. Wathen was told that Śrîbhavana denotes "Cowldurga, in Mysore, south of the river ;"[5] that is to say, apparently, Kavalêdurga, near the north bank of the Tuṅgâ, in the Tîrthahalli tâluka of the Shimoga district, about seven miles on the west of Tîrthahalli. Dr. Bühler felt certain that Śrîbhavana is not 'Cowldurga,' but could not himself identify the place.[6] Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to identify Śrîbhavana with 'Sarbhon' in the

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 25 ff., and Vol. VI. p 67, verse 17 ; also page 250 above, Prof. Kielhorn's rendering. Prof. Kielhorn has detected what I and Dr. Bühler had not recognised, namely, an astrological allusion to the comet Dhruva. But I consider that there is certainly also a secondary reference to the king Dhruva. I hold that, just as the astrological allusion to the asterism Jyêshṭhâ, in verse 5, was suggested, to the composer of the verses, by what Dhruva had done to his elder brother, so, also, the allusion here to the comet Dhruva was suggested by something that he had done to the territory of Mârâśarva, and the verse contains a secondary reference to it.

[2] See page 252 above.

[3] It is possible that Daḍigarasa, also, was a Gaṅga. But, even so, it is very unlikely that a Gaṅga should, at that time, be exercising local authority so far to the north of the real Gaṅga territory, unless his paramount sovereign also was a Gaṅga. And it seems more probable that this Daḍigarasa was a member of the Bâlivaṁśa of the Daḍigamaṇḍala country, in Mysore, which is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1113 or 1114 at Sûḍi in the Rôṇ tâluka (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 111).

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 162, and Vol. VI. p. 71, verse 18.

[5] *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. V. p. 352, note.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 63, note.

Âmôd tâluka of the Broach district.[1] But a village in Gujarât, below the Ghauts, is hardly the locality that would be selected for the halt of an army during the rains; especially, as the preliminary to operations on the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The verse about Mârassaḷba-Mârâśarva, with the light that is thrown on it by the present record from Guḍigere, shews that a sudden and rapid incursion was made by Gôvinda III., from a distant encampment in the Vindhya mountains into the heart of the Dhârwâr district. And it seems clear to me that **Śrîbhavana is to be identified with the modern Shiggaon,** the head-quarters of the Baṅkâpur tâluka of the Dhârwâr district, only about thirty miles distant from the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The ancient forms of the name of Shiggaon would be Sirigâve and Śrîgrâma, or in Sanskṛit Śrîpura. And the composer of the verse used *bhavana*, 'a place of abode, mansion, home,' *etc.*, instead of any other ending, to suit his metre.

TEXT.[2]

1 Svasti Śrî-**Mâra**[3]**ssaḷba**-mahârâjan pr[i]thuvî-râjyaṅ-geye Su(śu)bhachandra-paṇḍitarâ[4] râ-

2 he[5]sadeyara Indammana gôsâsada mêṇṭi **Daḍig-arasar**

3 nnâḍ[6]-âḷe Ôm[7]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious *Mahârâja* **Mârassaḷba** was reigning over the earth; and while **Daḍigarasa**, the headman of the *gôsâsa*[8] of Indamma who was of . . . .[9] of Śubhachandrapaṇḍita, was governing the district. Ôm!

C.—MULGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PANCHALADEVA; A.D. 975.

This inscription has been brought to notice by me in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 307, and in Vol. V. above, p. 172. It is now published for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 above) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1883-84 or 1884-85.

Muḷgund is a village about twelve miles towards the south-west-by-south from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tâluka of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Moolgoond.' The official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878) wrongly certifies it as 'Mulgund,' with *l* instead of *ḷ*. The existence of the place is carried back to A.D. 866 by the Nîlgund inscription, which mentions it as **Muḷgunda** and marks it as the chief town of a circle of villages known **as the Muḷgunda twelve,** including Nîrgunda-Nîlgund, and lying **in the Beḷvola three-hundred district.**[10] We already know one record from this place,— the inscription of the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa II., dated A.D. 902-903;[11] and there are some twenty other records there. The present inscription is on a stone at a temple of Râmadêva at Muḷgund.

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[1] *History of Gujarât* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I.), p. 123.— There is also a Sarbhôṇ (so certified, with the lingual nasal, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*) in the Bârḍôlî tâluka of the Surat district.

[2] From the ink-impression.

[3] This syllable, *ra*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather small, below the *â* of the *mâ*.

[4] It seems that at first *ru* was written, and then an attempt was made to correct it into *râ*. But it is possible that the *akshara* was abandoned, as being badly formed and not clear, and that the following *râ* was then formed as the final *akshara* of *paṇḍitarâ*. In that case, the next word is *hesadeyara*,— not *râhesadeyara*.

[5] This is rather an anomalous character. The vowel *e* is quite distinct, before the *h*. At the bottom of the *h*, towards the right, there is a loop which seems to be intentional; but, whether it was meant to modify the *e* into some other vowel, or what else may be the purport of it, is not apparent.

[6] Read *nâḍ*; or else *arasar=nnâḍ*, instead of *arasar nnâḍ*.

[7] Represented by a plain symbol.

[8] See page 255 above, and note 2.

[9] The meaning of the genitive plural *râhesadeyara* or *hesadeyara* (see note 4 above) is not apparent; except that it seems to give the name of a sect.

[10] See pages 98, 107, above.

[11] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 167, 190. It will shortly be re-edited in this journal.

At the top of the stone there are **sculptures**, of which the principal one, in the centre, is a *liṅga* on its *abhishêka*-stand. On the proper right, there is an image of some god, squatting and facing full-front; beyond this there is a worshipper, kneeling towards the god; and above these there are the sun and moon. On the proper left, there is a cow, standing towards the *liṅga*, and with a calf sucking at her udder; and above these there is the bull Nandi, recumbent and similarly facing towards the *liṅga*. These sculptures are all inside a panel, above the centre of which there is some ornamental device, of a circular shape, the exact nature of which is not recognisable.— The **writing** covers an area about 1′ 10¼″ broad by 8¼″ high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any doubt, except in the first eight or nine letters of line 7, the lower parts of which are broken away. It is, however, only a fragment, the body of the record having been broken away and apparently lost.— The **characters** are Kanarese, well formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about ½″ to ⅞″. They present nothing calling for comment, except the use of the somewhat rare mediæval forms of *m*, in the upper *m* of *varmma* and *dharmma*, line 1, and of *v* in the upper *v* of *pûrvvâpara*, line 4, which have been noticed in Vol. V. above, p. 237.— The **language** is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 3, we have *siṁgha* as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *siṁha*, 'a lion,' and *komaraka* as a fuller form of *komara*, = *kuvara*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of *kumâra*, 'a prince,' and *bîma*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of *bhîma*, 'terrible.' In *peḻdore*, line 4, we have the somewhat unusual form *peḻ* for *per*, 'great.' In line 5, we have *bidiye*, as a variant of *bidige* which is the more usual *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *dvitîyâ*, 'the second *tithi*.'[1] In line 6, we have *baḷa* as a variant of the better known *baṇa*, which is in use to the present day, in the Kanarese country, to denote sometimes the different branches of the families of hereditary Pâṭîls and Kuḷkarṇîs (especially of Pâṭîls), and sometimes the different families that have shares in the *watans*, as, for instance, when there are both a Jain *baṇa* and a Liṅgâyat *baṇa* of Pâṭîls;[2] and, in respect of the whole word *baḷanuv*, we may note that, though it is a neuter nominative, it is formed with *n* instead of the more usual *m*, and that, for the final of the copulative ending *uṁ*, there has been used in *saṁdhi v*, instead of the *m* which was more usual in the archaic language. And, in the same line, we have a word *eleya-bhoja*[*ga*] (apparently equivalent to *elegâṟa*, *tambuliga*, 'a seller of betel-leaves'), the second component of which does not seem to be explained in dictionaries.[3] — In respect of **orthography**, there is nothing to be noticed except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Saka*, line 5.

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[1] Under *bidige* in his Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, Dr. Kittel has quoted *vidiye* as the Telugu form, and *vidiyai* as the Tamiḻ form.

[2] *Baḷa* occurs, in the same sense, in line 45 of one of the inscriptions at Naregal in the Rôṇ tâluka, where mention is made of "the two *baḷas* of Narayaṁgal" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 238). And lines 49, 51, and 52 of the same record present it in another sense, namely to denote the rent-free service-lands of certain *Gâvuṇḍas* or Pâṭîls. In the latter sense, it occurs also in line 81 of the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 1228 (*id.* Vol. X. p. 270, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 114); and this record uses, in line 70, also the exactly equivalent word *gauḍuvânya*. The case used in the Saundatti record is formed with *n*, as in the present instance,— *baḷan=oḷage*. The cases used in the Naregal record are formed with the more customary *d*,— *baḷad=oḷage*, *baḷadiṁ*.— The word *baṇa* is also used, I think, in the general meaning of 'a faction.' Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *baṇa* as the Southern Marâṭha form of *paṇa*, 'any tribe; a sectarian division.'

[3] In this record, the second component of *eleya-bhojaga* is distinctly written with the aspirated *bh*. I am not sure whether the vowel should be taken as the short *o* or as the long *ô*.— With the unaspirated *b*, we have the same word, *eleya-bojaga* in lines 21-22 and 28-29 of the Koḍikop inscription of A.D. 1144, which mentions "the five-hundred-and-four *Eleyabojagas*" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 254, 257). In this form, *bojaga*, the word is given in Dr. Kittel's Dictionary; but only as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskṛit *bhujaga*, *bhujaṁga*, 'a snake.' He also gives *bojagatana* in the sense of 'lechery.' The Ablûr record of A.D. 1104 presents a word which appears as *bojaṁgutana* or *bhojaṁgutana* in line 82 of one version, and as *bhojagatana* in line 86 of the other version (see Vol. V. above, p. 231, note 9). There can be hardly any reference there to lechery; and the word seems to stand there for *eleyabojagatana* or *eleyabhojagatana*, 'the occupation of a seller of betel-leaves,' or else to denote some impost on that trade.

The inscription is a fragment, of which but little more than the introductory passages is extant. It refers itself to the reign of a certain **Pañchaladêva,** whom, from his appellations of **Satyavâkya** and **Koṅguṇivarman** and his titles of lord of **the town Kuvaḷâla** and of **the mountain Nandagiri,** we recognise as a member **of the family of the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakâḍ.**[1] It mentions, by three well known *birudas,* his predecessor, the great **Noḷambântaka-Mârasiṁha II.** Among the epithets that it applies to Pañchaladêva, it styles him **Châlukyapañchânana,** "a very lion to the Châlukyas;" which, perhaps, involves a play on his name, and indicates **Pañchala** as a Prâkṛit form of the Sanskrit **Pañchânana.**[2] And it represents him as reigning over the whole territory between, on the north, **"the great river,"** that is to say **the Kṛishṇâ,**[3] and on the east, south, and west, the ocean. This assertion is hyperbolical in the latter part, except possibly in respect of the alleged western limit. But, as Mulgund itself, where this record is, is on the north of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, there is no objection to accepting it as a fact that Pañchaladêva did hold for a time all the territory from the south of Mysore as far north as the river Kṛishṇâ.

The record is **dated** at the time of the Kanyâsaṁkrânti, or entrance of the sun into Virgo, on Bṛihaspativâra or Thursday coupled with the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada (August-September) of the Yuvan *saṁvatsara,* Śaka-Saṁvat 897 (expired, according to the southern luni-solar system). And the corresponding English date is **Thursday, 26th August, A.D. 975.** On this day, the given *tithi* ended at about 15 hours 39 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), and the Kanyâsaṁkrânti occurred at 16 hours 5 minutes.[4]

TEXT.[5]

1 Ôm[6] Svasti **Satyavâkya-Koṁguṇivarmma**-dharmmamahârâjâdh[i]râja **Kuvaḷâla**-puravar-êśva-

2 ra **Nandagiri**-nâthaṁ **chaladuttaraṁga-jagadêkavîra-śrîman-Noḷa[ṁ]bakuḷân-takadêva**-pâdapa-

3 dm-ôpajîvi paḍe-nôḍe-gaṇḍaṁ gaṇḍara-siṁghan=asahâya-sâhasaṁ komaraka-bîmaṁ bîra-

4 da-seḷevoṁ **Châḷukya**-pañchânana[ṁ] śrîmat-**Pañchaladêvar**-pûrvv-âpara-dakshiṇ-ârṇṇav-âva[dh]i-

5 yi[ṁ] peḷdoṟe maryyâdey=âge nirâkuḷam=âḷutt-ire [||*] **Svasti Sa(śa)ka-varsham-eṇṭu-nûṟa toṁbhatt-[ê]-**

6 **ḷaneya Yuva-saṁvatsarada Bhâdrapada bahuḷa bidiye Bṛihaspativâraṁ Kanyâ-saṁkrântiyu[ṁ]**

7 . . . .[7] [nagara]-mahâjana-pramukham=ayd[uṁ]-baḷanuv=iḷd=eleya-bhoja-[8]

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[1] For what is known about Pañchaladêva from other sources, reference may be made to pages 71 f., 83, above, and to Vol. V. above, p. 172 f.

[2] Pañchânana occurs, not exactly as a proper name of Śiva, but as an appellation of him which could be used in the place of his proper name. As a proper name, it occurs in the cases of "an author and other men" (see Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, revised edition, under *pañcha*).

[3] See Vol. V. above, p. 169, note 6. The word used here is *peḷdoṟe,* instead of the more customary *perdoṟe.*

[4] Probably, more exact calculations would make the *tithi* still current at the moment of the *saṁkrânti.*

[5] From the ink-impression.

[6] Represented by a plain symbol.

[7] Eight or nine *aksharas* are illegible here, the lower parts of them being broken away and lost. As the *nakshatra* at the time of the *saṁkrânti* was Rêvatî, which the moon entered at about 2 hrs. 22 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), we might suggest *Rêvati-nakshatramum=âgi*, which would suit both the space and the context. But such remains of the *aksharas* as are discernible, hardly adapt themselves to that reading.

[8] The fragment ends here. The next line began, of course, with the *ga* of the word *bhojaga* in one or other of its cases, singular or plural.

TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! While the *Dharmamahârâjâdhirâja* **Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarma,** the lord of **Kuvaḷâḷa**[1] **the best of towns,** the lord of **the mountain Nandagiri,**— he who (*had*) subsisted (*like a bee*) on the water-lilies that were the feet of **the lintel of firmness of character,**[2] **the sole hero of the world,** the glorious **Noḷambakuḷântakadêva-(Mârasiṁha II.),**[3]— he who is a hero when he sees an army, he who is a very lion of heroes, he who is daring even without companions, he who is terrible to princes, he who attracts bravery, he who is a very lion to the **Châḷukyas,** the glorious **Pañchaladêva,** was governing, without any disorder, from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river as the boundary (*on the north*):—

(Line 5) Hail! **[When it was] Thursday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada of the Yuvan saṁvatsara, which was the eight hundred and ninety-seventh Śaka year, and when there was the Kanyâsaṁkrânti,** . . . . the whole of the five divisions,[4] headed by the *Mahâjanas* [of the town], being convened,[5] the sellers of betel-leaves . . . .

No. 25.—SRIKURMAM INSCRIPTION OF NARAHARITIRTHA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1203.

BY H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

The subjoined record[6] is in the **Kûrmêśvara** temple at **Śrikûrmam** in the Chicacole tâluka of the Gañjâm district. It is inscribed on the east and north faces of one of the black granite pillars[7] which support the hall enclosing the temple, and is written in clear **Telugu** characters.

The inscription consists of nine **Sanskṛit** verses in various metres. It mentions first an ascetic **Purushôttama-mahâtîrtha,** who is represented to have been an incarnation of the god **Vishṇu** (v. 1) and to have composed a commentary (v. 2) which is not known from other sources. His pupil was **Ânandatîrtha,** who explained the *Vyâsasûtras* in accordance with the principles of the **Dvaita** school (v. 3) and who bore the title *Bhagavatpâdâchârya* (v. 5). His pupil **Naraharitîrtha** (v. 8) seems to have been the governor of the **Kâliṅga** country (v. 6) and to have defended **Śrîkûrmam against** an attack of the **Śabaras**[8] (v. 7). On **Wednesday,** the **eighth** *tithi* of the **bright** fortnight of **Mêsha** in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1203,** he built a shrine of **Yôgânanda-Nṛisiṁha** in front of the temple at **Śrîkûrmam** (v. 9).

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[1] This name is usually found with *l* in the last syllable; see, for instance, page 43 above, text line 2, Kovaḷâla, and page 54, line 5, Kôḷâla. Here, however, we distinctly have *ḷ*. The vowel of the first syllable, when the name is written in four syllables, is sometimes *u* and sometimes *o*.

[2] This and the following two *birudas* were appellations of the Western Gaṅga prince Mârasiṁha II.; see Vol. V. above, p. 168.

[3] From *chaladuttaraṁga* to *ôpajîvi* is one word, a compound. The *anusvâra* of *nâthaṁ*, which seems to be quite distinct, separates the preceding matter (also really a compound) from that compound, and makes it apply to Pañchaladêva, not to Noḷambakulântakadêva.— As regards my supplying the word "had" before "subsisted," it is to be remembered that Mârasiṁha had either died or abdicated before June-July, A.D. 974 (see Vol. V. above, pp. 152, 168), more than a year before the date of this record. The allusion is to Pañchaladêva having served under him in A.D. 971 and 973 (see *ibid.* pp. 172, 173).

[4] *Baḷa*; see page 258 above. [5] *Ildu* is equivalent to *odaṅ-iḷdu*; see page 68 above, note 6.

[6] No. 290 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

[7] On the west and south faces of the same pillar is another inscription (No. 291 of 1896) of Naraharitîrtha, the pupil of Ânandatîrtha, which is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1215 and records the setting up of images of Râma, Sitâ and Lakshmaṇa in the Kûrmêśvara temple.

[8] The Śabaras are the savage inhabitants of the forests of the Gañjâm district.

Among the three Vaishṇava teachers named in the inscription, Purushôttama-mahâtîrtha is not mentioned in the lists of the Mâdhva teachers preserved in the *Maṭhas*,[1] which begin with Ânandatîrtha. The *Madhvavijaya*,[2] a *kâvya* by Nârâyaṇapaṇḍita, the son of Trivikramapaṇḍita, which describes in detail the life of Ânandatîrtha and his dialectical victories over the *Mâyâvâdins* or followers of Śaṁkarâchârya, mentions as the spiritual *Guru* of Ânandatîrtha a certain **Achyutaprêkshâchârya,** who had the surname of **Purushôttamatîrtha,**[3] by which he is referred to in verse 1 of the subjoined inscription.

Ânandatîrtha, the second of the teachers mentioned in the inscription, is the famous founder of the **Dvaita** school of philosophy and occupies in the history of Indian religion a position not in any way unequal to those of the great Śaṁkarâchârya and of Râmânujâchârya. Vaishṇavism, the most characteristic feature of which is *bhakti*, or love for god, that may be freely practised by one and all, irrespective of creed and caste, was first started by Râmânujâchârya in the 11th century, was eagerly spread by Ânandatîrtha in the 13th century, and eventually assumed large proportions in the 16th century under Kṛishṇa-Chaitanya, the celebrated Vaishṇava teacher of Bengal. Ânandatîrtha is known by three other names, *viz*. **Pûrṇaprajña, Madhvâchârya** and **Madhyamandâra.** His system has been explained in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* of Sâyaṇâchârya under the heading *Pûrṇaprajña-darśana*. Ânandatîrtha's direct disciples were Padmanâbhatîrtha, Naraharitîrtha, Mâdhavatîrtha and Akshôbhyatîrtha, who succeeded one after the other to the pontifical seat after the death of Ânandatîrtha.[4]

Several interesting facts regarding the life of **Naraharitîrtha,** the third teacher mentioned in the inscription, are recorded in a *stôtra* entitled *Narahariyatistôtra*, which is included in the *Stôtramahôdadhi*, Part I.[5] It states that, before conversion to the Mâdhva faith, the *Tîrtha* was called **Śâmaśâstrin,**[6] and that he was styled Naraharitîrtha after receiving initiation from **Pûrṇaprajña.** The latter ordered his pupil to go at once to the capital of the **Gajapati** king and to be a ruler there. Naraharitîrtha, who had learnt the true import of the *Bhâshya*[7] from his teacher, would have preferred to become a *saṁnyâsin* and said:—"Lord! what do I gain by ruling a kingdom?" The master replied:—"There in the Gajapati kingdom are the images of Râma and Sîtâ, which you must try to acquire with great skill, in order that I may worship them." Accordingly Naraharitîrtha went to the country of the Gajapati king and was hailed there by the people and the infant king as a fit ruler for their country. The *stôtra* continues to say that the teacher ruled the **Kaliṅga** country for twelve years. When the prince attained his majority, he handed back the kingdom to him and, as a present and compensation for the services rendered, requested the king to give him the images of Râma and Sîtâ, which were in the royal treasury. These being secured, Naraharitîrtha returned and gave them to his master Ânandatîrtha. The latter worshipped the images for 80 days and made them over to his first pupil, **Padmanâbhatîrtha,** who in his turn worshipped them for six years and handed over the charge of

[1] Several *Maṭhas* or schools of the Mâdhvas are known to exist. The Karṇâṭaka and Dêśastha Brâhmaṇas follow three of them, *viz*. the Uttarâdimaṭha, Vyâsarâyamaṭha and Râghavêndrasvâmimaṭha. Most of the Śivaḷḷi, Kôṭa and Kôṭêśvara Brâhmaṇas of South Canara are adherents of nine other *Maṭhas*, *viz*. eight *Maṭhas* at Uḍipi and one at Subrahmaṇya (with a branch at Bhaṇḍârakêri near Bârukûr). Lists of Mâdhva *Gurus* are preserved in each of the three chief *Maṭhas* and are available for inspection. A similar list has been published by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, Appendix II. p. 203.

[2] The chief incidents in the life of Madhvâchârya as related in the *Madhvavijaya* have been put together in a pamphlet entitled "Madhwacharya.— A short historic sketch," by Mr. C. N. Krishnasvami Aiyar, M.A., of the Coimbatore College.

[3] *Madhvavijaya*, vi. verse 83.

[4] The nine *Maṭhas* of South Canara recognise only Padmanâbhatîrtha and their nine founders as direct disciples of Ânandatîrtha.

[5] Printed at Bombay by the Nirṇayasâgara Press in 1897.

[6] The lists (see note 1 above) give the name Râmaśâstrin.

[7] This probably refers to the commentary of Ânandatîrtha on the *Prasthânatraya*; see below, p. 265, note 5.

them to **Naraharitîrtha** in the *Raktâkshi-saṁvatsara*. Having thus acquired the images and having become the preceptor of the world,[1] Naraharitîrtha went about touring and preaching. While resting for the night in a certain town, he dreamt of an image of Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) merged in a tank near that town. The next day he had the image taken out, consecrated it, and called the town in consequence of that incident **Nârâyaṇadêvarkere** (*i.e.* 'the tank of the god Nârâyaṇa') This place still exists under the same name in the Hospêṭ tâluka of the Bellary district. Having made over the charge of the images to **Mâdhavatîrtha**, the third pupil of Ânandatîrtha, Naraharitîrtha retired to the banks of the **Tuṅgabhadrâ** and died there in the cyclic year *Śrîmukha*. To this the lists of the *Maṭhas* add that, **at Chakratîrtha**[2] on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ, Naraharitîrtha established a *Maṭha*, occupied the *sthânâdhipatya* or pontifical seat for a period of nine years, and wrote a commentary on the *Bhâshya*, probably that of his teacher Ânandatîrtha.[3]

This traditional history of Naraharitîrtha's life agrees with the statement made about him in verse 6 of the inscription and fully accounts for the existence in the **Kaliṅga** country of several inscriptions which record his gifts to temples.[4] It will be seen from the sequel that Naraharitîrtha succeeded to the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324 and died in A.D. 1333. His governorship in the Kaliṅga country, which took place before his becoming a *Guru*, must therefore be placed in the period before A.D. 1324. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that Naraharitîrtha's inscriptions in the Kaliṅga country range between **Śaka-Saṁvat 1186** and **1215** (= A.D. 1264 and A.D. 1294).[5]

Before discussing the dates of Ânandatîrtha and his successors, I have to draw attention to the fact that the Śaka dates, which are assigned to the pontificate of each teacher in the lists of the *Maṭhas*, are to be accepted with caution. Dr. Bhandarkar[6] says that "in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each high-priest died was alone given, and from this was determined the Śaka year. But this method is uncertain and liable to error if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than sixty years." It will be seen from what follows that such an error has actually been committed and that the dates given in the lists for each *Guru* will have to be pushed forward by two full cycles, *i.e.* one hundred and twenty years. According to the traditional lists preserved in the three chief *Maṭhas*, **Ânandatîrtha** was born on the 4th *tithi* of the dark half of Âshâḍha in Śaka-Saṁvat 1040, the *Vilambi-saṁvatsara* (= A.D. 1118) and died on the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of Mâgha in Śaka-Saṁvat 1119, the *Piṅgala-saṁvatsara* (≐ A.D. 1197).[7] In his *Bhâratatâtparyanirṇaya*[8] Ânandatîrtha is

[1] It may be noted that this transmission of the images from teacher to pupil is still going on in the existing Mâdhva *Maṭhas*. The installation of a new *Guru* means, among other things, the receiving over of the charge of the images to be regularly worshipped. The same custom obtains among the Smârta (*Advaita*) *Maṭhas* as well. There arises often a dispute among the *Maṭhas* as to whether the images worshipped therein are the same as those which were worshipped by the first teacher, the founder of the *Maṭha*, or are imitations acquired second or third hand.

[2] This place is said to have been situated at Hampe between the temples of Virûpâksha and Viṭṭhala.

[3] At Uḍipi I was told that Naraharitîrtha's *Ṭippaṇî* on Ânandatîrtha's *Bhâshya* is still in existence.

[4] An inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1214 at Siṁhâchalam (No. 305 of 1900) shows the great influence that Naraharitîrtha exercised on the people of that country; for it records a grant to the Lakshmî-Narasiṁhasvâmin temple at Siṁhâchalam, made by the Matsya chief Jayanta of Oḍḍavâḍi at the instance of Naraharitîrtha. Another inscription at Śrîkûrmam (No. 367 of 1896), which records a gift of gold by Naraharitîrtha, is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1215 and in the 18th year of the reign of Vîra-śrî-Naranârasiṁhadêva, *i.e.* the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II.

[5] The *Narahariyatistôtra* quoted above says that the *Tîrtha* ruled the Kaliṅga country for 12 years, while his inscriptions in that part of the country range over 30 years.

[6] See his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p. 16.

[7] See Dr. Bhandarkar, *ibid.* p. 202.

[8] Chapter xxxii. verse 131, which runs as follows :—

चतुस्सहस्रे त्रिशतोत्तरे गते संवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ।
जातः पुनर्विप्रतनुस्स भीमो दैत्यैर्निगूढं हरितत्त्वमाह ।

supposed to have given the date of his own birth as Kali 4300 (= A.D. 1198).[1] Thus a difference of 80 years exists between the date found in the lists and the date contained in the *Bhâratatâtparyanirṇaya*. Even the second date cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Ânandatîrtha's pupil Naraharitîrtha and is perhaps due to an interpolation. As regards the dates given in the lists, I am inclined to adopt Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the Jovian years may be perfectly reliable while their Śaka equivalents are later inventions, and to accept the statement of the lists that Ânandatîrtha was born in the year *Vilambin*, lived for 79 years, and died in the year *Piṅgala*. The lists further state that he was succeeded by his pupil **Padmanâbhatîrtha,** who occupied the seat for seven years and was followed by **Naraharitîrtha** in the cyclic year *Raktâkshin*. This teacher occupied the seat for nine years and died in the year *Śrîmukha*. He was succeeded by **Mâdhavatîrtha,** who in his turn occupied the seat for seventeen years and was followed by **Akshôbhyatîrtha,** who occupied the *sthânâdhipatya* for another seventeen years. With the help of these statements the actual time of Ânandatîrtha can be easily determined by calculating backwards from the dates of Naraharitîrtha's inscriptions. Two other facts derived from different sources are also of some value in this direction, *viz.* the statement in the *Guruparamparâprabhâva*[2] that Akshôbhyatîrtha was a contemporary of **Mâdhavâchârya-Vidyâraṇya,** and the statement in the *Madhvavijaya*[3] that a certain king **Îśvaradêva** in **Mahârâshṭra** tried in vain to take Ânandatîrtha into his service. Mâdhavâchârya-Vidyâraṇya was the minister of the Vijayanagara king **Bukka I.** whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1353 and A.D. 1371.[4] Roughly, therefore, Akshôbhyatîrtha, a contemporary of Mâdhavâchârya, will have to be assigned to this period. To get to the time of Ânandatîrtha, the total period of the *sthânâdhipatya* of the intervening teachers, Padmanâbhatîrtha, Naraharitîrtha and Mâdhavatîrtha, *viz.* 33 years, will have to be deducted, say, from A.D. 1362; and this brings us to A.D. 1329. Now the nearest year to A.D. 1329 which corresponded to *Piṅgala*, the traditional date of the death of Ânandatîrtha, was A.D. 1317. As noted above, Ânandatîrtha is supposed to have lived for 79 years, and consequently the date of his birth, the cyclic year *Vilambin*, would correspond to A.D. 1238. The statement of the *Madhvavijaya* confirms this date; for Îśvaradêva of Mahârâshṭra has been identified by Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyar[5] with the Yâdava king **Mahâdêva** of **Dêvagiri,** who reigned from A.D. 1260—1271.[6] Ânandatîrtha's date being thus fixed, the dates of his successors can be easily determined with the help of the lists which give the traditional Jovian years for each teacher's succession to the pontifical seat and for his death. Thus **Naraharitîrtha,** the second in succession, must have ascended the pontifical seat in **A.D. 1324,** the year *Raktâkshin*, and died in **A.D. 1333,** the year *Śrîmukha*.

TEXT.[7]

East Face.

1 देव[:*] श्रीकमलाविलासलहरीपात्रं कलिप्रो[ल्लि]लत्क्लेशक्लिष्टजनेखिलक्षि[ति]-
तले [8]संक्षीलबो[धो]-[9]

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[1] With this agrees a statement of the Mâdhva Svâmin at Phalmâru near Mulki in South Canara, who told me that, according to the tradition of his *Maṭha*, Ânandatîrtha was born in Śaka-Saṁvat 1119, *Piṅgala*, *Mâgha-śuddha* 7, and died in Śaka-Saṁvat 1199, *Îśvara*, *Mâgha-kṛishṇa* 9.

[2] Madras edition, p. 108.

[3] Chapter x. verse 3 f. Two other names mentioned in the Madhvavijaya, if identified, may also help in fixing the date of Ânandatîrtha, *viz.* a king Jayasiṁha who restored the library to the teacher, and a *Guru* of the Śaṁkarâchârya-Maṭha at Śṛiṅgêri who had a dispute with Ânandatîrtha at Trivandrum. The former has not been identified; but Mr. Krishnasvami Aiyar of the Coimbatore College identifies the latter with a certain Vidyâśaṁkara, who is supposed to have occupied the Śṛiṅgêri seat from A.D. 1228—1333, *i.e.* for no less than 105 years (!).

[4] See above, Vol. III. p. 36.

[5] See his pamphlet "Madhwacharya.— A short historic sketch," p. 14.

[6] See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 519.

[7] From two inked estampages prepared in 1896.

[8] Read संक्षीण°.

[9] The *akshara* धी of बोधी has both an *î* and an *ô* attached to it.

2 [1]दये [।*] स्वीयश्रीपदपंकजैकशरणान्[2] [सं]रच्चितुं सन्मुनिर्ज्ज्ञात[:*] श्रीपुरुषोत्तमाभिध[म](ा)-[3]

3 हा[ती]र्थस्सुमत्यग्रणीः । [१*] यन्मुनिभाषितभाष्यं बाष्यं[4] किल तीर्थिकप्रवरसंघैः [।*] उ-

4 न्मदवादिद्विरदप्रतिकुंभमंकुशं भवति[5] ॥ [२*] तस्य ज्ञानकलाकलोदयकलो वैय्य[ा]-

5 सीकं[6] गोगणं (।) मंदै[र्भ्भि]न्नपथप्रधारितमलं[7] सुव्यक्तभेदे पथि । नेतुं संधृतदंड-

6 मंडितकरो यः प्रादुरासीन्मुनिव्रातैस्सेव्यपदारविंद्युगळादानंदती[र्थो मु]-

7 निः । [३*] यन्मुखनि[:*]सृतभाषा ललिता ललितप्रकारपदविन्यासा [।*] कमलाप[ति]पदकमलं भ-

8 जते भजमानभवभयारा[तिं] । [४*] आनन्दतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्य्यसरस्वती [।*] लोकेन

9 हरिपादाब्जयुगळप्राप्तये न[8] सा । [५*] तस्माल्लोकसुरक्षणातिनिपुणात्संप्राप्तक-

10 र्त्तव्यधीहैधासुच[9] तथाच[10] योवति जनान् [11]क[ा*]लिंगभूसं[भ]वान् [।*] पित्र्याचारमुपैति

11 सू[नु]रिति सन्नीतिस्थितो धर्म्मतश्चतुरम्बापतिवर्म्मदुर्ग्गनिवहान् भीतानभीत[:*] स्वयं । [६*] यस्य

12 [12]श्रीकमठाधिनायकमहाकार्य्यैकबद्धव्रतस्तस्य प्र[च्यु]तिवारणाय शबरानीक-

North Face.

13 क्षितीध्राश्रनिं [।*] धत्ते [स]त्करवालमस्य त[टि]ता[13] संत्यक्तजीवे रिपौ हंतव्यानवशेषणा-

14 न्निजविधिन्नो[14] यस्य बोध्यस्तरां । [७*] तेनानेन श्रीमन्नरहरितीर्त्ताख्यमुनिवरेण्येन[15] [।*] क-

15 लिसमयप्रह्लादप्रबावपरितोषन्नृहरिरूपेण[16] ॥ [८*] स्वस्ति श्रीशकवत्सरे हुतवह-

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[1] Lines 2, 3, 4 and 5 are written between parallel lines.

[2] The final न् is inserted below the line.

[3] The *akshara* मा at the end of the line appears to be corrected from ध.

[4] Read भाष्यं.

[5] In the second half of this verse the metre requires one or more additional syllables which are missing in the original.

[6] Read वैयासिकं.

[7] Read °प्रतारित°.

[8] Read नु.

[9] Read °धीर्हेधा°.

[10] Read तथाच.

[11] The syllables कलिंगभूसंभवा are written on an erasure.

[12] Read °कार्य्यैक°.

[13] Read तडिता.

[14] Read °विधिर्न्नो.

[15] Read °तीर्त्थाख्य°.

[16] Read °प्रभाव°.

16 व्योमद्वयक्ष्मायुते मेषे [1]शुक्लपक्षांकशेखर[दि]ने वारे [च*] सौम्ये वरे [।*] प्रासादं कमठा[धि]-

17 पस्य पुरतो निर्म्माय शर्म्मप्रदो योगानंदनृसिंह[2] ए[ष*] भगवान् प्रीत्या प्रतिष्ठापि-

18 तः । [९*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) The god **(Vishṇu)**, (*who is*) the recipient of the abundant dalliance of the goddess **Kamalâ** (Lakshmî),— in order to protect those whose only refuge are his divine lotus-feet on the whole surface of the earth where men were oppressed by the suffering produced by the Kali (*age*), (*and*) where the rise of knowledge had ceased,[3]— took birth (*in the person of*) a great saint (*mahâtîrtha*) named the holy **Purushôttama**, a pious ascetic (*and*) a leader of the wise.[4]

(V. 2.) The commentary (*bhâshya*)[5] pronounced by this sage is, indeed, worthy of being repeated by crowds of chiefs of saints (*tîrthika*), (and) a goad on every frontal globe of the furious elephants— proud disputants.[6]

(V. 3.) From the pair of lotus-feet of this (Purushôttama), which is worthy to be worshipped by crowds of sages, was produced[7] the ascetic **Ânandatîrtha**, who caused the rising of the moon of wisdom,[8] (*and*) whose hand was adorned with a staff[9] held (*in it*), (*and who was therefore*) able to lead on the easily distinguishable path[10] the cows of **Vyâsa**,[11] which had been enticed on the wrong path by ignorant men.[12]

(V. 4.) The charming speech proceeding from his mouth (*and*) consisting of words arranged in a charming manner resorts to the lotus-foot of **(Vishṇu)** the lord of **Kamalâ**, which destroys the fear of rebirth of (*its*) devotees.

(V. 5.) The speech of the holy preceptor (*Bhagavatpâdâchârya*) **Ânandatîrtha** (*leads*) indeed (*already*) in this life to the attainment of the pair of lotus-feet of **Hari** (Vishṇu).

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[1] The rest of the inscription after शक्षां is engraved very faintly. The letters can however be read from the back of the estampage.

[2] Read °नृसिंह.

[3] The reason assigned in this verse for the *avatâra* of Vishṇu agrees with what Kṛishṇa says in the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*, chapter iv. verse 7 f. :—

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत । अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥
परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥

[4] The word *sumati*, 'the wise,' seems to have been a standing designation of the followers of the Dvaita doctrine, just as *bhavya* is applied to the Jainas; for the Râghavêndrasvâmimaṭha at Nañjangûḍ, one of the three chief *Maṭhas* of the Mâdhvas, is otherwise called Sumatîndramaṭha.

[5] The commentary referred to may be assumed to have been one on the *Brahmasûtras*, the ten important *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*—collectively known by the name *Prasthânatraya*; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p. 18.

[6] The 'proud disputants' are the followers of the Advaita system of Śaṁkarâchârya.

[7] *I.e.* 'his pupil was.'

[8] *Kalâkala* may be taken in the sense of *kalâdhara*. The rising moon assists the cows which are mentioned afterwards in finding their way, and the wisdom is required for the explanation of the *Vyâsasûtras*.

[9] The staff is one of the attributes of an ascetic; but the cowherd's stick is also implied here.

[10] Or, 'on the path where the distinction (*bhêda*) (between *Jîvâtman* and *Paramâtman*) is quite clear,' *i.e.* the Dvaita system.

[11] Or, 'the words of Vyâsa,' *i.e.* the *Vyâsasûtras*, on which the Advaita, Viśishṭâdvaita and Dvaita systems are based.

[12] These negligent cowherds are the followers of Śaṁkarâchârya.

(V. 6.) From him (*viz.* Ânandatîrtha), who was very experienced in well protecting men, has obtained the knowledge of duty he (*viz.* Naraharitîrtha), who protects the people born in the **Kâliṅga** country both in the next (*world*) and in this; who as a (*dutiful*) son follows the profession of (*his*) father,[1] practising high politics in a righteous manner (*and*) himself facing the frightened garrisons (?) of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings;

(V. 7.) And who, being devoted exclusively to the great service of the lord of **Śrîkamaṭha**,[2] holds, in order to prevent the ruin of this (*temple*), an excellent sword (*which is*) a thunderbolt to the mountains—the bands of **Śabaras,**—(*but*) the proper action of which was totally imperceptible because no victim was left, the enemy having lost his life through its (*mere*) flashing.[3]

(V. 8.) This best of sages, called the holy **Naraharitîrtha,** a man-lion incarnate, who is to be worshipped by those who possess the power of Prahlâda[4] in the Kali age,—

(V. 9.) Hail! in the prosperous **Śaka** year joined with the fires (3), the sky (0), the pair (2), and the earth (1),—(*i.e.* **1203**),—in (*the month of*) **Mêsha, on the day of** the moon-crested (**Śiva**),[5] in the **bright** (*fortnight*), and on an excellent **Wednesday,**—having built a temple in front of the lord of **Kamaṭha,** consecrated (*therein*) with pleasure this god **Yôgânanda-Nṛisiṁha,** the bestower of bliss.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remark on the date of the preceding inscription:—

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1203 expired the 8th *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Mêsha ended 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; and in Śaka-Saṁvat 1203 current the same *tithi* ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th April A.D. 1280. As all the other inscriptions of Naraharitîrtha (see below) quote expired Śaka years, the day intended by the date would be expected to be **Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281;** but if it were so, the word *Saumyê* of the date would have to be altered to *Saurêr=* (*i.e.* 'of Saturn')."

Besides this inscription, the Vaishṇava temples at **Śrîkûrmam** and **Siṁhâchalam** (in the Vizagapatam district) contain **five other inscriptions recording gifts by Naraharitîrtha.** I subjoin their dates, which Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to calculate as well.

1.—In the Kûrmêśvara temple at Śrîkûrmam.[6]

5 U(û)na-chaturdaśa-varshê dvâdaśa-śata-vatsarê [|*]
6 Kanyâ-mâsê=sitê pakshê trayôdaśyâṁ Kavêr=ddinê [||*]
9 Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushambulu 1186 n=êmṭṭi
10 Kanya-kri(kṛi)shṇa 13 Śukravâramuna . . . . .

"In the (*Śaka*) year twelve hundred less fourteen years, in the month of **Kanyâ,** in the dark fortnight, on the thirteenth *tithi*, on **Friday.**"

"On **Friday,** the 13th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of **Kanyâ** in the Śaka year 1186."

For Śaka-Saṁvat 1186 expired the date corresponds to **Friday, the 19th September A.D. 1264,** when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ârya-siddhânta was the 23rd day of the month of **Kanyâ.**—F. K.

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[1] It follows from this statement that both Naraharitîrtha and his father were ministers of the king of Kaliṅga.

[2] *I.e.* Śrîkûrmam; compare above, Vol. V. p. 35, note 1.

[3] By this the poet means to say that Naraharitîrtha, though he wore a sword, was not put to the necessity of using it and thereby avoided incurring the sin of destroying life.

[4] Prahlâda was the son of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu who was killed by Vishṇu in his Nṛisiṁha *avatâra*.

[5] *I.e.* the eighth *tithi*; see above, Vol. V. p. 168, note 4.

[6] No. 369 of 1896.

2.— In the Lakshmî-Narasiṁhasvâmin temple at Siṁhâchalam.[1]

1 Svasti [||*] Śâk-âbdê Râma-dhâtrî-nayana-śaśi-mitê Paushya-mâsi prasiddhê . ś[â]pât-[2] Ârkavâra-

2 Śravaṇa-pariṇatê śaśvad=Arddhôday-âkhyê | bhûya[ḥ*] [3]Svarbbhâma-bhânugrahaṇa-ja-samayê

3 tat-ti[thau] Sômavârê puṇyê kâla-dvayê=pi . . . . .

7 . . Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushaṁbulu 1213 gun=êṁṭṭi Paushya mâsamuna Śravaṇa-Vyatîpât-Ârkkavâra-sa- .

8 hitam=aina Arddhôdayam=anu pêraṁ gala [a]mâvâsya nâṁḍunu i(î) divasamuna sûryyagrahaṇa-sa-

9 hitam=aina Sômavâramu nâṁḍ[u]nu . . . . .

"In the Śâka year measured by the Râmas (3), the earth (1), the eyes (2), and the moon (1),—(*i.e.* 1213),—in the well-known month of Paushya, on (*the occasion*) called **Ardhôdaya,** ever brought about by (*the union of the yôga*) **Vyatîpâta,** a **Sunday** and (*the nakshatra*) **Śravaṇa,**— again on the occasion arising at **the sun's eclipse** by Râhu, on the *tithi* of this (*eclipse*), on **Monday,**— at both of these auspicious times."

"In the month of Paushya of the Śaka year 1213, on the day of the new-moon *tithi* bearing the name **Ardhôdaya,** combined with **Śravaṇa, Vyatîpâta** and **Sunday,** and on **Monday** combined with **an eclipse of the sun** on this day."

For Śaka-Saṁvat 1213 expired the two days quoted by the original date correspond to **Sunday, the 20th January,** and **Monday, the 21st January, A.D. 1292.** On the **Sunday,** the new-moon *tithi* of Pausha *commenced* 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa** for 22 h. 20 m., and the *yôga* **Vyatîpâta** for 18 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. As therefore during the new-moon *tithi* of Pausha, on a Sunday in day-time, the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, and the *yôga* Vyatîpâta, the coincidence is correctly described as **Ardhôdaya** (compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 186, Pausha-kṛishṇapaksha XV.).— On the **Monday,** at 3 h. 39 m. after sunrise, there **was an annular eclipse of the sun** which **was visible in India.** For a place in Southern India of longitude 77° and latitude 15° the magnitude of the greatest phase was about six digits.— F. K.

3.—In the Lakshmî-Narasiṁhasvâmin temple at Siṁhâchalam.[4]

7 . . . . . . Śâk-â[bdê] Vêda-chaṁdra-dyumaṇ[i]-sugaṇitê Śrâvaṇê mâsi śu-

8 klê Vishṇôr=ahny=[Â*]rkkivârê . . . . .

11 . . . . . Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushaṁbulu 1214 gu-

12 n=êṁṭi Śrâvaṇa-śukla êkâdaśiyun Śanaiścharavâramu nâṁḍu . . . . .

"In the Śâka year well reckoned by the Vêdas (4), the moon (1), and the suns (12),—(*i.e.* 1214),— in the month Śrâvaṇa, in the bright (*fortnight*), on the day of Vishṇu,[5] on **Saturday.**"

"On **Saturday,** the eleventh *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Śrâvaṇa in the Śaka year 1214."

For Śaka-Saṁvat 1214 expired the date corresponds to **Saturday, the 26th July A.D. 1292,** when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.— F. K.

4.—In the Kûrmêśvara temple at Śrikûrmam.[6]

1 Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushaṁbulu 1215 gun=êṁḍu Vîra-śrî-Na-

2 ranârasiṁhya(ha)dêvaru(ra) vijaya-râjya-sa[ṁvva]tsaraṁbula-[7]

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[1] No. 311 of 1900. [2] Read *Vyâtîpât-*. [3] Read *Svarbbhânu-*.
[4] No. 305 of 1900. [5] *I.e.* the eleventh *tithi*. [6] No. 367 of 1896.
[7] Cancel the syllable *la* at the end of the line.

3 lu 18 gu śrâhi Ri(ṛi)shabha-śukla-paurṇna(rṇṇa)miyu Guruvâ-
4 ramuna . . . .

"In the Śaka year 1215 (*and*) in the 18th year of the victorious reign of the glorious Vîra-Naranârasiṁhadêva,— on **Thursday**, the full-moon *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Ṛishabha.**"

For Śaka-Saṁvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to **Thursday, the 21st May A.D. 1293**, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ârya-siddhânta was the 27th day of the month of **Ṛishabha.**— F. K.

5.— In the Kûrmêśvara temple at Śrikûrmam.[1]

1 Svasti śrî-Śaka-vatsarê śara-dharâ-tigmâṁśu-śa(sa)ṁkhy-ânvitê . . . .
4 . . . . . . Svasti śrî-Śaka-varushaṁbulu 1215 gun=êṁṭṭi Mâ-
5 [gha]-śukla-paṁchchamiyu Raviv[â*]ramunay=aṁddu . . . . . .

"In the Śaka year joined with the number of the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the suns (12),—(*i.e.* 1215)."

"On **Sunday**, the fifth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Mâgha in the Śaka year 1215."

For Śaka-Saṁvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to **Sunday, the 3rd January A.D. 1294**, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.— F. K.

No. 26.— TSANDAVOLU INSCRIPTION OF BUDDHARAJA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1093.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

This inscription (No. 249 of 1897) is engraved on three faces of a pillar opposite the **Liṅgôdbhavasvâmin** temple at **Tsandavôlu** in the Rêpalle tâluka of the Kistna district. The **alphabet** is Telugu. The inscription consists of 13 **Sanskṛit** verses, a passage in **Telugu** prose (ll. 56 to 81), and two Sanskṛit verses at the end.

The inscription is dated at the **winter-solstice** (*Saumyâyana*, v. 13, or *Uttarâyaṇa*, l. 70 f.) in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1093** (in numerical words, v. 13, and in figures, l. 70) and records the grant of a field at **Nâdiṇḍla** (v. 13 and l. 72) and of a lamp to the Śiva temple of Paṇḍîśa (v. 13) or **Paṇḍîśvara** (ll. 69 and 79) at **Dhanadapura** (v. 13), **Dhanadaprôlu** (l. 69) or Dhanadavrôlu (l. 78 f.) in **Velanâṇḍu** (v. 13). Nâdiṇḍla is the modern **Nâdeṇḍla** in the Narasarâvupêṭa tâluka of the Kistna district.[2] As stated before,[3] Dhanadapura or Dhanadaprôlu is the modern **Tsandavôlu, which was the capital of the chiefs of Velanâṇḍu.**[4] According to an inscription which is now built into the roof of the Liṅgôdbhavasvâmin temple, the temple of Paṇḍîśvara was named after one of the chiefs of Velanâṇḍu.[5]

The donor of this inscription was **Buddharâja** (vv. 9, 12 and 13) or, in Telugu, the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Koṇḍapadmaṭi-Buddarâja** (l. 67 f.), who bore the surnames **Aniyaṅka-Bhîma** (l. 60 f.), **Eladâyasiṁha** (l. 61 f.), and 'the lion of the mountain— the **Durjaya** family'[6]

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[1] No. 291 of 1896.
[2] Above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and Vol. VI. pp. 111 and 115.
[3] Above, Vol. IV. Additions and Corrections, p. v.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 33.
[5] Above, Vol. V. p. 151.
[6] This was also a surname of the chief Nambaya; see page 227 above. And the Kâkatîya king Gaṇapati traced his descent to an ancestor named Durjaya; above, Vol. V. p. 142. Though Gaṇapati claims to be a descendant of the Sun, Manu and Raghu (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 201, and above, Vol. V. p. 142), the Kâkatîyas must have belonged to the Śûdra caste, because they intermarried with Śûdra chiefs (above, Vol. III. p. 94, and Vol. VI. p. 147). In the Yenamadala inscription, which chronicles the marriage of Gaṇapâmbâ to Bêta, both parties preserve a discreet silence regarding their Śûdra descent.

(l. 59). As he calls himself a 'worshipper of the feet of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva**' (l. 57 f.), it may be assumed that he or his predecessors had been vassals of the Châlukya-Chôḷa king Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa II. Among his remaining *birudas* we find **Giripaśchimaśâsana,** 'the ruler (of the country) west of the hill' (l. 64), and **Śailapâśchâtyadîpa,** 'the light (of the country) west of the hill' (v. 12). These are Sanskṛit equivalents of the Telugu term Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi, '(the ruler of the country) west of the hill,' which is prefixed to his name in line 68. When editing the Amarâvatî inscription of Kêta II., I pointed out that the district of **Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi** corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tâluka.[1] Hence the expression 'west of the hill' must refer to **the Koṇḍaviḍu hills,** which form part of the eastern boundary of that district.

Buddharâja's ancestor **Buddhavarman** belonged to the **Chaturthâbhijana** (v. 2), *i.e.* to the Śûdra caste, and was a servant (v. 3) of king **Kubja-Vishṇu of the lunar race** (v. 1), *i.e.* of the Eastern Châlukya king Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., who conferred on him '**the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages**' (v. 4). The immediate descendants of Buddhavarman are not mentioned by name in the inscription, which passes on to the *Maṇḍalêśvara* **Maṇḍa I.** or Maṇḍana, who "was born from that family," his son **Gaṇḍa,** (v. 5), and his grandson **Maṇḍa II.** (v. 6). Buddharâja was the son of Maṇḍa II. and **Kundâmbikâ** (v. 8), and the brother of **Aṅkama** (v. 12), who became the wife of **Râjêndra-Chôḍa,** the son of **Goṅka** (v. 11). This chief has to be identified with Râjêndra-Chôḍa, the son of Goṅka II. of **Velanâṇḍu,** and his wife Aṅkama with Akkâmbikâ or Akkama, whose name occurs in verse 49 of the Piṭhâpuram pillar inscription of Pṛithvîśvara[2] and in a fragmentary inscription at Bâpaṭla.[3] The son of Râjêndra-Chôḍa, Goṅka III., followed the example of his father in marrying Jâyâmbikâ, who belonged to the family of the chiefs of '**the country west of the hill.**'[4]

In the foot-notes on the text I have quoted the various readings of two **Nâdeṇḍla** inscriptions of Buddharâja, of which the first (No. 233 of 1892) contains verses 1-10 of the subjoined inscription, and the second (No. 228 of 1892) the list of *birudas* (ll. 56 to 68).

TEXT.[5]

West Face.[6]

1 ओं[7] [॥*] अस्ति श्रीस्तनकुंकुमांकितविराज[व्यू]-[8]

2 ढवक्षस्थलो देवश्शीतमयूख-

3 वंशतिलक[:*] श्री[कु]जविष्णुर्न्निपः[9] । य-[10]

4 स्यारातिनरेंद्रहर्म्यविलस[द्दू]र्व्वा-

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[1] Page 148 above.

[2] Above, Vol. IV. pp. 35 and 51. I avail myself of this opportunity for issuing a collotype plate of the four Piṭhâpuram pillar inscriptions between pages 270 and 271.

[3] This inscription (No. 181 of 1897) refers itself to the reign of "Chôḍa-Goṅka-mahârâja, the son of Akkama-mahâdêvi, the younger sister of [Budda]-mahârâja."

[4] *Parvat-âpara-mahî*; above, Vol. IV. p. 51.

[5] From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

[6] The symbols of the sun and the moon—implying that the grant is to continue *â-chandr-ârkam*—are engraved at the top of this face.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] No. 233 of 1892 reads °विराजि°; read °व्यूढ°.

No. 233 of 1892 reads °नृपः.

[10] Read यस्स्याराति° (?).

5 [भि]लाषीशतचीभोत्संगमकुरंगमशीत-[1]
6 किरणस्याशे[षशोभां][2] दधौ । [१*] आसीद्वसु-
7 धाभिजनाथ[तस्स][:*] [श्री]बुध्ववर्म्म[ा][3] क्षत-
8 पुण्यकर्म्मा [।*] [सं]ग्रामरंगे निजनाथवर्म्मा
9 संपादिताशेषक[र्षी]द्रधर्म्मा । [२*] भृत्यव्रत्य-
10 विनयेन रंजयन्नंशुनेय[4] इव राव-
11 णच्छिदं [।*] वैनतेय इव चक्रिणं च तं सार्व्वभौ-
12 मतिलकं स [शोभते][5] । [३*] त्रिसप्ततिग्रामवतीम्म-
13 होम्महीपतिप्रसादोपनतामनताहितः [।*]
14 गिरिप्रतीचीं निजराजलांछनैस्स पालयामा-
15 स विलासवासवः । [४*] वंशकर्त्थृषु[6] गतेषु केषुचि-
16 त्तत्कुलादजनि [मं]डभूपतिः [।*] मंडलीश्व-
17 रसिखंडमंडनो[7] मंडनादजनि गंडभू-
18 पतिः । [५*] अथ रविरिव [8]पूर्व्वशैलशृंगा[त्तुहि]न-
19 मरीचिरिवांबुधेः कुमारः [।*] [9]शरवन[वन]-
20 [आ]दिवोत्सवार्त्थी समजनि मंडविभुर्व्वि-
21 भोरमुष्मात् । [६*] यस्य[10] खड्गलतिकाश्रि-
22 ता जय(ा)श्रीर्भुजाश्रितभुवादिराज-[11]
23 [12]भिर्भुक्तवत्यपि पतिव्रता क्षता तन[13] राज-
24 तनयेन मानिना ॥ [७*] पुरंदरस्येव[14] पु-
25 लोमपुत्री सीतेव रामस्य रमेव शौरेः [।*]
26 बभुव[15] देवी जनपस्य तस्य कुंदांभिका[16]
27 राजमतींभिकेव[17] । [८*] ताभ्यामुभाभ्यां ज-
28 गदुत्सवाय [18]श्रीबुध्वराजोजनि
29 कीर्त्तिंदानी[19] [।*] तेनैव जातास्मह वर्द्दंमा-[20]

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[1] No. 233 of 1892 reads °चीनो°.
[2] No. 233 of 1892 reads °स्याश्चे यशोभां.
[3] Read °बुद्ध°.
[4] Read °यन्नांजनेय.
[5] No. 233 of 1892 reads सेवते.
[6] No. 233 of 1892 reads °कर्तृषु.
[7] No. 233 of 1892 reads °शिखंड°.
[8] Read पूर्व्वशैलशृंगा°.
[9] No. 233 of 1892 reads शरवण°.
[10] No. 233 of 1892 reads यस्य.
[11] Read °श्रीर्भुजा°.
[12] No. 233 of 1892 reads °भि: । शुता°.
[13] No. 233 of 1892 reads तेन.
[14] No. 233 of 1892 reads °रस्यैव.
[15] No. 233 of 1892 reads बभूव.
[16] No. 233 of 1892 reads कुंदांबिका.
[17] No. 233 of 1892 reads °बिकेव.
[18] No. 233 of 1892 reads श्रीबुद्द°.
[19] No. 233 of 1892 reads °जानि[:*].
[20] No. 233 of 1892 reads वर्द्धमा°.

EAST FACE.

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NORTH FACE.

30 न[ा*]स्मत्यार्ज्जित(ा)त्यागपराक्रमास्व[1] [॥ ९*]
31 [2]येस्यासीत्प्रविदारितारिकरटिप्रस्रो-[3]
32 [4]तकुंभस्थलस्थालोस्थूलविमुक्तमुक्त-
33 निकरास्थूर्ण्णा[5] विकीर्ण्णा र[णे] [।*] वाहे-[6]
34 लोखरविंखलिखनद[ल*]द्रक्तप्रसिकच्चि-[7]
35 तौ (।) प्रत्युपा[8] द्व[व] कीर्त्तिबीजम[ण]यो भां-[9]
36 [त्ति] स्म[10] [षो]मांकुराः । [१०*] श्रीमत्संग्रामत्रो-
37 [र]च्चितिपतिरभवल्लोकभू[प]ाल[पु]त्र[:*]

South Face.

38 [11]श्रीमान्विचारिभोगः [12]प्रभलरिपु-
39 [13]नृपांभोजपुंजाम्नितांशु[:*][14] [।*] यश्चच्छो-
40 कं[ा]तभक्तो गुणनिधिरमलो वाक्पतिः
41 पुण्यमूर्त्तिश्श्रीमद्रूदेवस्त्वयस्य-[15]
42 कालजननुतो भाति [16]राजेंद्रचोडः [॥ ११*]
43 तस्योर्व्वीवल्लभस्य प्रियवरललना
44 [17][व]ध्यपट्टांकमाख्या भाति श्रीसच्चि[भा]-
45 [18]तिस्पुरितनिखिलदिक्पूर्नसत्कीर्त्ति-[19]
46 वल्ली [।*] तद्भ्राता बुद्दभूपो[20] नरपतिति-
47 लकश्शैलपाश्चात्यदीपः सन्मानो[द्य]-
48 [द्दि]कीर्त्तिर्ग्गुणमणिनिकरो राजते
49 [पु]ण्यमूर्त्ति[:*] । [१२*] शाकाब्दे शक्तिनंदा-
50 बरशशिगणिते [भू]रिसौम्यायने
51 वा चेमवादिंद्र[पु]र्य्यां धनधपु-[21]
52 रेमधिस्थाय पंडीशनाम्ने [।*] नैवेद्या-
53 र्थ्यम्मर्हत्मा[22] भिरतरमनिशं खंडु[कं]

[1] No. 233 of 1892 reads °त्योर्ज्जित°.
[2] No. 233 of 1892 reads यस्यासिम°.
[3] No. 233 of 1892 reads °प्रस्फीत°.
[4] Read कुंभ.
[5] Read °रास्तूर्ण्ण विकीर्ण्णा रणे.
[6] No. 233 of 1892 reads वाहाली°.
[7] No. 233 of 1892 reads °प्रसिक्त°.
[8] No. 233 of 1892 reads प्रत्युप्ता.
[9] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[10] No. 233 of 1892 reads स्म वामांकुराः.
[11] Read श्रीमान्वृषारि°.
[12] Read प्रबल°.
[13] Read °नृपां°.
[14] Read °जामृतांशुः.
[15] Read °मूर्त्तिर्श्रीम°.
[16] Read राजेंद्र°.
[17] Read वज्र°.
[18] Read °स्फुरित°.
[19] Read °दिक्पूर्ण°.
[20] Read बुद्धभूपो.
[21] Read धनदपुरमधिष्ठाय.
[22] Read °माहात्मा चिर°.

54 बाहुसंख्यं दीप[1] प्रादादखंडं [स्व]-
55 यमपि वेलनांड्भूतले बुध[भू]पः
56 ॥ [१२*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
57 [हा]मंड[लि]श्वर[2] कुलोत्तुंगचो[ड]देवर[3]
58 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाध-
59 क दुर्ज्जयकुलाचलमृगेंद्र सत्यह-
60 रिश्चंद्र प्रतिज्ञापरसराम[4] अनियं-
61 कभीम सत्यराधेय शौचगांगेय[5] ए-
62 लदायसिंह विक्रमग्निसिंह[6] सुज-
63 नजनवनवसंत कांताजयंत वि-
64 वेकपद्मासन गिरिपश्चिमशासन वित-
65 रणरणविनोद [7]कस्तुरिकामोद हृ-
66 यवत्सराज राजमनोज नामादि-
67 समस्तप्रशस्तसहितं[8] श्रीमन्महामं-[9]
68 डलेश्वर कोंडपड्मटिबुद्दराजुलु
69 धनदप्रोलि श्रीपंडीश्वरमह[ा*[देव-
70 रकु शकवर्षंबुलु १०९३ नेंटि [उ]त्त(र)-
71 रायणनिमित्तमुन निवेद्यार्त्थंमु-
72 नकु नादिंड्डु बेटिन[10] भूमि ख २ [॥*]
73 दू[11] देवरक अखंडवर्त्तिंदीपंबुनकुं[12]

East Face.

74 बेट्टिन गोर्ठ्ठियलु ५५ [।*] वीनिं जेको-
75 नि चामेनबोयुनि कोड्कु सूर्य्य-
76 बोयिनि पूंटनु कोम्मनबोयिनि कोड्कु
77 भीमनबोयुंडु तन पुत्रानु-
78 पौत्रिकमु आचंद्रार्कंमु धनदप्रो-
79 लि श्रीपंडीश्वरमहादेवरकुनखं-
80 डवर्त्तिंदीपंबुनकु नित्य मा[नें]डु

[1] Read दीपं.
[2] No. 228 of 1892 reads °देवदिव्यश्रीपादाराधक.
[3] No. 228 of 1892 inserts वीरमहेश्वर.
[4] No. 228 of 1892 reads °परशुराम.
[5] No. 228 of 1892 reads शौचांजुनेय (!).
[6] No. 228 of 1892 reads °नृसिंह.
[7] No. 228 of 1892 reads कस्तूरिका°.
[8] No. 228 of 1892 reads °प्रशस्ति°.
[9] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[10] Read बेट्टिन.
[11] Read ई देवरकु.
[12] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

81 नेयि पोयंगलवांडु ॥ स्वदत्तां प-
82 र[द]त्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्टिं[1]
83 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः [॥ १४*]
84 [2]बहुबिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चा[नु]-[3]
85 पालिता [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
86 स्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१५*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 praises king **Kubja-Vishṇu,** the ornament of **the race of the Moon.** His servant was **Buddhavarman,** the ornament of the **Chaturthâbhijana,** *i.e.* of a family belonging to the fourth (Śûdra) caste (v. 2 f.).

(V. 4.) "He to whom enemies bowed, *(and who resembled)* Vâsava (Indra) in happiness, protected **the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages,** *(and which he had)* received through the favour of the king along with his royal emblems."

(V. 5.) "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king **Maṇḍa [I.],** the crest-ornament of rulers of provinces (*maṇḍalêśvara*); (and) from Maṇḍana was born king **Gaṇḍa.**"

His son was **Maṇḍa [II.]** (v. 6), who married **Kundâmbikâ** (v. 8). Their son was **Buddharâja** (v. 9). His sister **Aṅkama** was the wife of **Râjêndra-Chôḍa,** the son of **Goṅka** (v. 11 f.).

(V. 13.) "In the **Śâka** year counted by the powers (3), the Nandas (9), the sky (0), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* **1093**),— and at the great **Saumyâyana,**[4] the high-minded king **Buddha** himself gave to (*the god*) named **Paṇḍiśa,** who resides at **Dhanadapura** in the country of **Velanâṇḍ[u],** a field (*of*) two *khaṇḍukas*[5] in the town of **Nâdiṇḍla** for (*providing*) offerings uninterruptedly for a very long time, and a perpetual lamp."

(Line 56.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarâja,** who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva;** the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the mountain— the **Durjaya** family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurâma in (*keeping*) vows; **Aniyaṅka-Bhîma;** a Râdhêya (Karṇa) in truthfulness; a Gâṅgêya (Bhîshma) in purity; **Eladâyasiṁha;** a Nṛisiṁha in valour; the season of spring to the forest— virtuous men; a Jayanta to (*the eyes of*) women; a Brahmâ in wisdom; **the ruler (of the country) west of the hill;** he who delights in making gifts and in (*fighting*) battles; he who is fond of musk;[6] a Vatsarâja in (*the management of*) horses; and a Cupid among kings,— **in the Śaka year 1093,** on the occasion of the **Uttarâyaṇa,**— gave to the god **Paṇḍiśvara-Mahâdêva** at **Dhanadaprôlu** 2 *kha[ṇḍi]* of land at **Nâdiṇḍla** for (*providing*) offerings."

(L. 73.) "To the same god (*he*) gave 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these (*sheep*),— Sûrya-Bôya, the son of Châmena-Bôya, standing security,[7]— Bhîmana-Bôya, the son of

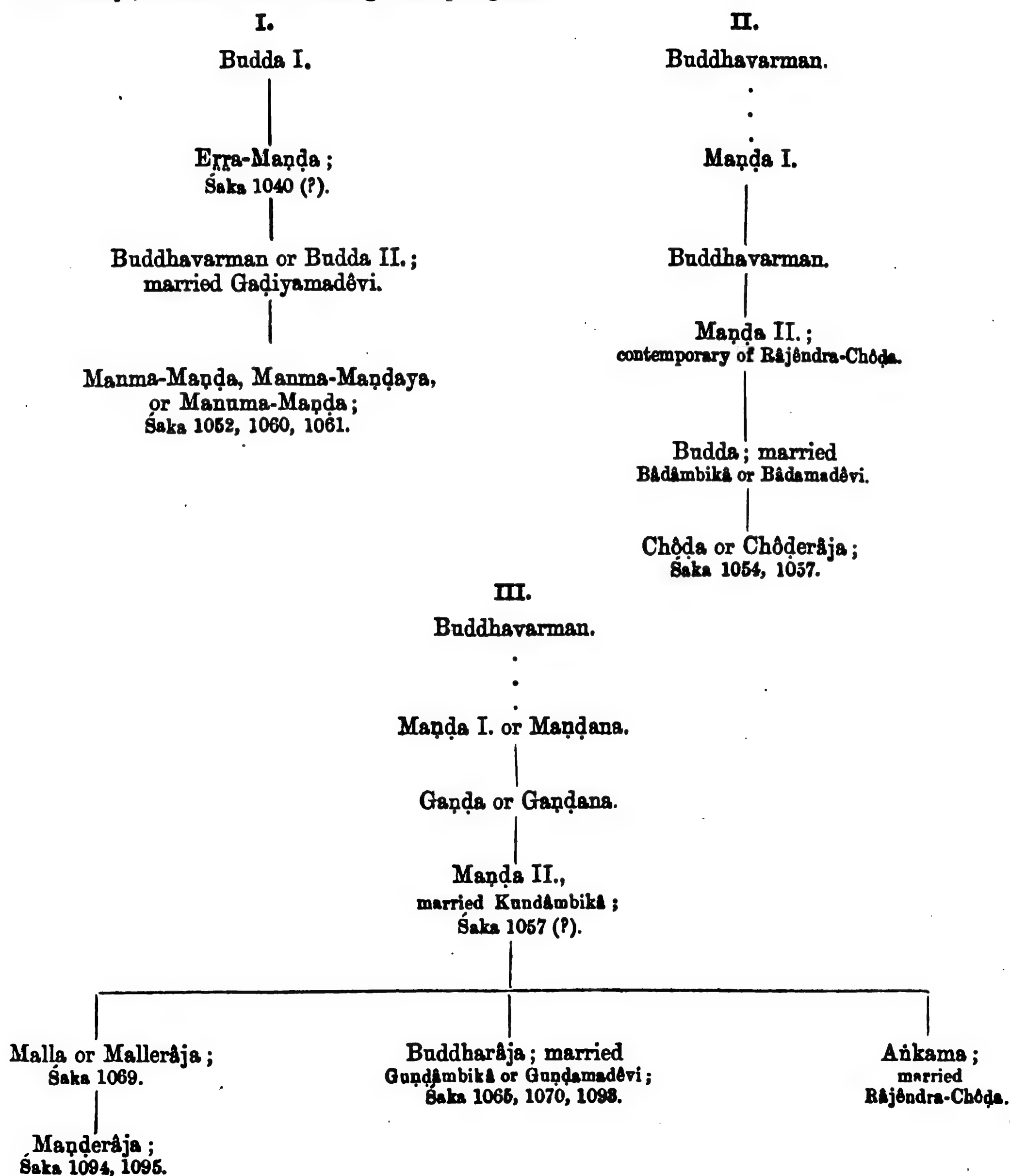
[1] The *anusvâra* stands at the beginning of the next line.
[2] Read बहुभि°. [3] Read °भिश्चानु°.
[4] This term is synonymous with Uttarâyaṇa (l. 70 f.).
[5] Literally, 'the *khaṇḍuka* whose number were the (two) arms.'
[6] The *biruda* Kastûrikâmôda makes me suspect that Kastûrikâmôdinî, one of the queens of Anantavarman *alias* Chôḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga (Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367), was the daughter of one of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs.
[7] *Pâṁṭa* is the same as *pâṭa*, on which see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.

Kommana-Bôya, with his sons and further descendants has to supply one *mâna* of ghee daily for a perpetual lamp to the god **Paṇḍiśvara-Mahâdêva** at **Dhanadavrôlu** as long as the moon and the sun shall last."

The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

POSTSCRIPT.

The two temples of Śiva and Vishṇu at **Nâdeṇḍla** contain 12 inscriptions of the **Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs**, and there are two others at the Sômêśvara temple at **Irlapâḍu** near Nâdeṇḍla. I subjoin abstracts of these records, which, along with the Tsandavôlu inscription of Buddharâja, establish the following three pedigrees.



1.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 227 of 1892).

Language: Telugu prose and verse. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1052,**[1] **Mêsha-siti-pañchami,**[2] **Thursday.**[3] . The son of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Budda**—"who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vîra-Mahêśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva**; the destroyer of hostile armies; Eladâyasiṁha; Sâhasôttuṅga; a Râma on the battle-field; Anaaṅka-Bhîma (!); a Râdhêya in truthfulness; a Gâṅgêya in purity; a moon to the water-lily and the milk-ocean—the **Durjaya** family; a mine of very bright virtues; he whose delight is the sport of valour; he whose delight is poetry; the mango-tree to the parrots— excellent poets; the support of virtuous men; a Rêvanta in (the management of) horses; the death to enemies; a Brahmâ in wisdom; and **Giripaśchimaśâsana**" — was **Eṟṟa-Maṇḍa.**[4] His son was **Buddhavarman**; and his son **Manma-Maṇḍa,** who gave two lamps and land at **Noñchinipâḍu** to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâdiṇḍla.

2.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 217 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1060.** Gift of certain taxes levied at **Noñchinipâḍu**, for the maintenance of two lamps in the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdiṇḍla, by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Manma-Maṇḍaya.**

3.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 222 of 1892).

Language: Telugu verse and prose. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1061,**[5] **Mâgha-sita-pañchami, Friday.**[6] **Manma-Maṇḍa,** the eldest son of the *Maṇḍalika* **Budda** and of **Gaḍiyamadêvi,** built a temple (*guḍi*) of Śiva at Nâdeṇḍla and gave to it the village **Noñchedlapûṇḍi.** His mother Gaḍiyamadêvi, the daughter of Mêḍa and Mêḍamâmba, gave a lamp to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâdiṇḍla. Further **Manuma-Maṇḍa** gave many ornaments to Śiva. Finally the inhabitants of **Noñchinipâḍu** had to pay a tax to the temple.

4.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 214 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskṛit and Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1054** or **1057.**[7] The two first verses praise king **Kubja-Vishṇu,** the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was **Buddhavarman,** the lion of the mountain— the **Chaturthakula** (v. 3 f.), who "protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with the royal emblems"[8] (v. 5). After some princes of his family had passed away, **Buddhavarman,** surnamed Eladâyasiṁha, was born from **Maṇḍa [I.]** (v. 6). His son was **Maṇḍa [II.],** surnamed Aniyaṅka-Bhîma (v. 7).

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[1] *Ambaka-sâyak-âmbara-mṛigâṅka.*

[2] The word *siti* or *śiti* means both 'white' and 'black' and may refer either to the bright or to the dark fortnight. Prof. Kielhorn states that, for the dark half of Mêsha in Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 current, the date corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1129.

[3] *Nirjarânâtha-mantri-vâra.*

[4] He is styled *Chaturthavaṁśa-vistâraka* and his son *Chaturthânvay-âbdhi-chandra.* A damaged Telugu inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1040 (in figures and in numerical words: *gagan-âbdhi-vi*[*ya*]*d-ind*[*u*]), the Vilambin year, at Chêbrôlu (No. 157 of 1897) mentions Sûra, the minister of the Giripaśchima king Eṟṟa-Maṇḍa.

[5] *Uḍuvallabha-tarka-*[*kh-ê*]*ndu.*

[6] *Kavi-vâsara.* Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Saṁvat 1061 expired, to Friday, the 26th January A.D. 1140, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise."

[7] *Jalarâśi-mârgaṇa-viyat-târâdhinâtha.* Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 228 and note 10.

[8] *Mahîm . . . . . . giri-pratîchîṁ saha râja-lâñchchhanais=trisaptati-grâmavatîm.*

(V. 8.) "Having torn up, like a mound, the army of the **Gaṅga** (*king*) of **Kaliṅga**,[1] having consumed, like straw, the warriors of the bold enemy, and having cut off, (*like*) lotuses, their heads, the mighty rutting elephant— the *Maṇḍalika* **Maṇḍa [II.]** is roaring."[2]

(V. 9.) "[Having defeated] the army of the enemy, he gave to **Râjêndra-Chôḍa**[3] mighty elephants which had been captured there, (*and*) whose temples were bright with rut."[4]

His son was **Budda** (v. 10), whose wife was **Bâdâmbikâ** (v. 12). His son **Chôḍa** (v. 13) gave a lamp, ornaments, a bell, a trumpet and a conch to the **Mûlasthâna** temple at **Nâdiṇḍla**, and land to **Brâhmaṇas**.

5.—On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 215 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Undated. Gift of a lamp and of land at **Noñchini[illegible]ḍu** to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdiṇḍla by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Chôḍerâja**, "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vîra-Mahêśvara; the lion of the principal mountain— the **Durjaya** family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; he whose hair is covered by the dust of the divine feet of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva**, as bees are covered by the pollen of the lotus; a Shaṇmukha at the head of battles; Aniyaṅka-Bhîma; a Paraśurâma in (keeping) vows; he whose wife is (the goddess) Vijaya-Lakshmî; a son to the wives of others; a Nṛisiṁha to the demons— heroes; and Eladâyasiṁha." Also gift of a lamp by the same chief for the merit of his mother **Bâdamadêvi**.

6.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 219 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1054**. Gift of land at **Nâdiṇḍla** to some Mahâjanas by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Chôḍ[e]râja**.

7.— On a pillar in front of the Sômêśvara temple at Irlapâḍu (No. 111 of 1893).

Languages: Sanskṛit and Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1057**.[5] Gift of land and of a lamp to the temple of Sômêśvara-Mahâdêva at **Irralûru** by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Chôḍerâja**,[6] "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vîra-Mahêśvara; the lion of the principal mountain— the **Durjaya** family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a bee at the divine lotus-feet of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva**; a Shaṇmukha at the head of battles; a Paraśurâma in (keeping) vows; Aniyaṅka-Bhîma; he whose wife is (the goddess) Vijaya-Lakshmî; a son to the wives of others; Eladâya-siṁha; and Sâhasôttuṅga."

8.—On a pillar in front of the Sômêśvara temple at Irlapâḍu (No. 109-10 of 1893).

Languages: Sanskṛit and Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1057**.[7] Sômana-Peggaḍa, an officer of the *Maṇḍalika* **Maṇḍa** who belonged to the family of the **Durjayas** and was the lord

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1 Evidently Anantavarman *alias* Chôḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga, who reigned from Śaka-Saṁvat 999 to 1064; Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 51, No. 358, and p. 52, No. 368.

2 कालिंगगंगकटकं तटव[द्विप]ाच्च जग्ध्वा कट(ड)करवदारभटारिवीरान् [।*]
उच्छिद्य [ग]र्ज्जति शिरस्सरसीरुहाणि तेषां च मंडलिकमंडमदद्वि[पें]द्र: ॥

3 This statement refers to Râjêndra-Chôḍa of Velanâṇḍu, the husband of Aṅkama or Akkâmbikâ, the daughter of Maṇḍa II.; see above, p. 269 and notes 2, 3.

4 The first half of this verse is only partially preserved; . . . . . वैरिसेनां [।*] तत्र गृहीताम्मद-धौतगंडान्राजेंद्रचोडाय ददौ गजेंद्रान् ॥

5 *Śaila-bâṇa-ghanamâr[ga]-śîtakṛit.*

6 In the Sanskṛit portion he is called Chôḍa and 'the lord of the country west of the hill' (*śaila-paśchima-vasuṁdhar-âdhipa*).

7 In figures and in numerical words: *giri-śara-viyad-indu.*

of the country west of the hill,[1] built a temple of Śiva, named Sômêśvara-Mahâdêva, at **Irralûru**[2] and gave to it a tank, which he had constructed on the north of the village, and a lamp.

9.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdeṇḍla (Nos. 239-241 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskṛit and Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1069.**[3] Verse 1 praises king **Kubja-Vishṇu**, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was **Buddhavarman**, the founder of the race of kings of the fourth (caste)[4] (v. 2 f.), who "protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with his royal emblems"[5] (v. 4). "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king **Maṇḍa [I.]** " or Maṇḍana, whose son was **Gaṇḍa** or Gaṇḍana, whose son was **Maṇḍa [II.]** (v. 5).

Here some lines are lost. Then the inscription refers to the birth of **Malla**. This *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi-Malleràja**— "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vîra-Mahêśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva**; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the principal mountain— the **Durjaya** family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurâma in (keeping) vows; Aniyaṅka-Bhîma; a Râdhêya in truthfulness; an Âñjanêya in purity; Eladâyasiṁha; a Nṛisiṁha in valour; the season of spring to the lotus— virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmâ in wisdom; **Giripaśchimaśâsana**; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk; a Vatsarâja in (the management of) horses; a Cupid among kings; the son of **Kundâmbikâ**; and a Saṁkrandana in happiness— gave a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâdiṇḍla, and another lamp to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdiṇḍla.

10.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 237 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1094.** Gift of a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâdiṇḍla by an officer of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Ko[ṇ*]ḍapaḍmaṭi-Maṇḍ[e*]-râja.**

11.— On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 234 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1095.** Records that the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Maṇḍerâja**, the son of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Mallerâja**, gave to the temple of Kêśavadêva a lamp, and some land below the Mallasamudra tank which he had constructed on the north-west of Nâdiṇḍla.

12.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 233 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskṛit and Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1065.**[6] Gift of a lamp to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâdiṇḍla by **Buddarâja. Guṇḍamadêvi**, the wife of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Buddarâja, gave to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva a tank named Guṇḍasa[mu*]dra which she had constructed on the south of Nâdiṇḍla.

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[1] *Kutkila-pratyag-urvî-vibhu.*

[2] This village is stated to have been situated 'on the west of the hill' (*girêḥ paśchimataḥ*) and to have been granted by the mythical king Triṇayana-Pallava to an ancestor of the donor, Vennayabhaṭṭa-Sômayâjin, when he had defeated in disputation a certain Gauḍabhaṭṭa who had hung up a challenge in public (*kṛita-pattra-lamba*; compare above, Vol. III. p. 201 and note 3).

[3] In figures and in numerical words: *Jalajâtasaṁbhava-ras-âkâś-êndu.*

[4] *Chaturth-âdhipa-vaṁśa-kartâ.*

[5] *Giri-pratîchî=nija-râja-lâṁchcha(chha)naiś=trisaptati-grâmavatîm=mahîm, etc.*

[6] In figures and in numerical words: *śara-tarka-târakapatha-śvêtâṁśu.*

13.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 228 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1070.** Gift of two lamps to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdiṇḍla by the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Koṇḍapadmaṭi-Buddarâja.**

14.— On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdeṇḍla (No. 230 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskṛit and Telugu. Date: **Śaka-Saṁvat 1093.**[1] Gift of a lamp to the temple of Mûlasthâna-[Mahâdêva] at Nâdiṇḍla by **Guṇḍâmbikâ** or Guṇḍamadêvi, the chief queen (*agramahishî*) of the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* **Buddarâja.**

No. 27.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(*Continued from page 24.*)

A.— KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

39.— Near the Nâgêśvara temple at Chêbrôlu.[2]

1 Svasti Śakha(ka)-varshaṁblu 998 n=ên̈ṭi Nala-śaṁ(saṁ)vatsa-
2 ra śrâhi svasti Sarvvalôkâśraya-śrî-
3 Vishnu(shṇu)varddhana-mahârâjula pravarddhamâ-
4 na-vijaya-râjya-śaṁ(saṁ)vatsara[ṁblu] 7 n=êṇḍu . . .
6 . . . . . Mâgha-mâsamuna
7 punnamayu Su(śu)kravâramuna sômagrahaṇa-
8 nimittamunan=.

"In the Śaka year 998, in the year[3] (*which was*) the **Nala** year, (*and*) **in the 7th year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇuvardhana-mahârâja,**— on the occasion of **an eclipse of the moon** on **Friday,** the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Mâgha."

As the reign of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I. commenced[4] between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070, a date in the month of Mâgha of his 7th year must fall about the commencement of A.D. 1077, in Śaka-Saṁvat 998 expired which was the Jovian year **Nala (Anala).** In this year the full-moon *tithi* of Mâgha ended 23 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 11th January A.D. 1077, when there was no eclipse. But there was **an eclipse of the moon, visible in India,** from 17 h. 9 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077,** which was the full-moon day of Phâlguna. I have no doubt that this is the day intended by the inscription, and that in the original date the month of Mâgha has been quoted erroneously[5] instead of Phâlguna.

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[1] In figures and in numerical words: *guṇa-Nanda-kh-êndu.*

[2] No. 151 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see p. 220 above.

[3] For the word *śrâhi* compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 285.

[4] See above, p. 24.

[5] The case is different with the date of the Nausârî plates of Suvarṇavarsha Karkarâja of Gujarât, edited in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 135 ff., which quotes a lunar eclipse in the month of Mâgha of Śaka-Saṁvat 738 expired. The eclipse undoubtedly is the one of the 5th February A.D. 817, which by the rules now in force would be the full-moon day of Phâlguna. The original date is nevertheless correct, because by the rules of mean intercalation Mâgha in Śaka-Saṁvat 738 was an intercalary month, so that the month which we now should call Phâlguna, in accordance with those rules would have been called the second (or proper) Mâgha, or simply Mâgha, as it is actually called in the inscription. In Śaka-Saṁvat 998 expired there was no intercalation of either description.

40.— In the Bhîmêśvara temple at Drâkshârâma.[1]

1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r*]shambulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalôkâśraya-śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mâ(ma)hârâjula

2 [pra]varddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-divya-saṁvatsa 45 Dhanu-mâsamuna śukla-pa[kshamu]na êkâda-

3 [ś]iyu Budhavâramu nâṇḍu uttarâyaṇa-vyatiyipâta-[2]nimittamuna.

"In the Śaka year 1036 (*and*) **the 45th heavenly year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇuvardhana-mahârâja,**— on **Wednesday,** the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of **Dhanus,**— on the occasion of the *vyatîpâta* of the **Uttarâyaṇa.**"

A date in the month of Dhanus of the 45th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A.D. 1114, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1036 expired. In this year the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of **Dhanus** *commenced* 7 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday,** the 9th December A.D. 1114 (when the *nakshatras* were Aśvinî and Bharaṇî, and the *yôgas* Śiva and Siddha, Nos. 20 and 21, not Vyatîpâta, No. 17), and ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.— The sidereal **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** took place, by the Ârya-siddhânta, 20 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, which was the last day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the *dark* fortnight ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* on the same day was Anurâdhâ, and the *yôgas* were Gaṇḍa and Vṛiddhi, Nos. 10 and 11.— Lastly, the tropical Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti took place on Wednesday, the 16th December A.D. 1114, on which ended the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Dhanus.

Having considered these results of my calculations, I have come to the conclusion that the choice of the proper equivalent of the original date can only lie between Wednesday, the 9th, and Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114; and the following reasons make me decide in favour of **Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.** If we were to accept Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, as the equivalent of the date, the writer would have been guilty of quoting, not only a wrong weekday, but also a wrong lunar fortnight. On the other hand, accepting Wednesday, the 9th December, as the equivalent, we indeed have to admit that the words *uttarâyaṇa-vyatîpâta-nimittamuna*— supposing them to be intended for 'on the occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti,[3]— have been wrongly added; but similar statements are added, apparently wrongly, in many other dates where the word *vyatîpâta* is made use of.[4] In the date under discussion and in a number of other dates this term can neither denote the *yôga* Vyatîpâta nor convey any of the three other meanings of *vyatîpâta* which I have given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292 f. What it means exactly, I do not know; but it may be suggested that *e.g.* in the present date the writer by *uttarâyaṇa-vyatîpâta* wishes to say, not that the donation— for such I suppose to be spoken of— was actually made at the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti, but that it shall be regarded as equivalent in merit to one which may be made on the occasion of an Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti.

B.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

41.— In the Kailâsanâtha temple at Sevilimêḍu.[5]

2 . . . . . . Śrîmad-Vikra[ma]-Chôḷadêva-nṛipatêr=vva[rshê] śubhê shôḍaśê grâmê śrî-Nṛipasundar=îti viditê Vaiśâkha-mâsê=parê [|*] pakshê s-Ôttara-Chandravâra-viditê kâlê.

[1] No. 374 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; see above, p. 220 f.

[2] Read *-vyatîpâta-*.

[3] *Uttarâyaṇa-vyatîpâta* undoubtedly is equivalent to *uttarâyaṇasaṁkrânti-vyatîpâta* which occurs in at least eight other dates.

[4] Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 292, note 52. The dates referred to in that note are all in Kanarese, and I have not found yet any Sanskṛit date in which the word *vyatîpâta* is similarly employed.

[5] No. 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900; see above, pp. 228 and 229.

"**In the auspicious sixteenth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôḷadêva,** . . . . . in the month of Vaiśâkha, in the second fortnight, at the time known as **Monday** combined with an **Uttarâ** (*nakshatra*)."

The term *Uttarâ* of the date might denote any one of the three *nakshatras* Uttarâ Phalgunî, Uttarâ Ashâḍhâ, and Uttarâ Bhadrapadâ. As it occurs here in connection with the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha, it must denote either Uttarâ Ashâḍhâ which is generally joined with the 5th *tithi*, or Uttarâ Bhadrapadâ which is generally joined with the 11th *tithi* of that dark fortnight. The calculation of the date shows that the *nakshatra* intended is really **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** and that the *tithi* of the date would be the 5th of the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha.

I have previously[1] arrived at the conclusion that the reign of Vikrama-Chôḷa commenced 'most probably' on the 18th July A.D. 1108. There remained just the possibility[2] that it might have commenced on the 15th July A.D. 1111. If it commenced on the earlier date, the present date, of the month of Vaiśâkha of the 16th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1124, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1046 expired; and if it commenced on the later date, the present date ought to fall in A.D. 1127, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1049 expired. It so happens that the date would be quite correct for either Śaka year.

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1046 expired the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaiśâkha ended 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday,** the 5th May A.D. 1124, when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

And in Śaka-Saṁvat 1049 expired the same *tithi* ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday,** the 2nd May A.D. 1127, when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

There is absolutely nothing which could make us prefer one of these possible equivalents to the other, and it is only the following date, No. 42, which in my opinion definitely shows that the king's reign commenced in A.D. 1108, and that the true equivalent of the present date therefore is **Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124.**

42.—In the Kêśavasvâmin temple at Chêbrôlu.[3]

10 . . . . . . śrîma[t*]-Tribh[u]-
11 vanachakravartti Vikrama-Chô-
12 ḷadêvara pravardda(rddha)mâna-vi-
13 jaya-râjya-saṁvatsarambu-
14 lu 9 agun=ê[ṇṭi] Sa(śa)ka-[va]-
15 rushaṁbulu 1049 a-
16 gu Shla(pla)va-saṁvatsara Jêshṭa-[4]
17 mâsa sômagrahana(ṇa)-nimitya-
18 muna.

"**In the 9th year of the increasing reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chôḷadêva,** (*and*) in the **Plava** year which was the Śaka year 1049,—on the occasion of **an eclipse of the moon** in the month of Jyaishṭha."

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1049 expired which was the year **Plavaṅga**—*not* Plava, which would be Śaka-Saṁvat 1043 expired—there **was a lunar eclipse, visible in India** just after sunset on the 27th May A.D. 1127, which was the full-moon day of Jyaishṭha. If the king commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108, this day would fall in the 19th, not the 9th year of his reign.

[1] See above, p. 24.
[2] See above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 264.
[3] No. 153 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see above, pp. 224, 226, and 227.
[4] Read *Jyêshṭha-* or, more correctly, *Jyaishṭha-*.

I have no doubt that **the 27th May A.D. 1127** is the proper equivalent of this date, and believe that the writer erroneously has quoted the 9th instead of the 19th regnal year, and the year Plava instead of Plavaṅga. And, as intimated already, this date, faulty as it is, in my opinion would definitely prove that **Vikrama-Chôḷa commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108.**

43.—In front of the Chôḷêśvara temple at Niḍubrôlu.[1]

62 Svasti śrîmat-Tribhuvanachakravartti
63 śrî-Vikrama-Chôḍadêvara vijaya-
64 râjya-saṁvatsaraṁbulu pa[d]iyêḍ=a-
65 gun=êṁḍu Śaka-varshaṁbulu 1054
66 gun=êṁṭti Vaiśâkha-śuddha-ttritîyya-
67 yu[2] Guruvâramu nâṇḍu ||

"**In the seventeenth year of the reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôḍadêva,** (*and*) in the Śaka year 1054,— on **Thursday,** the third *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Vaiśâkha."

The date is correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 1054 current, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha ended 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday, the 2nd April A.D. 1131.**

According to what we have found before, this day would fall in the 23rd, not the 17th, year of Vikrama-Chôḷa's reign. A date in the month Vaiśâkha of his 17th year would fall in A.D. 1125, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1048 current; but for that year the date would be incorrect. I can only assume that the writer has quoted the regnal year erroneously.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

44.—In the Êkâmranâtha temple at Conjeeveram.[3]

1 . . . . . Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Maduraiyum Pâṇḍiya[ṉ] muḍi-ttalai[yu]ṅ=goṇḍ=aru[ḷi]ya śrî-Kulôttuṅga-Sôḷadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 27 âvadu . . . . .
2 . . . . . ivv-âṇḍai Vaigâśi-mâsattu=p[pa]dinoṉṟân=diyadiyum Vi[yâḷa-kiḷa]mai peṟṟa Aṉiḷamum=âṉav=aṉṟu.

"**In the 27th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva,** who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pâṇḍya,— on the day of **Anurâdhâ,** which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the eleventh day of the month of **Vaigâśi** in this year."

As we have found[4] that Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III. commenced to reign between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178, a date in the month of Vaigâśi, *i.e.* the solar month Jyaishṭha, of his 27th year must fall in A.D. 1205, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1127 expired. In this year the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti by the Ârya-siddhânta took place 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th April A.D. 1205, and the 11th day of **Vaigâśi** therefore was **Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205.** The *nakshatra* on this day was **Anurâdhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

D.—RAJARAJA III.

45.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Śrîraṅgam.[5]

1 Svasti śrîḥ [||*] [Śî]r maṉṉi . . . .

[1] No. 163 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897. [2] Read -*tritîyayu*.
[3] No. 10 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 122 and note 9.
[4] See above, p. 24. [5] No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

3 . . . . . . kô Irâśakêśaripaṟmar=âṉa Tiribu[va]ṉachchakkaravatti[gaḷ śrî]-Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 16 vadiṉ

4 edir=âm=âṇḍu Kaṉṉi-nâyaṟṟu=ppûrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyu[m] peṟṟa Tiruvôṇattu nâḷ.

"**In the year which was opposite the 16th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Râjakêsarivarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Śravaṇa,** which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kanyâ.**"

To simplify matters, I may state here at once that this date and the following dates 46-54 work out well on the supposition that **the reign of Râjarâja III. commenced between (approximately) the 17th March and the 13th August A.D. 1216.**

The year opposite the 16th was the 17th year of the king's reign. A date in the month of Kanyâ of this year must fall in A.D. 1232, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1154 expired. In this year the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of **Kanyâ** ended 13 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of **Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232,** when the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

46.— In the Êkâmranâtha temple at Conjeeveram.[1]

1 Svast[i] śr[î]ḥ [ௌ] Tr[i]bhuvaṉaścha(cha)kravattigaḷ śr[î]-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 17 vadu . . . . .

2 . . . . . Magara-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakkattu=Tśe(chche)vvây-kkiḻamaiyum Aśvatiyum=â[ṉa]v=aṉṟu.

"**In the 17th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Aśvinî** and a **Tuesday** in the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

This date, in the month of Makara of the 17th year of the king's reign, must fall in Śaka-Saṁvat 1154 expired. In this year the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of **Makara** ended 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233,** when the *nakshatra* was **Aśvinî** for 20 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

47.—In the Dharmêśvara temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.[2]

1 . . . . . . Tribhuvaṉachchakkarava[t]tigaḷ śrî-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 18 vadu Siṁha-nâ-

2 [ya]ṟṟu apara-pakshattu dvit[î]yaiyuñ=Jevvây-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rêvati-nâ[ḷ].

"**In the 18th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Rêvatî,** which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

This date, in the month of Siṁha of the 18th year of the king's reign, may be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1155 expired. In this year the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of **Siṁha** ended 8 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233,** when the *nakshatra* was **Rêvatî** *from* 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

48.— In the Râjagôpâla-Perumâḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.[3]

1 . . . . . . T[i]ribuvaṉachchakkaravatt[i]ga[ḷ] śrî-Râjarâjadêvaṟ-

[1] No. 6 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 41.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 39.

2 ku yâṇḍu 18 vadu Dhanu-nâya[ṟṟ]u pûrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum pe-
3 ṟṟa Aviṭṭatti=ṉâ[ḷ].

"**In the 18th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Dhanishṭhâ,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Dhanus.**"

This date, in the month of Dhanus of the 18th year of the king's reign, must fall in the same year as the last, Śaka-Saṁvat 1155 expired. In this year the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of **Dhanus** ended 17 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233,** when the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhâ** for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

49.— In the Râjagôpâla-Perumâḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.[1]

2 . . . . . . Tribhuvanachchakrava[r]ttiga[ḷ] śrî-Râjarâjadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 18 âva[d]u
3 Magara-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Tiruvô[ṇat]tu nâḷ.

"**In the 18th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Śravaṇa,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

This date, in the month of Makara of the 18th year of the king's reign, also must fall in Śaka-Saṁvat 1155 expired. In this year the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of **Makara** ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234,** when the *nakshatra* was **Śravaṇa** for 17 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

50.— In the Âdhipurîśvara temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyûr.[2]

2 . . Tribhuvaṇachcha[k*]karavattigaḷ śrî-Râjarâja-
3 d[ê]vaṟku yâṇḍu 19 vadu Si[ṁ*]ha-nâyaṟṟu=p-
4 pû[rvva]-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Uttiraṭṭâdiyum pe-
5. ṟṟa Nâyaṟṟu-kkiḻamai-nâḷ.

"**In the 19th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on a **Sunday** which corresponded to (*the day of*) **Uttara-Bhadrapadâ** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

This date, in the month of Siṁha of the 19th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1234, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1156 expired. This it undoubtedly does, but the date is not quite correct. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1156 expired the third *tithi* of the *bright* fortnight in the month of **Siṁha** ended 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** the 30th July A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunî for 21 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise; and the third *tithi* of the *dark* fortnight in the same month ended 14 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday,** the 13th August A.D. 1234, when the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Bhadrapadâ** for 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. This shows that either the *nakshatra Uttiraṭṭâdi* has been wrongly quoted for *Uttiram* (Uttara-Phalgunî), or that instead of *pûrvva-pakshattu* we must read *apara-pakshattu.* I am inclined to adopt the latter alternative,[3] and to regard **Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234,** as the proper equivalent of the date.

[1] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 40.
[2] No. 110 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.
[3] At the same time, I may state that in one of the Vijayanagar inscriptions (*P.S.O.C.I.* No. 25) Uttarabhadrapadâ has really been wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Phalgunî. The mistake made in the present inscription has also been made in the Kadamba plates in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35.

51.— In the Śvêtâraṇyêśvara temple at Tiruveṇgâḍu.[1]

1 Svasti śrîḥ [||*] Tribuvaṇachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 22 vadu Mîṉa-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakkattu śa[d]u[r*]tthiy[u]m Śe[v*]v[ây]-kkiḻamaiy[u]m peṟṟa Uttiraṭṭâdi-nâḷ.

In the 22nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of **Uttara-Bhadrapadâ**, which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mîna.**"

This date, in the month of Mîna of the 22nd year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1238, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1159 expired, and it undoubtedly does so ; but the wording of the date is intrinsically wrong because, in the month of Mîna, the *nakshatra* can never be Uttara-Bhadrapadâ on the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight. What suggests itself at once is that the fourth *tithi* has been quoted wrongly instead of the fourteenth; and for this *tithi* the date is correct. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1159 expired the 14th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of **Mîna** ended 21 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of **Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238,** when the *nakshatra* **was Uttara-Bhadrapadâ,** by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga during the whole of the day, and by the equal space system *from* 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise. I feel certain that this is the proper equivalent of the date.

52.— In the Râjagôpâla-Perumâḷ temple at Maṉṉârguḍi.[2]

1 Svasti śrîḥ [||*] Tribhuvaṉa[chcha]k[karava]ttigaḷ [śrî]-Râjarâjadêvar[kku yâṇ]ḍu [i]rubattiraṇ[ḍ]âvadi[ṉ] edir=âm=âṇḍu [3]Miṉan-nâyaṟṟu [a]para-paksha[t]tu navam[i]yum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pûr[âḍa]ttu [nâ]ḷ.

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of **Pûrvâshâḍhâ**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mîna.**"

The year opposite the 22nd year of this date and of the two following dates was the 23rd year of the king's reign, and the three dates, being all of the month of Mîna, will therefore be expected to fall in A.D. 1239, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1160 expired. In this year the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of **Mîna** entirely occupied[4] **Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239,** when the *nakshatra* was **Pûrvâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system the whole day, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 10 m., and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

53.— In the Kailâsanâtha temple at Maṉṉârguḍi.[5]

1 Svast[i] śr[î] [||*] Tr[i]bhuva[ṉa]chchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Râjarâ[ja]dêvaṟkku yâṇḍu i[rubat*]tiraṇḍâva[di]n edir=âm=âṇḍu Mi(mî)ṉa-ṉâya[ṟ]ṟu apara-pa[kshatt]u da[śam]i[yum] Budan-kiḻa[maiyum] p[e]ṟṟa Uttirâḍa[t*]tu nâḷ.

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,— on the day of **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mîna.**"

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[1] No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

[2] No. 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

[3] Read *Mîṉa-*.

[4] It commenced 38 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday and ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of the following Tuesday, and would therefore be properly described (for the Monday) as *prathama-navamî*.

[5] No. 99 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1160 expired[1] the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of **Mina** ended 2 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of **Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239,** when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

54.— In the Kailâsanâtha temple at Maṇṇârguḍi.[2]

1 Svasti [śrî] [||*] Tribhuvaṇachchakkaravatti[ga]ḷ śr[î]-Râjarâjadêvarkku [y]âṇ[ḍu] irubattiraṇḍâvadi[ṉ ed]i[r]=âm=[âṇ]ḍu M[î]ṉa-ṉâ[yaṟṟ]u a . . . . . .[3] [tray]ê[d]i[ś]iyu[m[4] Veḷḷi]-kk[iḷam]ai[yum] p[e]ṟṟa A[viṭṭat]tu nâḷ.

"**In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,**— on the day of **Dhanishṭhâ,** which corresp onded to a **Friday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mina.**"

In Śaka-Saṁvat 1160 expired[5] the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of **Mina** *commenced* 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239,** when the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhâ** for 13 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

No. 28.— PLATES OF DANTIVARMAN OF GUJARAT; SAKA-SAMVAT 789.

By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

These copper plates were brought to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, from Gujarât; but he does not know the name of the village where they were found. The plates are three in number, each measuring about 1′ 1″ by 9¼″. Their edges are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, the remaining two being engraved on both sides. They are strung on a copper ring which measures about 3¼″ in diameter and is about ⅜″ thick. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were sent to Dr. Hultzsch. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a circular seal, measuring about 1⅞″ in diameter and bearing, in high relief on a countersunk surface, a much corroded figure of **Garuḍa,** squatting and facing to the full front. The engraving is clear, bold and deep, but not well executed. Very often the letters are not fully engraved, and in a good many places they are drawn carelessly.— The language is **Sanskṛit** throughout. There can be no doubt that the *kâṁsâr* has engraved the original document without understanding it, as will be seen from the numerous mistakes pointed out in the footnotes. Allowing for the misspellings and inaccuracies due to an unskilled engraver, there are certain solecisms for which the official who drew up the grant must be held responsible. There is one compound in line 55, which cannot be justified by the rules of grammar. Other grammatical mistakes may be noticed in such instances as *Sarthâtailâṭakiya-dvichatvâriṁśaty-ântarggata°* in line 59, *-mahâparvvam=uddiśya* in line 66, and so forth.— As regards **lexicography,** attention may be drawn (1) to the word *vâsâpaka*[6] (l. 58) which occurs in the list of the officials and functionaries to whom the royal grantor addresses himself, and (2) to the term *Talaprahâri* (l. 57) which appears to have been an appellation of Dantivarman.[7]— In respect of **orthography,** it deserves to be noted (1) that the rules of *saṁdhi*

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[1] See date No. 52.
[2] No 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.
[3] Restore *apara-pakshattu.*
[4] Read *trayôdaśiyum*
[5] See date No. 52.
[6] [Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, note 31.— E. H.]
[7] [Note also *sênabhôgika* (l. 81), which is an older form of *śênabhôga, sênabôva, etc.,* 'the clerk of a village or of some village.' (Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*).— E. H.]

are often disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; (3) that the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; (4) that *dh* is doubled (by *d*) in conjunction with a following *y* or *r* in ll. 42 and 82; (5) that the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhûpas=tṛivishṭapa*° (l. 6) and -*Kanakâdṛir=iv=Êṁdrarâjaḥ* (l. 7), and (6) *gh* instead of *h* in *râja-siṁghaḥ* (l. 3); (7) that the *jihvâmûliya* and the *upadhmâniya* are used in *bhṛityaiḥ=kisha(ya)dbhir=* (l. 9) and in *udyataḥ=praṇatê* (l. 49); (8) that the *visarga* followed by *s* has been twice changed to that letter, in *manastas=samam=êva* (l. 4) and *tanayas=samabhût* (l. 41); (9) that the final *m* of a word, instead of being changed to an *anusvâra*, is joined to a following *p*, *bh* or *v* in ll. 9, 25, 40, 45, 46 and 78; (10) that the *anusvâra* before *y*, *v* and *s* is sometimes represented by *n* (ll. 3, 21, 25, 26, 58); and (11) that the sign of *avagraha* is employed once in l. 51.—The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets and in general agree with those of the grants of the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭa princes; but the sign for *d* in the words *yadâ* and *âra(da)dita* in ll. 76 and 78 and the sign for the conjunct *nn* in the words *dhvastin=nayann=abhimukhô* (l. 2), *prabhinna* (l. 6), *etc.* are worthy of note. Another point that calls for special notice is that most of the letters of the sign-manual of Dhruvarâja and one letter of that of Dantivarman at the end, and a few in the benedictory verse at the beginning, are engraved with their tops **nail-headed.**

The inscription is one of **Dantivarman,** of the **Gujarât** branch of the **Râshṭrakûṭa** family, or, as he is described in line 56 f., 'the *Talaprahâri śrî*-**Dantivarmadêva,** who has the *biruda* of **Aparimitavarsha,** who is the lord of great feudal chiefs (*mahâsâmanta*), and who has obtained the five great sounds (*mahâśabda*).' The inscription opens with the salutation *ôṁ ôṁ namô Buddhâya*, which furnishes an indication, at the very outset, of the grant being **Buddhist.** It then gives one verse (which is well known from other Râshṭrakûṭa grants) invoking the protection of Vishṇu and Śiva. Then in lines 1-49 the genealogy of Dantivarman is set forth, exactly in the same verses (with a few unimportant variants) as in the Bagumrâ plates of Dhruvarâja II. Then follow three verses (ll. 49-52) which are peculiar to this grant, and which tell us that Dantivarman was a younger brother of **Dhruvarâja II.** After this there is another well known verse on the vanity of this life. The proper object of the inscription is stated in prose, in ll. 53-67. Dantivarman informs all the officials called *râshṭrapati*, *vishayapati*, *grâmakûṭa*, *niyukta*, *âdhikârika*, *vâsâpaka*, *mahattara*, *etc.* that, having bathed in the great river **Pûrâvî,** on the **ninth** *tithi* of the **dark** half of **Pausha** in **Śaka-Saṁvat 789** (in words and in figures), on the great occasion of the **Uttarâyaṇa,** he granted to the *vihâra* at the sacred place (*tîrtha*) of **Kâmpilya** the village of **Chokkhakuṭi,** situated in the north-west of, and included in, the forty-two (villages) named after **Sarthâtailâṭa,** to be enjoyed by the succession of the pupils of the holy *Âryasaṁgha*, for defraying the expenses of perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps and ointments, and of the repairs of the temple broken in parts. The boundaries of the village granted were, in the east the village of **Da[nt]ellaṁka,** in the south the village of **Apasundara,** in the west the village of **Kâlûpallikâ,** and in the north the river **Mandâkinî** (**Gaṅgâ**). Lines 67-72 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might resume it. Lines 73-80 quote seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the inscription then (from line 80) concludes thus:—"The *dûtaka* of this (charter) is the great minister *śrî*-Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa. And this has been written by the *sênabhôgika* Golla, the son of Râṇappa. (This is) the pleasure of me, the glorious **Dantivarman,** the son of the glorious **Akâlavarshadêva.** Also, (this is) the pleasure of me, the glorious **Dhruvarâjadêva,** the son of the glorious **Akâlavarshadêva.**"

The gain from this inscription for the social and political history of Gujarât is considerable. In the first place, this grant, as will be seen from the above summary of the contents, was made to the *Âryasaṁgha*, or **Buddhist community,** settled at Kâmpilya. This shows that Buddhism was still in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era a living religion, favoured by kings in Western India. Secondly, the inscription adds to the list of the Gujarât

Râshṭrakûṭa princes the name of Dantivarman, who, as stated above, is styled a *mahâsâmantâdhipati* who had obtained the *pañcha-mahâśabda*. This indicates that he was ruling over some province as a minor chief. Further, as we have seen, the sign-manual of Dantivarman is followed by that of his elder brother Dhruvarâja II. From this it is plain that both Dhruvarâja II. and Dantivarman were alive when the charter was issued, and that Dantivarman was wielding power under Dhruvarâja II. This enables us to settle another point of importance, connected with the history of the Gujarât branch of the Râshṭrakûṭas. The Bagumrâ plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 810[1] mention **Kṛishṇarâja-Akâlavarsha (II.)** as their donor. And to judge from their contents, which are full of misspellings and omissions, he appears to be the son of **Dantivarman.** Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the grant, held that this Dantivarman must be placed between Dhruvarâja II. and Kṛishṇarâja II. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, was of opinion that this Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarâja II., was identical with Dantivarman, the *dûtaka* of the Baroda plates of Karka.[2] Now, the date of the Baroda plates is Śaka-Saṁvat 734, and that of the plates of Kṛishṇarâja II. is Śaka-Saṁvat 810, so that if, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's supposition, we hold that Dantivarman, the *dûtaka* of the Baroda charter dated Śaka-Saṁvat 734, was the father of Kṛishṇarâja II. whose grant bears the date Śaka-Saṁvat 810, the son is separated from the father by no less than seventy-six years. This is highly improbable, though not altogether impossible. But our grant mentions another Dantivarman as brother of Dhruvarâja II., and its date is Śaka-Saṁvat 789, whereas that of Kṛishṇarâja II., as has been just stated, is Śaka-Saṁvat 810. Thus the Dantivarman of our grant is brought close to Kṛishṇarâja II., and there can be little doubt that Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarâja II., is no other than Dantivarman, the younger brother of Dhruvarâja II., the donor of our grant. The new plates therefore show that the view of Dr. Hultzsch is correct.

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, the **Kâmpilya** *tîrtha* is, in my opinion, to be identified with **Kampil** in the Kaimganj tahsîl of the Farukhâbâd district in the North-West Provinces. This Kampil, whose ancient name was Kâmpilya, was for long the capital of Southern Pañchâla and was once a sacred place of the Jainas. The river **Pûrâvî** is perhaps identical with the modern **Pûrṇâ**, in the Surat collectorate. For, in an unpublished grant belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Pûrâvî is spoken of as being in the vicinity of **Nâgasârikâ**, which is evidently the modern **Nausâri**, and the river which is close by Nausâri is the Pûrṇâ. The river **Mandâkinî**, which is mentioned in defining the boundaries of the village granted, cannot be identified with the Ganges, as we have no grounds whatever to suppose that the Gujarât Râshṭrakûṭas extended their dominions as far as the Ganges. And since the name Mandâkinî is used also to designate other rivers than the Ganges, the river Mandâkinî mentioned in these plates may have been some river in Gujarât, and the village granted was probably situated in that province. Instances of grants made to religious establishments remote from the village granted are not wanting in modern times, and there can therefore be nothing improbable in the supposition that the Buddhist *vihâra* at Kampil in the North-West Provinces enjoyed the income accruing from a village in Gujarât.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 ओं[4] ओं न[मो] वुद्धाय[5] ॥ स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम य(ा)न्नाभिकमलं
कृतं । हरश्च यश्च[6] कान्तेंदुकलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*] आसीद्दिषति-[7]

[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 65 ff.

[2] *History of Gujarât* in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 127 f.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read बुद्धाय.

[6] Read यस्य.

[7] Read आसीद्द्विषत्ति°.

2 मिरमु[द्य]तमंडलाग्रो ध्वस्तिनयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्व्वरीषु । भूपः शुचि[र्व्वि]-
धुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गोविदराज[1] इति र[ज][2]

3 राजसिंघः[3] ॥ [२*] दृष्टा[4] चमूमभिमुखीं[5] सुभटाट्टहासामुन्नामित[न्स]पदि[6]
ये[न] रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटीं

4 ललाटे खड्गं कल[7] च हृदयञ्च निजं च सत्वं[8] ॥ [३*] खड्गं करा-
ग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभा मानो म[न]स्तस्सममेव यस्य । महाहवे ना-

5 [म] निश(ा)म्य स[द्य]स्त्रय[य][9] रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४*] तस्या-
त्मजो जगति [10]विश्रुतशुभ्रकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधा-

6 मधारी । [11]भूपस्तृविष्टपनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्क्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्ब-
भूव[12] ॥ [५*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानद[न्ति]-

7 दन्तप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः । [क्ष्मा]पः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः
सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृरिवेंद्रराजः[13] ॥ [६*]

8 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्तन[य]श्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्याः । भोक्ता[14] भुवः शतक्रतु-
सदृशः [15]श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग्गराजोभूत् ॥ [७*] कांची-

9 [श]केरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधा[न]दक्षं । [16]कर्ण्णाटक[म्ब]-
लमचिंत्यमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरभि[17]

10 यः सहसा जिगाय[18] ॥ [८*] आ सेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमा-
लाजलादा प्रालेयकलंकिवाम[ल]शिलाज[ा]ला-[19]

11 त्तुषाराचलात् । आ पूर्व्वापर[वा]रिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेर्येने[य]ञ्जगती[20]
[21]स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपत्रीकृता ॥ [९*] न[स्मिं][22]

12 दिवं [प्र]पाते[23] वल्लभराजेकृतप्रजावाधः[24] । श्रीकर्क्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृष्णराजो-
भूत् ॥ [१०*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशे-

13 षोत्सादितारि[दि]क्चक्रं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराज[स्य] ॥ [११*]
शुभतुंगवंगतुरगप्र[वृ]द्धरेणू[द्ध]रुद्धर[वि]करणः[25] । ग्रीष्मे-

14 पि नभो निखि[लं] प्रावृट्कालायने[26] [स्प]ष्टं ॥ [१२*] राहुप्पमा[त्मभु]-
जजातव[ला]वलेपमाजौ[27] विजित्य निशिता[सि]लताप्रहारैः । पालि-

---

[1] Read °गोविन्द°.
[2] Read राजसु.
[3] Read °सिंहः.
[4] Read दृष्ट्वा.
[5] Read °मुखीं.
[6] Read °तं सपदि.
[7] Read कुलं.
[8] Read सत्त्वं.
[9] Read °स्त्रयं.
[10] Read °कीर्त्ति°.
[11] Read °स्त्रिविष्टप°.
[12] Read °र्बभूव.
[13] Read °कनकाद्रि°.
[14] Read भोक्ता.
[15] Read °दन्ति°.
[16] Read कर्णाटकं बल°.
[17] Read °मन्यै° and °यद्भिरपि.
[18] Read जिगाय.
[19] Read °कलंकिता°.
[20] Read °धेर्येने°.
[21] Read °बले°.
[22] Read तस्मिन्.
[23] Read प्रयाते.
[24] Read °बाधः.
[25] Read °पूर्ण° and °किरणं.
[26] Read °यते.
[27] Read °बला°.

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EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST.

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15 ध्वजज्वलिश्शुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतान्ततान ॥ [१३*]
पाता [1]यश्चतुरम्पराशिरसनालंकारभाजो भुवः[2] [त्र]य्याचा-
16 पि कृत[द्वि]जामरगुरु[प्रा]ज्याज्यपूजादरो[3] [।] दाता मानभृ[दग्र]णीर्ग्गुणवतां
योसौ श्रिये[4] वल्ल[भो] (।) भोजं[5] [स्व]र्ग्गफलानि भूरितपसा
17 स्थानञ्जगामामरे[6] ॥ [१४*] येन श्वेता[त]पत्रप्रहृतरविकरत्रातवापात्त-
लीलं[7] जग्मे[8] [ना]सीरधूलीधवलि[त]शिरसा वल्ल[ना]ख्यः[9] स-
18 राजौ[10] । धीमङ्गोवि[न्द]राजो [11]जितज[ग]दहितःप्रैणवैधव्यदत्तः[12] तस्याभीत्सू-
नुरेकः [13]त्त्रणरणदलितारातिम[त्ते]भकुं-
19 भः ॥ [१५*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराज[ना]मा महानुभावः[14] प्रह[तः]
प्रतापः । प्रसाधिताशेषन[रेंद्रचक्र]: क्रमेण (।)

Second Plate; First Side.

20 [15]वालार्क्कवपुर्व्वभूव[16] ॥ [१६*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सद्भूपचूडा-
मणौ (।) गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वा-
21 मिनि प्रत्यहं । सत्य[न्स]त्यमति[17] प्रशासति सति [18][त्मामा]मसुद्रा-
न्तिका[मा]सीद्धर्म्मपरे [गु]णामृत[नि]धौ सत्यव्रताधि[ष्टि]-[19]
22 ते ॥ [१७*] रचता येन निःशेषं चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं । राज्यं ध[र्म्मे]ण
लोकानां कृता[20] तुष्टिः परा हृदि ॥ [१८*] तस्यात्मजो [ज]गति
23 सत्प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः । त्यागी पराक्रम-
धन[:*] प्रकटप्रताप(।)सन्तापिताहित-
24 जनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [१९*] पृथ्वीवल्लभ इ[ति] च प्रथितं यस्यापरं
जगति नाम । यश्चतुरुदधिसुसीमामेको वसु-
25 धाम्वशे[21] चक्रे ॥ [२०*] [22]एकोनेकनरेंद्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि
प्रोत्खातासिलताप्रहारविधरां[23] वध्वा महासन्यु-[24]
26 गे [।*] लक्ष्मी[म]प्यचलां चकार विलसत्स्वामरग्राहिणी[25] सन्सी[दु]द्गुरु-
विप्रसज्ज[न]सुहृद्बन्धूपभोग्यां[26] भुवि ॥ [२१*] तत्पुत्रो-

[1] Read °रम्बु°.
[2] Read भुवस्त्रय्याश्चापि.
[3] Read °दरः.
[4] Read श्रियो.
[5] Read भीतुं.
[6] Read °मामरं.
[7] Read °व्रातसापा°.
[8] Read जग्मे.
[9] Read वल्लभाख्यः.
[10] Read °दाजौ.
[11] Read °जगदहितस्त्रैण°.
[12] Read °दत्तस्तस्यासीत्सूनु°.
[13] Above the letter *ksha* of *kshaṇa* and *ṇa* of *raṇa*, what looks like the sign of the vowel *ê* is engraved.
[14] Read °भावोप्रहतप्र°.
[15] Read बाला°.
[16] Read °र्व्वभूव.
[17] Read सत्यं सत्यमिति.
[18] Read क्ष्मामासमुद्रा°.
[19] Read °ष्ठि°.
[20] Read कृता.
[21] Read °धां वशे.
[22] Read एको°.
[23] Read °विधुरान्बद्धा.
[24] Read °संयु°.
[25] Read °ग्राहिणीं संसीद°.
[26] Read °हृद्भू°.

27 च गते नाकमाक्रम्पितरिपुव्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्व्वाख्यः ख्पातो[1] राजाभवद्गुणैः ॥ [२२*] यर्थिषु यथार्थतां यः

28 समभीष्टफलावाप्तिलब्धतोषेषु[2] । वृद्धिंनिनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥ [२३*] राजाभूत्तत्पि[तृ]व्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्ल्लक्ष्मीमानिंद्रराजो गुणनृपनिकरान्तश्चसत्कारकारी[3] । [रा]-

29 भवोद्भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्ल्लक्ष्मीमानिंद्रराजो गुणनृपनिकरान्तश्चसत्कारकारी[3] । [रा]-
गाद्द[न्या]न्व्युदस्य प्रकटितविभ-

30 या[4] यं नृपाः[5] सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव [च]क्रे सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावः[6] ॥ [२४*] निर्व्वाणावाप्तिवाणासहितहितज-

31 ना यस्य मानाः सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्यराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्सर्व्वतो [हिन्व]केभ्यः[7] । एकाको दृप्तवैरिस्खलनक्षतिगह[पा]-[8]

32 तिरो[व्ययाग्रं]कुर्लाटोयं मडलं[9] प[त्तन]य इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥ [२५*] सूनुर्व्वभूव[10] खलु तस्य महानुभावः [11]प्रास्त्रार्थवोधसुखला-

33 लितरित्कवृत्तिर्यो[12] गोण[ना]मपरिवारसुवाह पूर्व्वं श्रीकर्क्कराजसुभ[ग]व्यपदेश्य[मु]चैः[13] ॥ [२६*] श्रीकर्क्कराज इति रक्षितरा-

34 ज्यभारः सारं कुल[स्य] तनयो नयशालिशौर्यः । तस्याभव[द्वि]भवनंदितवन्धुसार्थः[14] (।) पार्थः सदेव धनुषि प्रथमः शु[ची]-

35 नां ॥ [२७*] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया वा वीर्येण शौर्येण च कोपि भूपः । एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेत्ति[15] कोर्त्तिः सकोवका[16] भ्राम्यति य[स्य] लोके ॥ [२८*]

36 [स्वेच्छा]गृहोतविषया[न्*] दढसंघभाजः [17]प्रोद्वृत्तदृप्तरथशुल्किकराष्ट्रकूटा[18] । उत्खातख[ड्ग]निजवाहवलेन[19] जित्वा योमोघव-

37 र्षं इति राज्यपदे[20] व्यधत्त ॥ [२९*] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृतो कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्यः । वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रवृन्दो वभूव[21]

---

[1] Read ख्याती. [2] Read °लब्धतोषेषु. [3] Read °चमत्कार°.

[4] To this letter *yá* a superfluous sign of the vowel *á* is conjoined.

[5] Read नृपान्. [6] Read °स्वभावं.

[7] The reading intended is probably हिंसकेभ्यः as in the Nausârî plates of Karka (*J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 132).

[8] Read °क्षतिसहप्रातिराज्येश्वरंकु°. [9] Read मण्डलं य°. [10] Read °र्ब्बभूव.

[11] Read शास्त्रार्थबोध°. [12] Read °ललितचित्तवृत्तिः । यो गोव°.

[13] Read °मुचैः. [14] Read °बन्धु°. [15] Read वेत्ति.

[16] Read सकौतुका. [17] Read °दृप्ततर°. [18] Read °कूटान्.

[19] Read °बाहुबलेन.

[20] Read °मोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे in accordance with the Baroda plates of Dhruva I.

[21] Read बभूव.

Plates of Dantivarman of Gujarat.—Saka-Samvat 789.

i.



ii a.



E. HULTZSCH. SCALE· 46 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii b.

iii a.

Second Plate; Second Side.

38 सूनुर्द्ध्रुवराजनामा ॥ [१०*] चंद्रो जडो हिमगिरिः सहिमः प्रकृत्या वातश्चलश्च तपनस्तपनस्वभावः । धारः प-
39 योधिरिति तैः सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा निरुपम(ा)स्तत एव गीतः ॥ [११*] रणसरसि[1] खड्गघातैर्व्वंभ-
40 भदण्डम्पराङ्मुखीकृत्य । ग्रवग्रतग्रुद्धदेह[:*] स्वर्ग्गमगादेक ए[वा]-सौ ॥ [१२*] तस्याग्रेषनराधिपहृतय-
41 ग्रसः स्वर्ग्गलोकगतकीर्त्तिः । श्रीमानकालवर्षस्तन[य]स्तमभूत्कुलालंवः[2] ॥ [१३*] वल्लभभाराक्रान्तं विघ-
42 [3][टि]तदुष्टान्वजो[वि]वर्ग्गेण[4] । पितृपर्यागतमचिरान्मण्डलमध्यासितं ये-[न] ॥ [१४*] प्रियवादी सत्यध[न]ः श्री-
43 माननुजीविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपक्षक्षोभकरः ग्रुभतुंगः ग्रुभकरः सुहृ-दां ॥ [१५*] तस्मिन्स्वर्ग्गीभूते गुण-
44 वति गुणवां[5] गुणाधिकप्रीतिः । समभूर्द्ध्रुवराजसमो[6] ध्रुवराजस्तुष्टिकृ-ल्लोके ॥ [१६*] इतोभिमुख-
45 [7]माप[त*]त्प्रवलगौर्ज्जराणाम्बलं[8] इतोभिमुखवल्लभो विक्षतिमागता वा-न्धवा[9] । इतोनुजविकु-
46 र्व्वितं सममगात्समस्तभयादहो स्फुरणमद्भुतं(ा) निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥ [१७*] [10]गूर्ज्जरवलमतिवलव-[11]
47 त्समुद्यतं हृंहितं[12] च कुल्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराङ्मुखं लीलया येन ॥ [१८*] यस्याभिषिक्तमात्रः[13]
48 परं यग्र(:)स्त्यागग्रौर्यसंपन्नः[14] । ग्रुभतुंगयोनितुंगं[15] पदं पदाप्नोति[16] ना-चित्रं[17] ॥ [१९*] यस्य स्वभुजवलार्जि-[18]
49 तज[य]लक्ष्मीन्दातुमुद्यत×प्रणते । भयमपि विद्वेषिजने रनर्थदा[व]र्थिते[19] कामं ॥ [४०*] रामस्येव[20] सौमित्रिर्द्धर्म्म-

---

1 Read °शिरसि.
2 Read °लंबः.
3 The lower end of *ṭ* is prolonged into a curve turning to the left.
4 Read °दुष्टानुजो°.
5 Read गुणवान्.
6 Read °भूद्ध्रुव°.
7 Read °त्प्रवल°.
8 Read °बां बलमितो°.
9 Read बान्धवाः.
10 Read °बल°.
11 Read °बलव°.
12 Read बृंहितं.
13 Read °मात्रः.
14 Read °शौर्यंतीवाप in accordance with the Bagumrâ plates of Dhruvarâja II.
15 Read °तुंगजोतितुंगं.
16 Read यदाप्नोति.
17 Read नो चित्रं.
18 Read °बला°.
19 Read धनं ददावर्थिने.
20 Insert हि or some such short syllable after रामस्येव.

50 स्येव धनंजय: । अस्य भ्राताभवद्भव्यो दन्तिवर्म्मेति वीर्य्यवान् ॥ [४१*] यस्य निशितासि[धारा]मरिकरिण: संग-

51 रे सदाऽवर्त्ता: । स(:) दन्तिवर्म्मनामा ख्यातोस्यैवानुज: प्रसभं ॥ [४२*] प्रचुरकरिकुम्भदारितविगलि[त*]मुक्ता-

52 फलैरहितकरणां[1] । रंजितदोर्द्दण्डयुग:[2] विजयति[3] समरे रिपूं[4] खड्गै: ॥ [४३*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युद्वंचलमव-[5]

53 लोक्य जी[वि*]तमसारं(र) । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य: प्रवर्त्तितो[6] धर्म्मदायोयं ॥ [४४*] स [च] हरि[णी]व[7] विक्रमाक्रान्तसम-

54 स्तभूमण्डल:[8] दोर्द्दण्डस[मा]कृष्टकोदण्डकोण्डलितशत्रुमहासामन्त:[9] लक्ष्मीसमाध्यासितवक्ष[:*]स्थल:

Third Plate; First Side.

55 पवनसूनुरिव [10]निजभुजवलविनिर्ज्जिताशे[ष]वरवैरिनृपतिप्रजनितजगविविख्यातप्रताप:[11] तो-

56 [12]ख्णासिलतांप्रहारदलितरिपुकभिकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलप्रकररंजितदोर्द्दण्डयुग: समधिगतपंचमहा-

57 [13]शव्दमहासामन्ताधिपत्यपरिमितवर्षविरुदतलप्रहारिश्रीदन्तिवर्म्मदेव:[14] सर्व्वानिव यथासम्वन्ध्यमानकां-[15]

58 [16]राष्ट्रपेतिविषयपतिग्रांमकूटनियुक्ताधिकारिकवासापकमहत्तरादीन्समनुवोध य त्यस्तु[17] व: सन्विदितं[18] य-

59 था [मा]तापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यय[शो]भिवृद्धये सर्थातैलाटकीयद्विचत्वारिंशत्यान्तर्ग्गतवाय[19]-

60 व्यदिग्भागावस्थितचोक्खकुटिनामग्राम: कांपिल्यतीर्थकीयविहाराय यत[20] चाघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो द[न्ते]ल्लं-

61 क[ग्राम]सीमा दक्षिणतो(ष)पसुंदरग्रामसीमा पश्चिमतो[21] कालूपल्लिकाग्रामसीमा उत्तरतो मंदाकिनी

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[1] Read °करिणां.

[2] Read °युगो.

[3] This ought to be विजयते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit the metre.

[4] Read रिपून्खड्गै:.

[5] Read °विद्युच्च°.

[6] Read प्रवर्त्तितो.

[7] Read हरिरिव.

[8] Here and in the following the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been followed.

[9] Read °काण्डदलित°.

[10] Read °बल°.

[11] Read °जगद्विख्यात°.

[12] Read °लता° and °करिकुम्भ°.

[13] Read °शब्द°.

[14] Read °विरुद°.

[15] Read °संबध्यमानका°.

[16] Read °राष्ट्रपति° and °ग्रामकूट°.

[17] Read °बोध°.

[18] Read संविदितं.

[19] Read °शदन्तर्गत°.

[20] Read यस्य.

[21] Read पश्चिमत:.

62 नदी [।*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः सपरिकरः सवृक्षमालाकुलः ससो-
मापयन्तः[1] सोत्पद्यमानवेष्टिक-

63 [2]धान्यहिरण्यादेयो(य)चाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीया[ना*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आ-
चंद्रार्क्कार्णवावनिस-

64 रित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः श्रीआ[र्य]संघस्य[3] शिष्यानुशिष्यक्रमोपभुंजतो[4] [पू]र्व्व-
प्रदत्तब्रह्मदायदे-[5]

65 [व]दायरहितोभ्यंतरसिद्या[6] शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु स[प्त]सु नवाशी-
त्यधिकेष्वंकतोपि सं-

66 वत्सरशते ७८९ [7]पौषवहुलनवम्यांमुत्तरायणमहापर्व्वमुद्दिश्य[8] पूरावीमहानद्यां
स्नात्वोदका-

67 तिसर्गेण गंधपुष्पधूपदीपोपलेपनार्थं खण्डस्फुटितप्रासादपुन[:*]संस्करणार्थं
प्रतिपादितः [।*] यतोस्यो[चि*]-

68 [त]या देवदा[य]स्थित्या भुंजतो भोजापयतो वा कृषतो[9] कर्षापयतो
वा प्रतिदिशतो न केनचित्परिपंथ-

69 नीयस्तथागामिनृपतिभिः अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यभूदानफलमवेत्य (म)
विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्या-

70 णि तृणा[ग्र]जलविंदुचंचलं[10] च जीवितमाकलय्य [11]स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दा-
योनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयित-

71 व्यश्च ॥ यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिंद्यमानकं[12] [वा]नु[मो]-
दकं[13] स पंचभिर्म्महापात-

72 [कै]रुपपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्यादित्युक्त[म्]

Third Plate; Second Side.

73 भगवता वेदव्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि [स्व]र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
आच्छेत्त्रा[14] चानुम[न्ता] च तान्येव (न)

74 नरके वसेत् ॥ [४५*] विंध्याट[वी]ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । [15]कृष्णा-
हयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदान[16] हरंति

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1 Read °पर्यन्तः.
2 Read °धान्य°.
3 After श्रीआर्यसंघस्य the letter य: was originally engraved, but was afterwards cancelled.
4 Read °भोग्यः.
5 Read °ब्रह्म°.
6 Read °सिद्ध्या.
7 Read °बहुलनवम्यामुत्त°.
8 Read °पर्व्वोद्दिश्य.
9 Read कृषतः.
10 Read °बिंदु°.
11 Read °शेषो°.
12 Read °दाच्छिद्य°.
13 Read °मोदेत.
14 Read आच्छेत्ता.
15 Read कृष्णा°.
16 Read °दानं.

75 ये ॥ [४६*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्य[सु]ताश्च गाव: । लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं[1] य: [कां]-

76 [च]नं गां च मही‍ं च दद्या[त्*] ॥ [४७*] [2]बहु[भि]र्व्वसुधा द[त्ता] राजभि: [स]गरादिभि: । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

77 तस्य तदा[3] फलं ॥ [४८*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्द्दानानि [4]धर्म्मार्थियसस्कराणि [।] निर्म्माल्यमानप्रतिमा-[5]

78 नि तानि को ना[म] साधु: पुनराददीत[6] ॥ [४९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्त-त्त्वा[7] य[त्ना]द्रक्ष नराधिप ॥ मही[8] म[हि]मतां श्रेष्ठ

79 रा . [ण्छ्रे]यो[9] च पालनं ॥ [५०*] इति कमलदलाम्बविंदलोलां[10] श्रियमनुचिंत्य [11]मनित्यजीवितं च । अतिवि[म]ल-

80 म[नो]भि[रा]त्मनीनैर्न हि पुरुषै: परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: ॥ [५१*] दूत-कोत्र महामात्यश्रीकृष्णभट्ट[: ।*] लिखि[तं]

81 चैतत्सेनभोगिकगोल्लेन राणप्पसुतेनेति ॥ मतं मम श्रीदन्तिवर्म्मण: श्रीमद्कालवर्षदेवसू-

82 नो: । तथा मतं मम श्रीबुद्धवराजदेवस्य श्रीमद्कालवर्षदेवसूनो: ॥ ◉ ॥

No. 29.— SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA; [KALACHURI-]SAMVAT 361.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates are in the possession of Patel Karsan Daji at **Sarsavṇi** (Sarasavaṇi), a village four and a half miles south of Pâdra, in the Pâdra subdivision of the Baroda State. Through Mr. Keshavlal Ranchhod Kirtania they were brought to the notice of Mr. Withal Nagar of Baroda, who kindly informed Dr. Hultzsch of their existence; and at the latter's request Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Ravenshaw, Officiating Resident at Baroda, was good enough to send the plates to him for examination. I edit the inscription which they contain from excellent impressions, furnished to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

These are **two copper-plates**, either of which measures $10\frac{3}{8}''$ broad by $7\frac{3}{8}''$ high, and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring $2\frac{1}{3}''$ and $2\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. There is no seal, and no indication of one having been attached to the plates.— The **writing** is well done and carefully engraved, and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}''$. The **characters** belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from Valabhî inscriptions and from the inscriptions

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[1] Read दत्तं.
[2] Read बहु°.
[3] Read तदा.
[4] Read धर्म्मार्थयश°.
[5] Read °वान्तप्रति°.
[6] Read °राददीत.
[7] Read °दत्तां वा.
[8] Read मही‍ं.
[9] Read दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं.
[10] Read °दलाम्बुबिंदु°.
[11] Read मनुष्य°.

Plates of Dantivarman of Gujarat. — Saka-Samvat 789.

iii b.



SCALE ·40

Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta (Vol. IV. No. 24).

iv b.



SCALE TWO THIRDS.

SEALS.

Mayidavolu Plates (Vol. VI. No. 8).



FULL-SIZE.

Plates of the time of Sasankaraja.



E. HULTZSCH.

Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

of the Gujarât Chalukyas. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the following signs: the initial *ê*, *e.g.* in *êsha*, and the initial *ô*[1] in *Kumârivaḍaô*, both in l. 20; the *kh* in *likhitam=*, l. 34, and *askhalita-*, l. 6; the *ḍ*, *e.g.* in *piḍita-* and *-manḍalaḥ*, l. 10; the subscript *ṇ* in *arṇṇava-*, l. 21; the *th*,[2] *e.g.* in *prithivyâm=apratirathaś=*, l. 9, and *dharmmârttha-*, l. 32; the *ph*, *e.g.* in *phalaṁ*, l. 31; the two forms of *l*, *e. g.* in *phalaṁ* and °*pâlanaṁ*, l. 31, *salilâ*° and *balôpâ-*, l. 9; the final *m* and *t* in *prajânâm*, l. 17, and *vaśêt*, l. 29; the *jihvâmûliya* and *upadhmâniya*, *e.g.* in *paraḵ=kalaṅka-*, l. 4, and *vigrahaḫ=parâ-*, l. 7. The writing, in line 35, also contains **numerical symbols**[3] for 300, 60, 10, 5, and 1.— The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 28-32, the text is in prose. The **orthography** calls for few remarks. Instead of *anusvâra* the guttural and dental nasals are employed in the words *vaṅśa*, ll. 6 and 12, *vaṅśya*, l. 24, and *pradhvansa*, l. 16; final *visarga* is changed to the *jihvâmûliya* in *paraḵ=kalaṅka-* and *rahitaḵ=kula-*, l. 4, and to the *upadhmâniya* in *vigrahaḫ=parâ-*, l. 7, °*patibhiḫ=prabala-*, l. 24, °*mantavyaḫ=pâla*°, l. 27, and *sâdhuḫ=punar=*, l. 32; *sh* is (wrongly[4]) doubled after *r* in *varshsha-*, l. 28, and *dh* (correctly) before *y* in the word *anuddhyâta*, twice in line 14. Besides, the word *pṛithivî* is written *prithivî* in line 9, and a few times the rules of *saṁdhi* have been neglected.

The inscription is one of **Buddharâja**, the son of **Śaṁkaragaṇa** who was the son of **Kṛishṇarâja, of the family of the Kaṭachchuris.**[5] It records an order of **Buddharâja's**, issued from the royal residence or camp at **Ânandapura,** to the effect that he granted the village of **Kumârivaḍaô,** which was near to **Bṛihannârikâ**, in the **Gôrajjâ-bhôga** of the **Bharukachchha-vishaya,** to the Brâhmaṇ Bappasvâmin, an inhabitant of **Ḍêbhaka**. It is dated, in words and numerical symbols, **on the 15th of the dark half of Kârttika of the year 361.**

The names of the three kings or chiefs— the inscription does not furnish any titles for them— who are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, are not new to us. As **the date** of the inscription must undoubtedly be referred to the Kalachuri era, it would fall in either A.D. 609 or A.D. 610,[6] and it is therefore certain that the donor of the grant, Śaṁkaragaṇa's son Buddharâja, is identical with that **Buddharâja**, the son of **Śaṁkaragaṇa**, who according to the Nerûr plates (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) was put to flight by the Western Chalukya Maṅgalarâja (Maṅgalêśa), and to whom the Bâdâmi (Mahâkûṭa) pillar-inscription (of A.D. 602 (?), *ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 16) refers when it states that Maṅgalêśa, having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered [the **Kalatsûri**] king **Buddha** and took away his wealth. Śaṁkaragaṇa, again, clearly is that '**Śaṁkaraṇa**,' the son of **Kṛishṇarâja**, whose feet according to the Sâṅkhêḍâ plate of Śântilla (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23) were meditated on by the *Bhôgikapâla Mahâpîlupati* Nirihullaka,[7] and our grant proves the correctness of Prof. Bühler's suggestion (*ibid.* p. 22) that the reading *Śaṁkaraṇaḥ* of the Sâṅkhêḍâ plate should be altered to *Śaṁkaragaṇaḥ*.

Though the eulogy of the three kings, which fills just one half of the inscription, does not contain any historical allusions, it is not void of interest. Some of the epithets applied to the

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[1] Compare the same letter in the word *Ôsumbhalâ*, in the Surat plates of the Gujarât Chalukya *Yuvarâja* Śryâśraya-Śîlâditya, *Vienna Or. Congress*, Arian section, p. 226, l. 21, Plate. The initial *ai* occurs in the word *aiṅika*, above, Vol. III. p. 55, l. 21, Plate; the initial *au* in *Audamêghayê*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, l. 24. Plate.

[2] The same form of *th* we have in the Sâtârâ plates of Vishṇuvardhana I., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309, Plate.

[3] The symbols agree with those given by Prof. Bühler from Valabhî plates.

[4] Compare Pâṇini, VIII. 4, 49. For other instances where sibilants are wrongly doubled, compare *yassya*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 73, and *pañchadaśśiyâm* and *śśrêyô-*, *ibid.* p. 253.

[5] So this word is written also in the Aihoḷe inscription, above, p. 5, l. 6 of the text.

[6] With my epoch for the later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pûrṇimânta* Kârttika) would correspond to the 3rd October A.D. 609; but in agreement with the dates of the Nausârî and Kâvî plates of the Gurjara Jayabhaṭa III. (Nos. 402 and 403 of my *List of Northern Inscr.*) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October A.D. 610. The date, of course, does not admit of verification.

[7] See my *List of Northern Inscr.* No. 427.

second king, Śaṁkaragaṇa, shew that the author was acquainted with, and borrowed or imitated, certain epithets which are found only in some of the Gupta inscriptions.[1] On the other hand, it is clear that the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kaṭachchuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants[2] of the Gurjara Dadda [II.] Praśântarâga of the [Kalachuri] years 380 and 385, and of the [Gujarât] Chalukya Vijayarâja[3] of the [Kalachuri] year 394. Of the last named grant the first two lines may be said to be identical with the same lines of the present grant, and the description of Vijayarâja in lines 5-8 to a great extent literally agrees with the description of Śaṁkaragaṇa in lines 8-14 of the present inscription.[4] In the case of the Gurjara grants the agreement is not so close, but about the fact that their author knew and made use of some such Kaṭachchuri grant as the one here edited, there cannot be the slightest doubt. In his opening sentence he too compares the family of the Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahôdadhi*), and in describing that ocean he employs the words *vividha, vimala, guṇaratna, udbhâsita, avilaṅghitâvadhi, gâmbhîrya*, and the phrase *mahâsattvaγâtiduravagâhê*, which to the reader of the present grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Kṛishṇarâja is described as from his very birth (*â janmana êva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattita êva*) worship the sun. He moreover, just as is the case in the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yêna . . . yaṁ cha . . . yasya cha*, etc.); and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyanag-ôpatyakâḥ* in line 10, he imitates,[5] and labours to improve on, the relative sentence beginning with *yêna cha* in line 6 and ending with *diśô* in line 7 of the present grant. So far as I can judge, his plagiarism, if I may call it so, is not without some importance for the history of the Gurjaras. In my opinion, it tends to indicate that the family of these chiefs rose to independence only after the time of the Kaṭachchuri Buddharâja.[6] If Dadda Praśântarâga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his *praśasti*, most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kaṭachchuri grant.

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[1] See my notes on the translation.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 82 and 88.

[3] See *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 248.

[4] The present inscription shews that in line 7 of Vijayarâja's grant the intended reading is *-nishêvî*, not *-nirmôchî*.

[5] In both inscriptions the king is compared with an elephant (*vanavâraṇa-yûthapa* and *bhadra-mataṁga*). Instead of the epithet *ruchira-vaṁśa-śôbhin* of the present grant, the author of the Gurjara grant puts *sad-vaṁś-âhita-śôbhâ-gaurava*, where also the word *vaṁśa* has the double meaning of 'backbone' and 'lineage.' The word *ruchira*, which the imitator here discards, he employs in the same line in *ruchira-kîrti-vaśâ-sahâya*, 'accompanied by his bright fame' as the elephant is 'by his charming mate.' In a similar way he treats the following epithet of the present inscription, *askhalita-dâna-prasara*. The first and last word of this compound suggest to him his *askhalita-padaṁ prasarataḥ*, and the sense of the whole compound he expresses, in a more elaborate manner, by the compound commencing with *avirata-dâna-pravâha*. Of his own he adds, that his chief took delight in the lands lying at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.— As it concerns a point of history, I may perhaps state here that I differ from those scholars who understand the epithet *âkṛishṭa-śatru-nâga-kula-saṁtati* in lines 3 and 4 of the Gurjara grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 82) to mean that Dadda I. conquered some hostile tribe or family of the Nâgas. In my opinion, *nâga* here means nothing but 'snake,' and the author simply says that Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuḍa destroys the snakes. The compound is exactly like *praṇit-ârthi-madhukara-kula* in line 8 of the same inscription, which everybody would admit to mean that the king (by his liberality) delighted the suppliants as the elephant (by his rutting-juice) does the bees. If the eulogy of Dadda I. does contain any historical allusion, it is furnished, in my opinion, by the epithet *Kṛishṇa-hṛiday-âhitâspadaḥ* in lines 2 and 3, the word *Kṛishṇa* of which, in addition to denoting the god Kṛishṇa, may perhaps denote the Kaṭachchuri Kṛishṇarâja, and which therefore may represent Dadda I. as a favourite (or feudatory) of that Kaṭachchuri king; as the *Kaustubha* gem is placed on Kṛishṇa's breast, so Dadda found a place in Kṛishṇarâja's heart.' That the epithet *Kṛishṇa-hṛiday-âhitâspadaḥ*, just like the *Śrî-sahajanmâ* by which it is preceded, does convey a double meaning, is not at all doubtful; the only question is whether it might not be taken to mean 'he whose actions (*âspada* = *kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil-minded.'

[6] Compare Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 315.

I may further point out that in the wording of the formal part of the grants also the two inscriptions of Dadda Praśântarâga referred to above agree most closely with the inscription here edited. We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed (*sarvân=êva râja-sâmanta-bhôgika-vishayapati-râshṭragrâmamahattar-âdhikârik-âdîn*); the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted (from *êsha grâmaḥ* to *putra-pautr-ânvaya-bhôgyaḥ* in lines 20-22 of the present inscription); with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and, with the omission of one verse, the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order. And one cannot help asking oneself how very different all this might have been, if the existing Gurjara grants of Śaka-Saṁvat 400, 415 and 417 [1] were really genuine documents.

Of **the localities** mentioned in this inscription, **Ânandapura,** from where the grant was issued, probably is the same Ânandapura from where the Alinâ grant of Śîlâditya VII. Dhrûbhaṭa of Valabhî of the year 447 was issued, and which has been identified by Dr. Fleet [2] with the modern Ânand, the chief town of the Ânand subdivision of the Kaira district. And **Bharukachchha,** so often mentioned elsewhere, is the modern Broach. **Ḍêbhaka,** the place of residence of the donee, apparently is Dabka,[3] a village in the Baroda State, about 8 miles west of Pâdra and 40 miles north of Broach. On the remaining localities Dr. Fleet, who at my request has kindly searched the sheets No. 22, S. E. (1883) and No. 36, S. W. (1897) of the *Indian Atlas*, of which copies were not accessible to me, has sent me the following note:— "The **Gôrajjâ** of this grant must be the 'Goraj' of sheet No. 36, in lat. 22° 20′, long. 73° 32′, in the Hâlôl subdivision of the Pañch Mahâls: it is shewn as a town or large village 11 miles on the south of Hâlôl, and is about 54 miles towards the north-east-by-north from Broach. **Kumârivaḍaô** must be the 'Kawarwara' of sheet No. 22, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from 'Goraj,' and about 8 miles east-south-east from Baroda; it is about 24 miles almost due east of 'Dabka.' And **Bṛihannârikâ** must be the 'Banaiya' of the same sheet, 4½ miles on the south of 'Kawarwara.'"

TEXT.[4]

First Plate; Second Side.

1 Ôṁ[5] svasti [||*] Vijaya-skandhâvârâd=**Ânandapura**-vâsakâch=chharad-upagama-prasanna-gaganatala-vimala-vipulê vividha-purusharatna-guṇa-

2 kiraṇa-nikar-âvabhâsitê mahâsa[t*]tv-âpâśraya-durllaṅghê gâmbhîryyavati sthity-anupâlana-parê mahôdadhâv=iva **Kaṭa[chch]u-**[6]

3 **rinâm**-anvayê sakala-jana-manôharayâ chandrikay=êva kîrty[â] bhuvanam=avabhâsayann=â janmana êva Paśupati-samâśra-

4 ya-paraḥ=kalaṅka-dôsha-rahitaḥ=kula-kumudavana-lakshmî-vibôdhanaś=chandramâ iva śrî-**Kṛishṇarâjô** yas=saṁśraya-viśê-

5 sha-lôbhâd=iva sakalair=âbhigâmikair=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upêtaḥ saṁpanna-prakṛiti-maṇḍalô yathâvad=âtmany=âhita-śakti-

6 siddhir=yyêna cha ruchira-vaṅśa-[7]śôbhinâ niyatam=askhalita-dâna-prasarêṇa prathita-bala-garimṇâ vanavâraṇa-yûtha-

7 pên=êv=âviśaṅkaṁ vicharatâ vana-râjaya iv=âvanamitâ diśô yasya cha śastram=âpanna-trâṇâya . vigrahaḥ=par-â-

8 bhimâna-bhaṅgâya śikshitaṁ vinayâya vibhav-ârjjanaṁ pradânâya pradânaṁ dharmmâya dharmmaś=śrêyô-vâptayê tasya putraḥ

[1] See my *List of Northern Inscr*. Nos. 347-349.

[2] See *Gupta Inscr*. p. 173.

[3] See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres*. Vol. VII. p. 542.

[4] From impressions supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] The consonants of the *akshara chchu* are not clear in the impressions, but I do not think that the *akshara* can be read differently.

[7] Read *-vaṁśa-*.

9 pri(pṛi)thivyâm=apratirathaś=chatur-udadhi-salil-âsvâdita-yaśâ **Dhanada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka**-sama-prabhâvaḥ sva-bâhu-bal-ôpâ-

10 tt-ôrjjita-râja-śrîḥ pratâp-âtiśay-ôpanata-samagra-sâmanta-maṇḍalaḥ paraspar-âpîḍita-dharmm-ârttha-kâma-nishêvî

11 praṇatimâtra-suparitôsha-gambhîr-ônnata-hṛidayaḥ samyak-prajâpâlan-âdhigata-bhûri-draviṇa-viśrâṇan-â-

12 vâpta-dharmmakriyaś=chir-ôtsannânâṁ nṛipati-vaṅśânâṁ[1] pratishṭhâpayit=âbhyuchchhritânâm=unmûlayitâ dîn-ândha-kṛipaṇa-sa-

13 mabhilashita-manôrath-âdhika-nikâma-phala-pradaḥ pûrvv-âpara-samudr-ânt-âdi-dêśa-svâmî mâtâpitṛi-pâdâ-

14 nuddhyâtaḥ parama-Mâ[h]êśvaraḥ śrî-**Śaṅkaragaṇaḥ**[2] tasya putras=tat-pâdânuddhyâtaḥ sakala-mahîmaṇḍal-aika-tilakaḥ

15 sâtiśaya-prathita-naya-vinaya-dayâ-dâna-dâkshya-dâkshiṇya-dhairyya-śauryya-sthairyy-âdy-aśêsha-guṇa-samanvitaḥ praba-

16 la-ripu-bal-ôdbhûta-darppa-vibhava-pradhvansa-[3]hêtuḥ sêtuḥ sthitînâm=âyatanaṁ siddhêr=apratihata-chakraś=Chakradha-

17 ra iv=ârtti-praśamana-karaḥ prajânâm parama-Mâhêśvaraḥ śrî-**Buddharâjaḥ**

Second Plate ; First Side.

18 sarvvân=êva râja-sâmanta-bhôgika-vishayapati-râshṭragrâmamahattar-âdhikârik-âdi[4] samâjñâ-

19 payaty=astu[5] vô viditam=asmâbhiḥ **Bharukachchha-vishay**-ântarggata-**Gôrajjâ**-[6] **bhôgê Bṛihannârikâ**-pratyâsanna-

20 **Kumârivaḍaô** |[7] êsha grâmaḥ s-ôdraṅgaḥ s-ôparikaraḥ sarvv-âdâna-saṁgrâhyaḥ sarvva-ditya-vishṭi-prâtibhêdikâ-

21 parihîṇô bhûmichchhidra-nyâyêna[8] a-châṭa-bhaṭa-prâvêśya â-chandr-ârkk-ârṇṇava-kshiti-sthiti-samakâlînaḥ putra-pau-

22 tr-ânvaya-bhôgya[9] **Ḍêbhakavâstavya**-Pârâśarasagôtra-VâjasanêyaKaṇvasabrahmachâri-brâhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭu-putra-

23 Bappasvâminê bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtr-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-ârtthaṁ mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê[10]

24 udak-âtisarggêṇ=âtisṛishṭô[11] yatô=smad-vaṅśyair=[12]anyair=vv=âgâmi-nṛipati-bhôgapatibhiḥ=prabala-pavana-prêrit-ô-

25 dadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalaṁ jîva-lôkam=abhâv-ânugatân=asârân=vibhavân=dîrggha-kâla-sthêyasaś=cha guṇâ-

26 n=âkalayya sâmânya-bhôga-bhû-pradâna-phal-êpsubhiś=śaśi-kara-ruchiraṁ chirâya yaśaś=cha chîshubhir=[13]ayam=asmad-dâyô=nu-

27 mantavyaḥ=pâlayitavyaś=cha [|*] Yô v=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-âvṛita-matir=âchchhindyâd=âchchhidyamânaṁ v=ânumôdêta sa pañchabhi-

28 r=mmahâ-pâtakais=saṁyukta[14] syâd=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna || Shashṭiṁ[15] varshsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ [|*]

29 âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇâhayô hi jâya-

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[1] Read *-vaṁśânâṁ*. [2] Read °*gaṇas=*. [3] Read *-pradhvaṁsa-*.
[4] Read *-âdîn=*. [5] Read *payati | Astu vô viditam | Asmâbhir=*.
[6] It is just possible that the name engraved is *Gôrujjâ-*.
[7] This mark of punctuation is superfluous. [8] Read *-nyâyên-â-châṭa-*.
[9] Read *-bhôgyô*. [10] Read °*ddhayê*. [11] Read °*sṛishṭaḥ* |.
[12] Read *-vaṁśyair=*. [13] Read *yaśaś=chichîshubhir=*. [14] Read °*ktas=syâd=iti* | *Uktañ=*.
[15] Metre of this and the next three verses: Ślôka (Anushṭubh).— Read *varsha-*.

Sarsavni Plates of Buddharaja.—[Kalachuri-]Samvat 361.

i.

E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE ·8

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii.

30 ntâ bhûmi-dâyaṁ haranti yê || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
31 tadâ phalaṁ || Pûrvva-dattâṁ dvijâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahî[ṁ*] mahîmatâ[ṁ] śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ || [1]Yân=îha da-
32 ttâni purâ narêndrair=ddânâni dharmm-ârttha-yaśas-karâṇi [|*] nirbbhukta-mâlya-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ=punar=âdadîti(ta)[||]
33 **Saṁvatsara-śata-trayê[2] êkashashṭy-adhikê Kârttika-bahula-pañchadaśyâṁ** Gôkulasvâmi-vijñâpanayâ mahâbalâ-
34 dhikṛita-śrî-Prasahyavigraha-dûtakaṁ likhitam=idaṁ mahâsandhivigrahâdhikaraṇ-âdhikṛita-Śivarâjên=êti ||
35 **Saṁ 300 60 1 Kârttika-ba 10 5 ||**

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ôm. Hail! From the royal residence [3] of victory, fixed at **Ânandapura** :—[4]

In the lineage of the **Kaṭachchuris**— which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the vault of the sky clear on the advent of autumn; illumined by the mass of the rays of the manifold excellences of jewels of men (as the ocean is by those of its gems); difficult to be crossed because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals); endowed with profundity (*and*) intent on observing the limits of what is right (as the ocean is on keeping within its proper limits)— (*there was*) the glorious **Kṛishṇarâja**, who illumined the world with his fame that charmed all mankind, who from his very birth was devoted to the service of Paśupati (Śiva), who promoted the fortune of his family (*and who thus, though*) free from blemish,[5] was like the moon which illuminates the earth with its light pleasing to all mankind, which is ever resting on Śiva, (*and*) which causes the groups of night-lotuses to expand. From a desire, as it were, of securing a choice resting-place, he was resorted to by all the qualities that make a king the object of attachment,[6] as well as by every other excellence. He was fully endowed with all the constituent elements of royalty, and duly reaped the beneficial results (of his management) of the regal powers.[7] As the chief elephant of the herd, distinguished by its splendid backbone, with the flow of its rutting-juice never ceasing, displaying the might of its strength, fearlessly roams about and breaks down rows of forest-trees, so he, who was illustrious by his splendid lineage, and the stream of whose liberality was never failing, and the might of whose power was well-known, marched about without apprehension and brought to subjection the regions. He wielded the sword to protect people in distress,[8] made war to break the conceit of adversaries, engaged in study to learn propriety of conduct, gathered wealth to make donations, made donations for the sake of religious merit, and acquired religious merit to obtain the bliss of final emancipation.

(L. 8.) His son, who meditated on his parents' feet, (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious **Śaṁkaragaṇa**, the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western seas and of other lands; who[9] on the earth had no antagonist equal to him; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was like that of Dhanada,

[1] Metre: Indravajrâ.
[2] Read *-traya*.
[3] Or 'from the camp . . . . pitched at.'
[4] The sentence is continued below, in the words 'the glorious Buddharâja.'
[5] The beauty of the moon is marred by a dark spot.
[6] On the passage containing the word *âbhigâmika* compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 166, l. 16, and p. 169, note 2.
[7] *Viz.* the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy.
[8] Compare the *Śakuntalâ*, in the first act, *ârta-trâṇâya vaḥ śastram.*
[9] This epithet and the two next— one with a slightly different reading— are well known from Gupta inscriptions; compare *e.g. Gupta Inscr.* p. 26, l. 1 of the text; and D .Fleet's note, *ibid.* p. 14, note 4.

Varuṇa, Indra, and Antaka;[1] who by the strength of his arms[2] acquired the fortune of powerful kings; before whose pre-eminent prowess there bowed down the circle of all the neighbouring princes; who engaged in the pursuit of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and elevated mind was well pleased only by submission;[3] who accomplished acts of religion by distributing in charity the ample wealth acquired by properly protecting his people; who reinstated families of princes long subverted,[4] and uprooted the exalted; and who to the afflicted, the blind and the poor granted the object of their desire, more fully even than their hearts longed for.

(L. 14.) His son, who meditates on his feet, who is the unique frontal ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is endowed with all the most celebrated qualities, such as prudence, good conduct, compassion, liberality, cleverness, dexterity, fortitude, heroism, firmness and the rest; who causes the destruction of the might of conceit, arising from power, of powerful enemies; who is a dam to safeguard all ordinances, and a resting-place of success; and who, like the Discus-bearer (Vishṇu) with his irresistible disc, with his irresistible army relieves the distress of the people— he, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious **Buddharâja**, issues this order to all *Râjas*, *Sâmantas*, *Bhôgikas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Râshṭra-* and *Grâma-mahattaras*, *Âdhikârikas* and others:—

(L. 19.) Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents and ourselves we have granted, with pouring out of water, the village of **Kumârivaḍaô** which is close to **Bṛihannârikâ**, in the **Gôrajjâ-bhôga** that lies within the **Bharukachchha-vishaya**,— with the *udraṅga*, with the *uparikara*, with all imposts and taxes,[5] exempt from all *ditya*, forced labour and *prâtibhêdikâ*, according to the maxim of *bhûmichchhidra*, not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers, for as long as the moon, the sun, the sea and the earth endure, to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons— to the Brâhmaṇ Bappasvâmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu, who is an inhabitant of **Ḍêbhaka**, a member of the Pârâśara *gôtra*, and a student of the Kaṇva *śâkhâ* of the Vâjasanêya Vêda, for the maintenance of the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadêva*, *agnihôtra* and other rites. Wherefore, let future kings and *Bhôgapatis*, whether of our own family or others— bearing in mind that the world of living beings is unsteady like a wave of water of the sea raised by a fierce wind, that wealth is liable to perish and void of substance, and that virtue endures for a long time— desirous of sharing in the reward of (*this*) donation of land, and anxious to accumulate for a long time fame as bright as the rays of the moon, consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whosoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, should take it away or permit it to be taken away, he shall be guilty of the five great sins! And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—[*Here follow five imprecatory verses.*]

(L. 33.) **In three hundred years increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth tithi of the dark half of Kârttika,** at the request of Gôkulasvâmin,[6] this (*edict*)— the *dûtaka* of which is the *Mahâbalâdhikṛita*,[7] the illustrious Prasahyavigraha— was written by the *Mahâsaṁdhivigrahâdhikaraṇâdhikṛita*[8] Śivarâja.

The year 300 60 1 Kârttika-badi 10 5.

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[1] *I.e.* the guardian deities of the northern, western, eastern and southern quarters.

[2] Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8, l. 26, where the compound *Dhanada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka-sama* is followed by another, commencing with *sva-bhuja-bala-*.

[3] Compare *ibid.* p. 8, l. 25, *bhaktyavanatimâtra-grâhya-mṛidu-hṛidayasya*.

[4] Compare *ibid.* p. 8, l. 23, *anêka-bhrashṭarâjy-ôtsanna-râjavaṁśa-pratishṭhâpana*.

[5] The original has *sarvv-âdâna-saṁgrâhya*, which may have some more specific meaning.

[6] I am unable to state the position of this personage with regard to either the donor or the donee.

[7] *I.e.* 'the great *Bal-âdhikṛita* (or general);' see my *List of Northern Inscr.* No. 427.

[8] *I.e.* 'the great *Saṁdhivigrah-âdhikaraṇ-âdhikṛita* (or officer charged with the ministry of peace and war);' compare *e.g.* the Gurjara grants, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 84, l. 50, and p. 90, l. 50.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Dr. Hultzsch has sent me for examination the texts and English translations of fifty-four **Pâṇḍya dates.**[1] Of this number I now publish, with the results of my calculations, twenty-six dates, together with four others (Nos. 1, 5, 14 and 16 of my list), which have been published by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Indian Antiquary*, and for two of which (Nos. 14 and 16) the European equivalents have been already ascertained by the late Mr. S. B. Dikshit. All these dates quote only regnal years, not years of any era; and in a number of cases it was uncertain whether the dates connected with a particular name belonged to the reign of one king or to the reigns of two or more kings bearing the same name. How my results will fit into the history of the time to which the dates refer, others may decide; I have been solely guided by the dates, and have not allowed myself to be influenced by other considerations. Though the dates do not quote years of any era, the fact that some of them, in addition to the weekday, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra*, also give the corresponding solar day, has helped me greatly in ascertaining what I consider to be the proper European equivalents, and makes me place great confidence in the results which I now put forward. The reader will understand this when he sees, that *e.g.* for the date No. 1 there is only a single day in 500 years that would fully satisfy all the requirements of the original date. To Dr. Hultzsch I owe sincere thanks for having enabled me to do this work.

A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

1.—Date in the larger Tiruppûvaṇam grant.[2]

Plate i. a, line 4 f.

Nijê vatsarê pañchaviṁśê chaṇḍâṁśâv=âtta-Châpê Kanakapati-tithau kṛishṇapaksh-Ârkivâra-Svâtî-yôgê;

"**in his twenty-fifth year,** while the sun was in **Châpa,** on the *tithi* of Kanakapati, at the union of **Saturday** and **Svâti** in the dark fortnight."

Plate v. b, line 2 f.

Padiṉmûṉṟâvadiṉ=edir paṉṉiraṇḍâm=âṇḍu Dhaṉu-nâyaṟṟu nâlân=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu êkâdaśiyum Śaṉi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Śôdi-nâḷ;

"the day of **Svâti,** which corresponded to a **Saturday,** and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of **Dhanus, in the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth.**"

Between A.D. 1000 and 1500 there is only a single year for which this date would be absolutely correct, *viz.* the year 1214. In this year the Dhanuḥ-saṁkrânti took place 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 26th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanus. The 4th day of the month of **Dhanus** therefore was **Saturday,** the 29th November. And on this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mârgaśîrsha) ended 9 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Svâti,** by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. Accordingly, if the date does fall between A.D. 1000 and 1500 and has been correctly recorded, **Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214,** must be its proper equivalent.

[1] [It is but right to state that these dates were looked up, transcribed and translated by my First Assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, and that I have done nothing but checking his transcripts and renderings.—E. H.]

[2] See Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 288.

2.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[1]

1 Svasti [śrî] [||*] [Pûvi]ṉ kiḻatti[2] . . . .
5 . . . . śrî-kô=Chchaḍaiypaṉ[ma]-
6 r=[â]ṉa Tri[bhuvaṉa]chchakravarttigaḷ śrî-Kulaśêgarad[ê]vaṟkku yâṇḍu padiṉmu(mû)ṉṟâ[vadi]ṉ edirâm=âṇḍu Mîṉa-nâyaṟṟu nâlân=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu daśa-
7 [miyum] Viyâḻa-kkiḻamai[yum] peṟṟa Pûr[â]ḍattu nâḷ.

"**In the year opposite to the thirteenth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,**— on the day of **Pûrvâshâḍhâ**, which corresponded to a **Thursday**, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of **Mîna**."

Under No. 1 we found that a date of the 12th opposite to the 13th year, *i.e.* of the 25th year, of the king's reign fell in November A.D. 1214. If such was really the case, this date No. 2, of the month of Mîna of the year opposite to the 13th, *i.e.* of the 14th year, of the same reign, must fall in February-March of either A.D. 1203 or 1204. As a matter of fact, the date is correct for **Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204.** In A.D. 1204 the Mîna-saṁkrânti took place 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 23rd February, which was the first day of the month of Mîna. The fourth day of the month of **Mîna** therefore was **Thursday**, the 26th February; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Phâlguna) *commenced* 3 h. 33 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pûrvâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

The way in which this date works out proves that the equivalent found for the date No. 1 undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of that date; and the two dates together shew that **the reign of Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara commenced between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.**

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.[3]

3.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[4]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Śrî-kô Mâṟapaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ Śôṇâḍu koṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍaśô-
2 ḻapurattu vi(vî)râbhishêkam paṇṇiy=aruḷiya śrî-Śundara-Pâ[ṇ]ḍiyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu padiṉêḻâvadi[ṉ*]
3 edirâm=âṇḍi[ṉ*] edi[r]âm=âṇḍu . . . . .
5 . . . . yivv-â[ṭ]-
6 ṭai=Ppuraṭṭâdi-mâsattu êḻân=diyadiyum deśa[m]iyum T[i]ṅ[ga]ṭ-k[i]ḻamaiyu[m] peṟṟa Uttarâḍattu nâ[ḷ].

"**In the year opposite to the year opposite to the seventeenth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva** who was pleased to take the Chôḷa country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍaśôḷapuram,— on the day of **Uttarâshâḍhâ**, which corresponded to a **Monday**, and to the tenth *tithi*, and to the seventh solar day of the month of **Puraṭṭâdi** in this year."

Between A.D. 1200 and 1300 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1234. In this year the Kanyâ-saṁkrânti took place 16 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 28th

[1] No. 123 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

[2] See the larger Tiruppûvaṇam grant.

[3] I add the numbers 'I.' and 'II.' here and below merely for convenience of reference so far as this list is concerned. There may have been other kings of the same names before those here numbered as I.

[4] No. 155 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

August. The 7th day of the month of Kanyâ (or **Puraṭṭâdi)** therefore was **Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234**; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Bhâdrapada) ended 13 h. 6 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

4.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[1]

1 . . . . Śrî-kô [M]âṟa[va]ṉmar=âṉa Tribhu[va]ṉachchakra[va]rttigaḷ Śôṇâḍuṅ=goṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍa-

2 . . . . [v]îrâbhishêkam paṇṇiy=aruḷiya śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 17vadin=edirâm=âṇḍin=edirâm=âṇ-

3 . . . . ṟu iruba[t]tê[l]ân=diyadiyu[m] pûrvva-[pa]ksha[t]tu prathamaiyun=Diṅgaḷ-[k]iḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pûrâ(ra)ṭṭ[â]di-nâḷ.

"**In the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva** who was pleased to take the Chôḷa country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍa[śôḷapuram],— on the day of **Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ,** which corresponded to a **Monday,** and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-seventh solar day of . . ."

Although the name of the solar month of this date is broken away or quite illegible, the fact that during that month the first *tithi* of the bright half was joined with the *nakshatra* Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ, at once suggests the conjecture that the month was that of **Kumbha**; and this conjecture is shewn to be correct by the calculation of the date. The date, which is of the same regnal year as No. 3, corresponds to **Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235.** In A.D. 1235 the Kumbha-saṁkrânti took place 8 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 24th January, which was the first day of the month of Kumbha. The 27th day of the month of **Kumbha** therefore was **Monday,** the 19th February; and on this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phâlguna) *commenced* 0 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pûrva-Bhadrapadâ,** by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

5.—In the Raṅganâtha temple at Śrîraṅgam.[2]

1 . . . . . . Śrî-kô Mâṟapaṉmar=âṉa Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Śôṇâḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvar[k*]ku yâṇḍu oṉbadâvadu

2 Mêsha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu tṛitîyaiyum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Viśâgattu nâḷ.

"**In the ninth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva** who was pleased to present the Chôḷa country,[3]— on the day of **Viśâkhâ,** which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mêsha.**"

As the two preceding dates Nos. 3 and 4, of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year, *i.e.* of the 19th year, of the king's reign fell in A.D. 1234 and 1235, this date No. 5, of the 9th year of the same reign, will be expected to fall in A.D. 1224 or 1225. The date actually corresponds to **Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225,** which was the 4th day of the month of **Mêsha,** and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 22 h. 45 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Viśâkhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

[1] No. 133 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.
[2] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 344.
[3] See the smaller Tiruppûvaṇam grant.

6.—In the Agniśvara temple at Tirukkâṭṭuppaḷḷi.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô Mâṟapaṟma[r=â]na Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Śôṇâḍu vaḷaṅgiya Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadê[va]ṟku yâṇḍu 7âvadu Mîṉa-nâyaṟṟu=ppûrvva-pakshattu navamiyu[m] . . . . . . [yu]m [pe]ṟṟa Pûśattu nâḷ

2 Ṛishabham muhûrttattu.

"**In the 7th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva** who presented the Chôḷa country,— on the auspicious occasion of the **Ṛishabha** (*lagna*) on the day of **Pushya,** which corresponded to . . . . . and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mîna.**"

The three preceding dates Nos. 3-5 shew that a date of the month of Mîna of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1223, and in my opinion this date No. 6 undoubtedly corresponds to **[Monday,] the 13th March A.D. 1223,** which was the 19th day of the month of **Mîna,** and on which the *nakshatra* was **Pushya,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. There is the difficulty that by our Tables the 9th *tithi* of the bright half had ended 0 h. 21 m. *before* mean sunrise of the 13th March, but it may be reasonably supposed that by other Tables it ended shortly *after* mean sunrise. The name of the weekday which would have removed all doubt unfortunately is illegible or broken away.— On the day found **Ṛishabha** was *lagna* from 2 h. 28 m. to about 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 3-6 together prove that **the reign of Mâravarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.**

C.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

7.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Śrî-kô Mâṟapaṉ[ma]r=âṉa Tiribuvaṉachchakkarava[t]t[i]gaḷ śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku yâṇḍu padiṉ-oṉṟâvad[iṉ]=edir[â]m=âṇḍiṉ=edirâm=âṇḍu Magara-nâyaṟṟu [i]rubattunâlâṉ=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu daśamiyu[m] Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Aṉiḻattu nâ-

2 ḷ.

"**In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Anurâdhâ,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday,** and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of **Makara.**"

Between A.D. 1150 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1251. The Makara-saṁkrânti took place 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 26th December A.D. 1250, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the month of **Makara** therefore was **Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251;** and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Pausha) ended 17 h., and the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

8.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[3]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô Mâṟapaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-[Sunda]ra-[P]â[ṇ]ḍiya[d]ê[va]ṟkku yâṇḍu [11]va[d]iṉ edirâm=âṇ[ḍi]-

2 ṉ edirâm=âṇḍu Magara-ṉâyiṟṟu irubat[t]unâlâṉ=diyadiyum a[pa]ra-paksha[ttu da]-śamiyum Bu[daṉ]-kiḻamaiy[um] peṟṟa Aṉiḻa[t]tu nâḷ.

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[1] No. 52 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.
[2] No. 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.
[3] No. 146 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the [11]th year (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,—** on the day of **Anurâdhâ,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday,** and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of **Makara.**"

This date is the same as No. 7, except that in the expression 'opposite to the 11th year' numeral figures are used by the writer.

9.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[1]

1 . . . . . Śrî-kô Mâṟapaṉmar=âṉa Tribh[u]va[ṉa]chchakkaravattiga[ḷ] śr[î]-Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku [y]âṇḍu padiṉ-oṉṟâvadiṉ=edirâm=[â*]ṇḍiṉ=e[di]râm=â[ṉ]ḍn M[î]ṉa-nâyaṟṟu=ppat[t]oṉ[bad]ân=di[ya]diyudiyum[2] a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu navamiyum Budaṉ-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Aśvati-nâḷ.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,—** on the day of **Aśvini,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday,** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the nineteenth solar day of the month of **Mîna.**"

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Mîna a 9th *tithi* of the dark half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* Aśvinî. The probability is that the month intended was that of **Mithuna,** and calculation proves that it *was* that month. The date, which is of the same year as No. 7, corresponds to **Wednesday, the 14th June A.D. 1251.** In A.D. 1251 the Mithuna-saṁkrânti took place 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May. The 19th day of the month of **Mithuna** therefore was **Wednesday,** the 14th June; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyaishṭha) ended 5 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Aśvinî** for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

10.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[3]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô Mâṟapaṉ[ma]r=âṉa Tribhu[vaṉa]chchakra[vat]t[i]gaḷ śr[î]-Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku yâṇḍu pad[i]ṉo-

2 ṉṟâvadu Vaigâśi-[m]âsattu mudaṟ=tiyadi Nâyiṟṟu-kkiḻamai peṟṟa Attattu nâ[ḷ].

"In the eleventh year (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,—** on the day of **Hasta,** which corresponded to **Sunday,** the first solar day of the month of **Vaigâśi.**"

As the dates Nos. 7-9, which are of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 11th year, *i.e.* of the 13th year, of the king's reign, have been found to fall in A.D. 1251, this date No. 10, which is of the 11th year of the same reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1249. It actually corresponds to **Sunday, the 25th April A.D. 1249,** which was the first day of the month of **Vaigâśi—** the Vṛishabha-saṁkrânti having taken place 0 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise— and on which the *nakshatra* was **Hasta,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

The dates Nos. 7-10 together prove that **the reign of Mâravarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II. commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.**

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[1] No. 147 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.
[2] Read =*diyadiyum*.
[3] No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

11.—In the Pañchanadêśvara temple at Tiruvaiyâṟu.[1]

1 Svasti śrîḥ [||*] Kô=Chchaḍapaṉmar=âṉa Ti[r]ibuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku yâṇḍu 2âvadu Mêsha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu êkâdaśiyum Viyâḻa-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Śad[ai]yat[tu nâḷ].

"**In the 2nd year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Śatabhishaj**, which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mêsha.**"

To shorten my remarks, I may state here at once that the six dates Nos. 11-16 work out correctly on the assumption (and prove thus) that **the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1251.**

This date, No. 11, corresponds to **Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253,** which was the third day of the month of **Mêsha,** and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 2 h. 20 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Śatabhishaj,** by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

To ascertain whether this date could possibly be one of the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II., I have calculated it also for the years A.D. 1277, 1278, and 1279, and have found that it would be incorrect for any one of these years. The same remark applies to the dates Nos. 12 and 13.

12.—In the Vaidyanâtha temple at Tirumalavâḍi.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô=Chchaḍaiva[r*]mmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravattigaḷ śrî-[Su]ndara-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku yâṇḍu 2vadu Mêsha-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu śadu[r]tthiyum Śaṉi-kk[i]ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Mu(mû)lattu nâḷ.

"**In the 2nd year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Mûla**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mêsha.**"

The date corresponds to **Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253,** which was the 26th day of the month of **Mêsha,** and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśâkha) ended 2 h. 59 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Mûla** by the equal space system for 5 h. 16 m., after mean sunrise.

13.—In the Vaidyanâtha temple at Tirumalavâḍi.[3]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô=Chchaḍapa[ṉmar=âṉa] Tiru(ri)bu[va]ṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku yâ[ṇ]ḍu 3vadu Vṛiśchika-nâyaṟu pûrvva-pakshattu [sha]shṭhiyum Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttirâḍattu nâḷ.

"**In the 3rd year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Vṛiśchika.**"

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253,** which was the second day of the month of **Vṛiśchika,** and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Kârttika) ended 18 h. 4 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

[1] No. 254 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.
[2] No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.
[3] No. 89 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

14.—In the Vêdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam.[1]

2 . . . . . Tribhuvanachakrava[r]ttiga[ḷ] śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟkku yâ[ṇ]ḍu 9âvadu Ishava-nâ[ya]ṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v*]vây-kkiḻa-
3 maiyum peṟṟa Puṉarpûśattu nâḷ.

"**In the 9th year** (*of the reign*) **of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Punarvasu,** which corresponded to **a Tuesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Ṛishabha.**"

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259,** which was the 4th day of the month of **Ṛishabha,** and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Vaiśâkha) ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

15.—In the Vêdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam.[2]

1 Śrî-kôṟ=Chaḍaipaṉmar=âṉa Tiru(ri)buvanachchakkaravattigaḷ emma-
2 ṇḍalamuṅ=goṇḍ=aruḷiya śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍi[ya]dêvaṟkku y[â]-
3 ṇḍu 9âvadu Miduna-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Nâyaṟṟu-[k]kiḻamai-
4 yum peṟṟa Irêba(va)di-nâḷ.

"**In the 9th year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva** who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of **Rêvati,** which corresponded to **a Sunday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mithuna.**"

The date corresponds to **Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259,** which was the 20th day of the month of **Mithuna,** and was entirely occupied by the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyaishṭha), and on which the *nakshatra* was **Rêvati** for 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

16.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Śrîraṅgam.[3]

2 . . . . . Kô=Chchaḍaipaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravarttigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṅ=goṇḍ=aruḷiya śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟ[ku] yâṇḍu 10vadu pattâvadu Ṛishabha-nâyaṟṟu apara-[pa]kshattu Budaṉ-kiḻamaiyum prathamaiyum peṟṟa A[ṉi]-
3 ḻattu nâḷ.

"**In the 10th—tenth—year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva** who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Anurâdhâ,** which corresponded to **a Wednesday** and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Ṛishabha.**"

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260,** which was the 4th day of the month of **Ṛishabha,** and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśâkha) ended 0 h. 4 m.,[4] and the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

17.—In the Pushpavanêśvara temple at Tiruppandurutti.[5]

1 Svasti śr[î] [||*] Pû-[ma]lar [va]ḷar . . . .
16 . . . . . śrî-[k]ô=Chcha[ḍa]paṉmar=âṉa Tiribuvaṉachcha[k]karavattigaḷ śrî-Śu[n]dara-Pâṇḍiya[d]ê[va]ṟku yâṇḍu

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 343, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.
[2] No. 186 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.
[3] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 121, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.
[4] The *tithi* ended later after true sunrise.
[5] No. 166 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894. The king took Kaṇṇaṉûr from the Hoysaḷa king and covered the temple at Śrîraṅgam with gold.

17 7âvadu Kanni-nâyaṟṟu [a]gha(pa)ra-gha(pa)kshattu trayôdaśiyum Nâyaṟṟu-kk[i]ḻamaiyum [p]eṟṟa Atta[t]tu nâḷ.

"**In the 7th year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Hasta,** which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Kanyâ.**"

The wording of this date, so far as I can see, is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyâ a 13th *tithi* of the dark half can never be actually joined with the *nakshatra* Hasta. Judging by the preceding dates Nos. 11-16, a date of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1257 or 1258; and during these two years the date would be correct only for the month of **Tulâ,** which follows immediately upon the month of Kanyâ. For the month of Tulâ it regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257,** which was the 10th day of the month of **Tulâ,** and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Âśvina) ended 7 h. 31 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Hasta,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

18.—In the Vaidyanâtha temple at Tirumalavâḍi.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô=Chcha[ḍapa]ṉmar Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍiya-
2 dêvaṟku yâṇḍu 11âvadu Kaṟkaḍaga-nâyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu sha-
3 shṭhiyum Viyâḷa-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Aśvati-nâḷ.

"**In the 11th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** (*alias*) **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Aśvinî,** which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Karkaṭaka.**"

As this date is of the month of Karkaṭaka of the 11th year, it should fall in A.D. 1261, if it is a date of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I.; but for that year it does not work out properly. In A.D. 1261 the 6th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Karkaṭaka ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 19th July, which was the 23rd day of the month of **Karkaṭaka,** and on which the *nakshatra* was **Aśvinî** *from* 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. As I obtain no really better result for other years of the same reign, and no satisfactory result at all for the 11th year of the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II., I would take **Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261,** to be the intended day, and assume that in the original date the weekday has been given incorrectly.

E.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

19.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[2]

2 Śrî-[k]ô Mâṟapaṉmar=â[ṉa] Tribhuvaṉachcha-
3 kravart[t]igaḷ e[m*]maṇḍalamuṅ=goṇ-
4 ḍ=aruḷiya śrî-Kulaśêgaradêvaṟku [y]â[ṇ*]-
5 ḍu 27va[d]u Dhanu-nâ[ya]ṟṟu 14 tiyadiyu[m]
6 Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum apara-paksha[t]tu
7 saptamiyum peṟṟa U[t]tira-nâḷ.

"**In the 27th year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva** who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Uttara-Phalgunî,** which corresponded to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to a **Friday,** and to the 14th solar day of the month of **Dhanus.**"

[1] No. 71 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.
[2] No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1294. In this year the Dhanuḥ-saṁkrânti took place 1 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanus. The 14th day of the month of **Dhanus** therefore was **Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294**; and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mârgaśirsha) *commenced* 4 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni,** by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga during the whole day.

20.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Śrîraṅgam.[1]

1 Svasti śrîḥ [||*] Têri pôl . . . .
4 . . . . . śr[î]-kô Mâṟa[pa]ṉmâ(ma)r=âṉa Tiribuva[na]chchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Ku[la]śêgaradêvarkku yâṇḍu pattâvadu [Ma]gara-nâ[ya*]ṟṟu pû[r]vva-pakshattu daśamiyum
5 yum[2] Budaṉ-kiḻamaiy[u]m peṟṟa [U]rôśaṇi-nâḷ.

"**In the tenth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,—** on the day of **Rôhiṇî**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara.**"

If the equivalent obtained under No. 19 for the date of the 27th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 20, of the 10th year of the king's reign, will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1277. It actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278.** This day was the 11th of the month of **Makara;** and on it the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Mâgha) ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Rôhiṇî** by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga during the whole day.

21.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[3]

1 [Sva*]sti śrî [||] Śrî-kô Mâṟapaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvanachchakra-
2 [va*]rttigaḷ emmaṇḍalamu[ṅ]=go[ṇ]ḍ=aruḷiya śrî-Kula-
3 śêgaradêvaṟku [y]âṇḍu [2]6vadu Vṛiśchika-nâ[yaṟ]ṟu
4 irubatt[i]ra[ṇ]ḍâ[n]=diyadiyum [a]para-[pa]kshattu [dv]itî-
5 yaiyu[m] B[u]daṉ-kiḻamaiyum p[eṟṟa] Puṇa[r]pûśa-n-
6 [â]ḷ.

"**In the [2]6th year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâṟavarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva** who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Punarvasu,** which corresponded to a **Wednesday,** and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-second solar day of the month of **Vṛiśchika.**"

The results obtained under Nos. 19 and 20 shew that this date, of the month of Vṛiśchika of the 26th year of the king's reign, must fall in about A.D. 1293. The date, in my opinion, actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293.** In A.D. 1293 the Vṛiśchika-saṁkrânti took place 6 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October, which was the first day of the month of Vṛiśchika. The 22nd day of the month of **Vṛiśchika** therefore was **Wednesday,** the 18th November; and on this day the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of the same day was the third (*not* the second) *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mârgaśîrsha).—I have no doubt that in the original date the second *tithi* (*dvitîyaiyum*) has been wrongly quoted instead of the third (*tṛitîyaiyum*).

[1] No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

[2] Cancel *yum*.

[3] No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

22.—In the Svêtâraṇyêśvara temple at Kaḍappêri.[1]

1 . . . . . Kô Mâṟu(ṟa)paṉmar Tiru(ri)[buva]ṉachchakravattika(ga)ḷ śrî-Kulaśêgaradêvar[k*][k]u [y]âṇḍu 40 Mi(mî)ṉa-nâyaṟu pûrvva-pakshattu dvitîyaiyum Śaṉi-kk[i]ḻam[ai]yum peṟṟa Rêvati-nâḷ.

"**In the 40th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** (*alias*) **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,**— on the day of **Rêvati,** which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mîna.**"

The results obtained under the three preceding dates shew that this date, of the month of Mîna of the 40th year of the king's reign, must fall in either A.D. 1307 or A.D. 1308. It actually corresponds to **Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308.** On this day the Mîna-saṁkrânti took place 8 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the day therefore was the first of the month of **Mîna ;** the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phâlguna) ended 12 h. 32 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rêvati** for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 19-22 together prove that **the reign of Mâravarman Kulaśêkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 25th February and the 18th November A.D. 1268.**

F.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

23.—In the Iḷamîśvara temple at Târamaṅgalam.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kôṟ=Chaḍapaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravattigaḷ śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku yâṇḍu pad[i]mu(mû)ṉṟâvadu Siṁha-nâyaṟ[u] pûrvva-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttarâdattu nâḷ.

"**In the thirteenth year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

24.—In the Âdhipurîśvara temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyûr.[3]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kôṟ=Chaḍapaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-
2 Śundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu padinmu(mû)ṉṟâvadu Siṁha-nâyaṟṟu
3 a[pa]ra-pakshattu tritîyaiyum Veḷḷi-kk[i]ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Uttirat-
4 ṭâd[i]-nâḷ.

"**In the thirteenth year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Uttara-Bhadrapadâ,** which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

The two dates Nos. 23 and 24 are both stated to be of the month of Siṁha of the 13th year of the king's reign. In No. 23 the 13th *tithi* of the bright half is combined with a Monday and the *nakshatra* Uttarâshâḍhâ, in No. 24 the third *tithi* of the dark half with a Friday and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadâ. Of all the years between A.D. 1236 and 1325 there is only a single year that satisfies all the requirements of both dates, *viz.* the year 1289. For that year the date—

No. 23 corresponds to **Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289,** which was the 4th day of the month of **Siṁha,** and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrâvaṇa) ended 5 h. 23 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise; and the date—

[1] No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.
[2] No. 24 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.
[3] No. 400 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

No. 24 corresponds to **Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289,** which was the 8th day of the month of **Simha,** and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Śrâvaṇa) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Bhadrapadâ,** according to Garga and by the Brahma-siddhânta the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if these were dates of the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I., they would fall in A.D. 1263, but that either of them would be incorrect both for that year and for A.D. 1264. For A.D. 1262 No. 24 would be correct, but not No. 23.

25.—In the Iḷamîśvara temple at Târamaṅgalam.[1]

1 Svasti śrîḥ [||*] Kôṟ=Chchaḍapaṉmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakkaravatt[i]ga[ḷ] śr[î]-Śutta(nda)ra-Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku yâṇḍu 6âvadu âṟâvadu Kaṟkaḍaga-nâyaṟṟ[u]
2 pûrvva-pakshattu chat[u]rtthiyum Tiṅgaṭ-ki[ḻa]maiyum peṟṟa Uttirattu nâḷ.

"**In the 6th—sixth—year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Uttara-Phalguni,** which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkaṭaka.**"

Considering that the two preceding dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are said to be of the 13th year of the king's reign, fall in A.D. 1289, this date, which is of the 6th year of the reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1282. But the date apparently corresponds to **Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281,** which was the 25th day of the month of **Karkaṭaka,** and on which the 4th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrâvaṇa) ended 9 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

Here again, if this date belonged to the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1256; but for that year it would be incorrect.

26.—In the Jayaṅgoṇḍanâtha temple at Maṉṉârguḍi.[2]

14 [Ś]rî-kô=Chchaḍapaṉmar=âṉa Tiribuvaṉachchak-
15 karavattigaḷ śrî-Sundara-Pâṇḍiyadê-
16 varkku yâṇḍu paṉṉiraṇḍâvadu Kaṉ-
17 ṉi-[n]âyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu trayôdaśiyu[m]
18 [V]eḷḷi-[kk]iḻamaiyum peṟṟa Śôdi-nâḷ.

"**In the twelfth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Svâti,** which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kanyâ.**"

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyâ a 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* Svâti. Supposing the *nakshatra* to have been given correctly, the *tithi* in the month of Kanyâ would in all probability be the third of the bright half. And for this *tithi* the date regularly corresponds to **Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287,** which was the 15th day of the month of **Kanyâ,** and on which the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Âśvina) ended 4 h. 7 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Svâti** by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

Here too, if the date belonged to the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1262; but for that year it would be incorrect (also for the third *tithi* of the bright half).

[1] No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.
[2] No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

27.—In the Iḻamîśvara temple at Târamangalam.[1]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kôṟ=Chaḍapaṉmar=âṉa Tiribuvaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrî-Śundara-Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu padiṉâlâvadukk=edirâvadu Rishabha-nâyaṟṟu [pû] . . . . [Tiṅ]gaṭ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pûśattu nâḷ.

"(*In the year*) **opposite to the fourteenth year** (*of the reign*) **of king Jaṭâvarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pâṇḍyadêva,**— on the day of **Pushya,** which corresponded to a **Monday,** . . . . . [of the first fortnight] of the month of **Rishabha.**"

Judging by the dates Nos. 25 and 26, this date, which is of the year opposite to the 14th, *i.e.* of the 15th year, of the king's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1290. Though the number of the *tithi* is broken away or illegible, the fact that on the *tithi* in question during the month of Rishabha the *nakshatra* was Pushya, permits us to conjecture that the *tithi* was approximately the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Jyaishṭha, or perhaps the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month Vaiśâkha. Now the year A.D. 1290 does contain a day which satisfies all the requirements of the date, and which I therefore take to be its proper equivalent. It is **Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290,** which was the 20th day of the month of **Rishabha,** and on which [the 5th *tithi*] of the bright half (of the month Jyaishṭha) ended 4 h. 24 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pushya** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise (and somewhat longer after true sunrise).

If this date were one of the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1265 or 1266. In A.D. 1265 the month of Rishabha contained no Monday on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya. In A.D. 1266, during the month of Rishabha, the *nakshatra* was Pushya *from* 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 10th May; but the 10th May A.D. 1266 would have belonged to the 16th, not the 15th, year of the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I.

The difficulty presented by the five dates Nos. 23-27 is this that, while according to the three dates Nos. 25-27 the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II. would have commenced between approximately the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, by the two dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are both of the 13th year, it could not have commenced before approximately the 6th August A.D. 1276. I can reconcile this discrepancy only by the assumption that in the dates Nos. 23 and 24 the 13th year has been wrongly quoted instead of 'the year opposite to the 13th,' *i.e.* the 14th year, an assumption which would make **the king's reign commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276,** as suggested by the dates Nos. 25-27.

G.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

28.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevelly.[2]

1 . . . . . Śrî-kô M[â]ṟapaṉmar=âṉa [Tr]ibhuvaṉachchakravattigaḷ śrî-Kulaśêgaradêvarkku yâṇḍu eṭṭâvadu Vriśchika-nâyaṟṟu=ppadiṉêḻân=

2 [diyadiyu]m [apara]-cha(pa)kshatta(ttu) navamiyum [Śa]ṉ[i]-kkiḻamaiyum pe[ṟ]ṟa Uttirattu nâḷ.

"**In the eighth year** (*of the reign*) **of the glorious king Mâravarman** *alias* **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,**— on the day of **Uttara-Phalgunî,** which corresponded to a **Saturday,** and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to **the** seventeenth solar day of the month of **Vriśchika.**"

[1] No 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

[2] No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1400 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1321. In this year the Vṛiśchika-saṁkrânti took place 12 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October. The 17th day of the month of **Vṛiśchika** therefore was **Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321**; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Kârttika) ended 19 h. 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., according to Garga from 8 h. 32 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

If this date were one of Mâravarman Kulaśêkhara I., it would fall in either A.D. 1275 or 1276; I need hardly say that for both these years it would be incorrect.

29.—In the Bṛihadîśvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśôḻapuram.[1]

1 Svasti śrîḥ [||*] Kô Mâ . . . . vaṉachchakkaravattigaḷ śrîḥ(śrî)-Kulaśê[gara]dêvaṟku yâṇḍu 4vadu Katka(rka)ṭaka-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu chatu[r]ddaśiyum Śaṉi-[k]kiḻamaiyum [p]eṟṟa

2 Uttirâḍattu nâḷ.

"**In the 4th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Mâ[ṟavarman** *alias*] **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,**— on the day of **Uttarâshâḍhâ**, which corresponded to **a Saturday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkaṭaka.**"

If the equivalent obtained under No. 28 for the date of the 8th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 29, of the 4th year of the king's reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1317. It actually corresponds to **Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317.** This day was the 26th of the month of **Karkaṭaka**; and on it the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrâvaṇa) ended 22 h. 22 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâshâḍhâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if this were a date of Mâravarman Kulaśêkhara I., it would fall in either A.D. 1271 or 1272, but that for both these years it would be incorrect.

30.—In the Bṛihadîśvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśôḻapuram.[2]

1 . . . . . [Kô] Mâṟapaṉmar Tribhuvaṉachchakravattigaḷ śr[î]-Kulaśêgaradêvaṟku yâ[ṇḍu] 5âvadu S[i]ṁña-nâyaṟṟu

2 pûrvva-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum Tiṅga . . . . . yum peṟṟa Pûśattu nâḷ.

"**In the 5th year** (*of the reign*) **of king Mâṟavarman** (*alias*) **the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśêkharadêva,**— on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Siṁha.**"

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Siṁha the *nakshatra* on the 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be Pushya or any *nakshatra* near Pushya. The probability is that the month of the date was **Mîna**; and actual calculation shews, not only that it *was* Mîna, but also that the word *Pûśattu* of the text should be altered to *Pûrattu*, *i.e.* that the *nakshatra* was **Pûrva-Phalguni**, not Pushya.

I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of the date is **Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319.** This was the 10th day of the month of **Mîna**; and on it the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phâlguna) ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Pûrva-Phalguni**, by the equal space system during the whole day, according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

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[1] No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

[2] No. 78 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

The three dates Nos. 28-30 together prove that **the reign of Mâravarman Kulaśêkhara II. commenced between (approximately) the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314.**

For convenience of reference I now give a list of the above thirty dates, in the order of the results obtained, with the approximate commencement of the reign of each king put in brackets after his name.

A.—Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara (February 27—November 29, A.D. 1190).

No. 2. Year opp.[1] to 13 (*i.e.* 14th year): February 26, A.D. 1204.
No. 1. Year 12 opp. to 13, or 25th year: November 29, A.D. 1214.

B.—Mâravarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. (March 29—September 4, A.D. 1216).

No. 6. 7th year: March 13, A.D. 1223.
No. 5. 9th year: March 28, A.D. 1225.
No. 3. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (*i.e.* 19th year): September 4, A.D. 1234.
No. 4. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (*i.e.* 19th year): February 19, A.D. 1235.

C.—Mâravarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II. (June 15, A.D. 1238—January 18, A.D. 1239).

No. 10. 11th year: April 25, A.D. 1249.
Nos. 7 and 8. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (*i.e.* 13th year): January 18, A.D. 1251.
No. 9. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (*i.e.* 13th year): June 14, A.D. 1251.

D.—Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya I. (April 20—28, A.D. 1251).

No. 11. 2nd year: March 27, A.D. 1253.
No. 12. 2nd year: April 19, A.D. 1253.
No. 13. 3rd year: October 29, A.D. 1253.
No. 17. 7th year: October 7, A.D. 1257.
No. 14. 9th year: April 29, A.D. 1259.
No. 15. 9th year: June 15, A.D. 1259.
No. 16. 10th year: April 28, A.D. 1260.
No. 18. 11th year: July 19, A.D. 1261.

E.—Mâravarman Kulaśêkhara I. (February 25—November 18, A.D. 1268).

No. 20. 10th year: January 5, A.D. 1278.
No. 21. 26th year: November 18, A.D. 1293.
No. 19. 27th year: December 10, A.D. 1294.
No. 22. 40th year: February 24, A.D. 1308.

F.—Jaṭâvarman Sundara-Pâṇḍya II. (September 13, A.D. 1275—May 15, A.D. 1276).

No. 25. 6th year: July 21, A.D. 1281.
No. 26. 12th year: September 12, A.D. 1287.
No. 23. 13th [for 14th] year: August 1, A.D. 1289.
No. 24. 13th [for 14th] year: August 5, A.D. 1289.
No. 27. [Year] opp. to 14 (*i.e.* 15th year): May 15, A.D. 1290.

[1] *I.e.* 'opposite.'

G.—Mâravarman Kulaśêkhara II. (March 6—July 23, A.D. 1314).

No. 29. 4th year: July 23, A.D. 1317.
No. 30. 5th year: March 5, A.D. 1319.
No. 28. 8th year: November 14, A.D. 1321.

(*To be continued.*)

No. 31.—KONDAMUDI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription were received in June 1901 from Mr. R. Morris, I.C.S., Collector of the Kistna district, along with an abstract of their contents by Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L. They had been recently discovered in a mound in the village of **Koṇḍamudi** in the Tenâli tâluka of the Kistna district and will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

The **copper plates** are eight in number, and measure about 7" in breadth and about 3¼" in height. Their edges are not raised into rims. In the upper left corner of the first side of each plate is cut a hole for the ring on which they were strung. The ring measures about 3⅛" in diameter and about ¼" in thickness, and its ends are soldered into the base of a circular **seal** of about 1¼" diameter. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates came into my hands. In the centre of the seal is, in relief, a trident the handle of which seems to end in an arrow, a bow (?), the crescent of the moon, and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the margin of the seal runs a **Sanskṛit** legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates.[1] The preservation of the plates is tolerably good; but the first side of the first plate is so much corroded that it can be read only with great difficulty. Besides, two corners of the first plate are broken off, and it has in this way become detached from the ring.

The **alphabet** of this inscription closely resembles that of the Mayidavôlu plates of Śivaskandavarman (No. 8 above). It shows the same peculiar *s*, *m*, *j*, and *e*. The group *jâ* (ll. 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavôlu plates (ll. 18 and 24). The *n* (or *ṇ*) is identical in shape with the lingual *ḍ*, but the dental *d* is represented by a separate character, while in the Mayidavôlu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters. Initial *o* occurs twice (ll. 19 and 27), and *ph* (l. 4), *ḍh* (l. 17), *gh* (l. 19), *th* (l. 37) and initial *i* (l. 18) once.

The **language** is Prâkṛit, with the exception of the two Sanskṛit words *Mahêśvara* (l. 3) and *Bṛihatphalâyana* (l. 4) and the Telugu village name *Pâṁṭûra* (ll. 24 and 29). As in the Mayidavôlu plates, the orthography follows the practice of the cave inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for a double letter.[2] Double *n* and double *m* are expressed by *anusvâra* and *n* (ll. 15 and 19) and *m* (ll. 5 and 44), respectively; a superfluous *anusvâra* occurs before the groups *mh* and *nh* (ll. 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 24, 26 and 29). The instrumental *etehi naṁ* (l. 35) is known from the Andhra inscriptions and from the Jaina Prâkṛit.[3] The curious phrases *etasa chasa* (l. 28) and *etaṁ chasiṁ* (l. 36) also have their parallels in the Andhra inscriptions.[4] A peculiar word is *asi* (ll. 13, 14, 15 and 18), *aṁsi* (ll. 17, 20 and 22) or *aṁsikâ* (l. 21), 'a share,' which seems to be derived from the Sanskṛit *aṁśa*. *Divaḍha* (l. 17) represents the Ardhamâgadhî *divaḍḍha*, 'one and a half.'[5]

[1] Just as here two different alphabets are employed for Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit, the inscriptions of the Tamil country use the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the Tamil alphabets for Tamil words and the Grantha alphabet for Sanskṛit words.

[2] The only exception would be *aṁsik-addhâ* (l. 21), if this reading is correct.

[3] *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 104, note 9. Prof. Pischel (*Grammatik der Prâkṛit-Sprachen*, p. 114) derives the particle *naṁ* or *ṇaṁ* from the Sanskṛit *nûnam*.

[4] *Loc. cit.* text line 3; p. 105, text line 5; p. 106, text line 11; and p. 112, text line 3.

[5] Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prâkṛit-Sprachen*, p. 320.

The eight copper plates are marked with the **numerical symbols** '1' to '8' on the left of the second line of each plate. On plates ii. to viii. the figure occupies the first side, but the figure '1' stands on the *second* side of the first plate. The reason of this is that the writing on the first side of the first plate does not form part of the inscription itself (which begins on the second side of the first plate), but is a kind of docket which was probably added after the remaining 15 pages had been engraved. In ll. 12 to 15, 20, 22 and 41 occur further instances of numerical symbols, among them '10' (l. 41) and '20' (l. 22). A dash resembling the symbol '1' is used as a **mark of punctuation** at the end of 12 lines, and after 3 words in the middle of lines.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (*râjan*, l. 5) or, as he is styled on the seal, the *Mahârâja* **Jayavarman,** who belonged to the *gôtra* of the **Bṛihatphalâyanas** and was a worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva). From his camp (or capital), the town **Kûdûra,** he informs his executive officer at Kûdûra that he has granted the village **Pâṇṭûra** in the district of Kûdûra (**Kûdûrahâra,** l. 23) to eight Brâhmaṇas. The royal order was copied on copper plates by a military officer **on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year** (of the king's reign, l. 41).

Neither Jayavarman nor his *gôtra* are known from other records. The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince **Śivaskandavarman** who issued the Mayidavôlu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nâsik inscriptions[1] of **Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi** (Nos. 4 and 5)[2] and **Vâsishṭhîputra Puḷumâyi** (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskṛit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction.

As suggested by Mr. Ramayya, Kûdûrahâra may be a more ancient form of **Gudrahâra,** Gudravâra, Gudrâvâra or Gudrâra.[3] The same district is probably mentioned in the plates of Vijayanandivarman (l. 3), where I propose to read from the photo-lithograph *Kudrâhâra* instead of *Kuḍuhâra*, the reading of the printed texts.[4] Kûdûra, which was the head-quarters of this district and the residence of king Jayavarman, and the village Pâṇṭûra I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[5]

First Plate; Second Side.

1 S . [v] . pato[6] vijaya-khaṁdhâvârâ
2 nagarâ **Kûdûrâto**
3 Mahêśvara-pâda-parigahito

Second Plate; First Side.

4 **Bṛihatphalâyana-sagoto**
5 râjâ siri-**Jayavaṁmo**
6 ânapayati **Kûdûre**

[1] A still closer resemblance exists between Jayavarman's plates and the Kârlê inscription No. 19, at the beginning of which the king's name is lost; see below, p. 319, notes 1 and 7.

[2] I am quoting the Andhra inscriptions according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's numbering in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. (Nâsik), and *Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India* (Kârlê).

[3] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 47, note 1; above, Vol. IV. p. 84, and Vol. V. p. 123.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 176, and Dr. Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, second ed., p. 135.

[5] From the original plates.

[6] The two first letters are broken away at the top. The lower portion of the letter *v* is preserved on a seperate piece of the plate, which is broken off and therefore could not be shown on the accompanying photo-zincograph. Of the two possible restorations, *sava* (*sarva*) and *siva* (*śiva*), the second appears preferable, because documents generally open with a word of auspicious import.

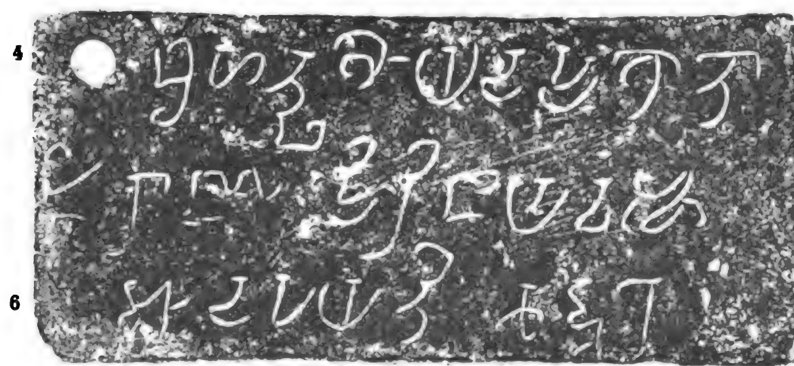
i b.



2

ii a.

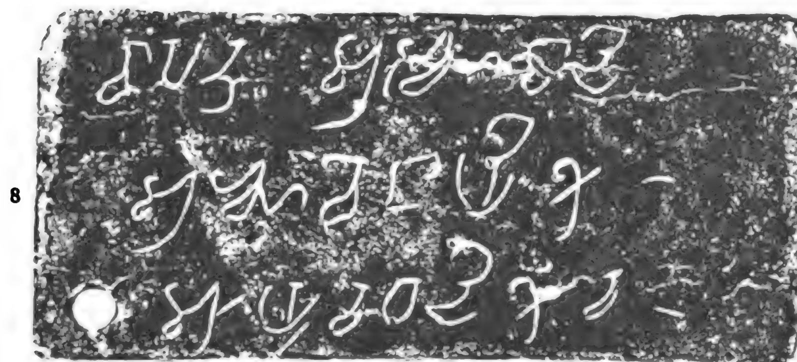
4



6

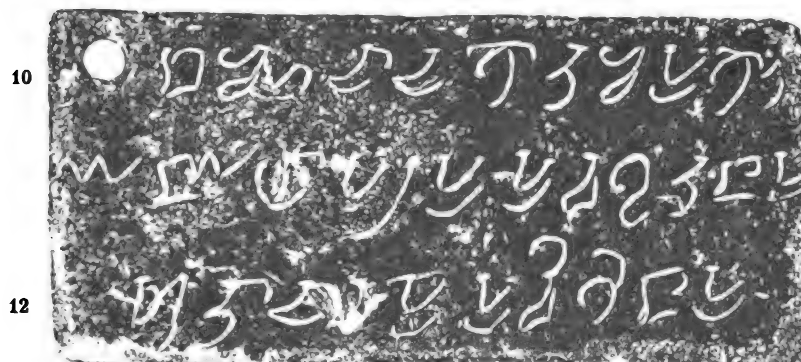
ii b.

8



iii a.

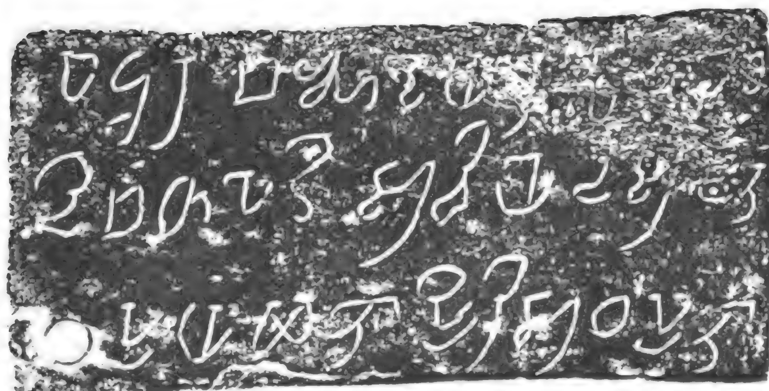
10



12

E. HULTZSCH. SCALE FOUR-SEVENTHS. WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO.

vii b.



38

viii a.



40

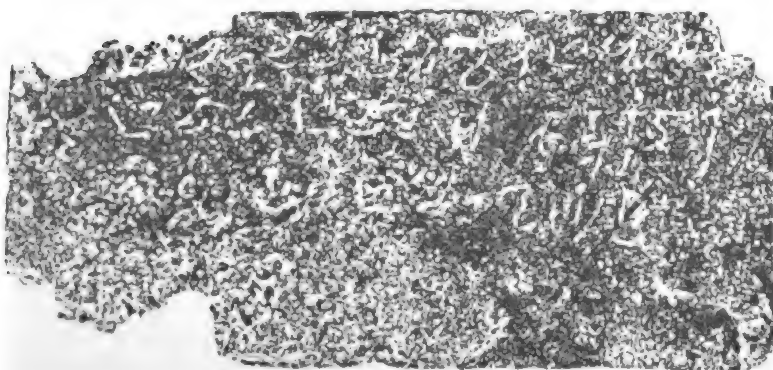
42

viii b.



44

i a.



2

(L. 25.) "Parcel off[1] that village **Pâ[ṇ]ṭûra** from this (*district*), having made (*it*) a *brahmadêya*.

(L. 28.) "And to this village **Pâṇṭûra** we grant (*all*) immunities, having made (*it*) a *brahmadêya*.

(L. 31.) "(*Let it be*) free from being entered, free from being meddled with, free from diggings for salt, *araṭhasaṁvinayika*, and endowed with immunities of all kinds.

(L. 35.) "Exempt[2] (*it*) with (*all*) these immunities.

(L. 36.) "And having made this village **Pâ[ṇ]ṭûra** a *brahmadêya*, cause a charter to be drawn up[3] to this effect."

(L. 38.) The order was issued by word of mouth.[4]

(L. 39.) (*The charter*) was signed[5] by (*the king*) himself. Fortune, wealth, power[6] and victory[7] were given (*by the donees to the king as a reward for the grant*).

(L. 40.) (*This*) set of plates was prepared **on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year** by the *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka* **Bhâpahânavarman,** the best of the **Mahâtagi** (*family ?*).

(First plate, first side.) (*Order referring*) to the *brahmadêya* **Pâṇṭûra in Kûdûrahâra,** (*granted*) to 8 people, to Brâhmaṇas, to the *Mahâjanas* (headed by) Savagutaja.[8]

(On the seal.) (*The seal*) of the *Mahârâja*, the glorious **Jayavarman,** who belongs to the *gôtra* of the **Bṛihatphalâyanas.**

No. 32.—TWO CAVE INSCRIPTIONS AT SIYAMANGALAM.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The village of **Śiyamaṅgalam** near Dêśûr in the Wandiwash (Vandavâśi) tâluka of the North Arcot district contains a Śiva temple named Stambhêśvara or (in Tamiḻ) Tûṇ-Âṇḍâr,[9] which consists of a rock-cut shrine, two *maṇḍapas* in front of it, and a stone enclosure.[10] The two rock-cut pillars of the gate by which the shrine is entered bear the two subjoined inscriptions. Besides, there are several **Chôḻa inscriptions** on the walls of the enclosure and on the rock in the

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[1] The second singular imperative is addressed to the official at Kûdûra. The verb *oyapâpeti* is probably derived from *avayava*, the *v* having been hardened into *p* as in *apâpesa* (l. 31). In the Kârlê inscription No. 19 read also *oyapâpehi* instead of *deya papahi* (*A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 3).

[2] See note 1 above. I believe that the second singular imperative is also intended in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 4 (*parihariha*), p. 104, text line 4, and p. 111, text line 14 (*parihar[i]hi*); and the second plural imperative *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11 (*parihareṭha*).

[3] The second singular imperative *nibaṁdhâpehi*, which is quite clear on the copper plate, has been misread in various ways in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, text line 5, p. 111, text line 14, and p. 112, text line 5. The second plural imperative (*nibaṁdhâpetha*) is meant *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11.

[4] On *aviyena* see *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, note 2.

[5] In his valuable paper on the Kârlê inscriptions, which will appear in Vol. VII. of this journal, Dr. Senart derives *chhata* from *kshaṇ*, 'to hurt' and hence 'to write.' The king cannot have written the order himself, because the inscription expressly states that he issued it by word of mouth. Hence I propose to translate *chhata* by 'signed.' The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper-plates were copied. In the latter the royal signature is represented by the seal on which they are strung.

[6] On *sattâ* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 332.

[7] Compare the Kârlê inscription No. 19, where Dr. Senart (see note 5 above) reads *vijayathasatâre* or °*satâkhe*. If the second alternative is accepted, the compound would mean "victory, wealth, power and fame."

[8] This passage is a kind of docket, stating the contents of the whole document.

[9] *I.e.* 'the lord of pillars.' This name seems to refer to the two pillars in front of the cave.

[10] Compare Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 170, and the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, new edition, Vol. II. p. 445.

north-east corner of the temple, from which we learn that Śîyamangalam belonged to **Teṉṉâṟṟûr-nâḍu,**[1] a subdivision of **Palaguṉṟa-kôṭṭam,**[2] a district of **Jayangoṇḍa-Chôḷa-maṇḍalam.** The temple itself was then called Tirukkaṟṟaḷi, *i.e.* 'the sacred stone temple' (Nos. 60 and 69 of 1900), and Tûṇ-Âṇḍâr (Nos. 61, 62, 63 and 65 of 1900).

A.—Inscription of Lalitâṅkura.

This inscription (No. 67 of 1900) is engraved on the right pillar of the gate. It consists of a single **Sanskṛit** verse in the Âryâ metre and is written in the same archaic **alphabet** as the cave inscriptions at Trichinopoly[3] and Mahêndravâḍi.[4] It records that "this (temple) named **Avanibhâjana-Pallavêśvara**" was caused to be made by king **Lalitâṅkura.** From the cave inscription at Vallam[5] we know that Lalitâṅkura was a surname of **Mahêndrapôtarâja,** who, according to Mr. Venkayya's researches,[6] is probably identical with the **Pallava** king **Mahêndravarman I.** Two other surnames of the same king were **Śatrumalla** and **Guṇabhara,** of which the first occurs at Trichinopoly and Vallam, and the second at Trichinopoly, Vallam and Mahêndravâḍi. Thus the Pallava king Mahêndravarman I., who reigned **about the beginning of the seventh century** of the Christian era, is now known to have excavated four rock-cut shrines, of which that at Mahêndravâḍi was dedicated to Vishṇu, and the three others to Śiva. The name of the Śîyamangalam cave, Avanibhâjana-Pallavêśvara, means 'the Îśvara (*i.e.* Śiva temple) of the Pallava (king) Avanibhâjana.' Hence **Avanibhâjana,**[7] *i.e.* 'the possessor of the earth,' must have been another surname of Mahêndravarman I.

TEXT.[8]

1 **Lalitâ[ṁ]kurêṇa râjñ=Âva-**
2 **nibhâja[na]-Pallavêśvaran=nâma [|*]**
3 **kâritam=êtat=svê[dh]â(chchhâ)-karaṇḍa-**
4 **m=iva puṇya-ratnânâm [||*]**

TRANSLATION.

By king **Lalitâṅkura** was caused to be made this (*temple*) named **Avanibhâjana-Pallavêśvara**— a casket, as it were, (*worked at*) his will (*and enclosing*) jewels, (*viz.*) good deeds.[9]

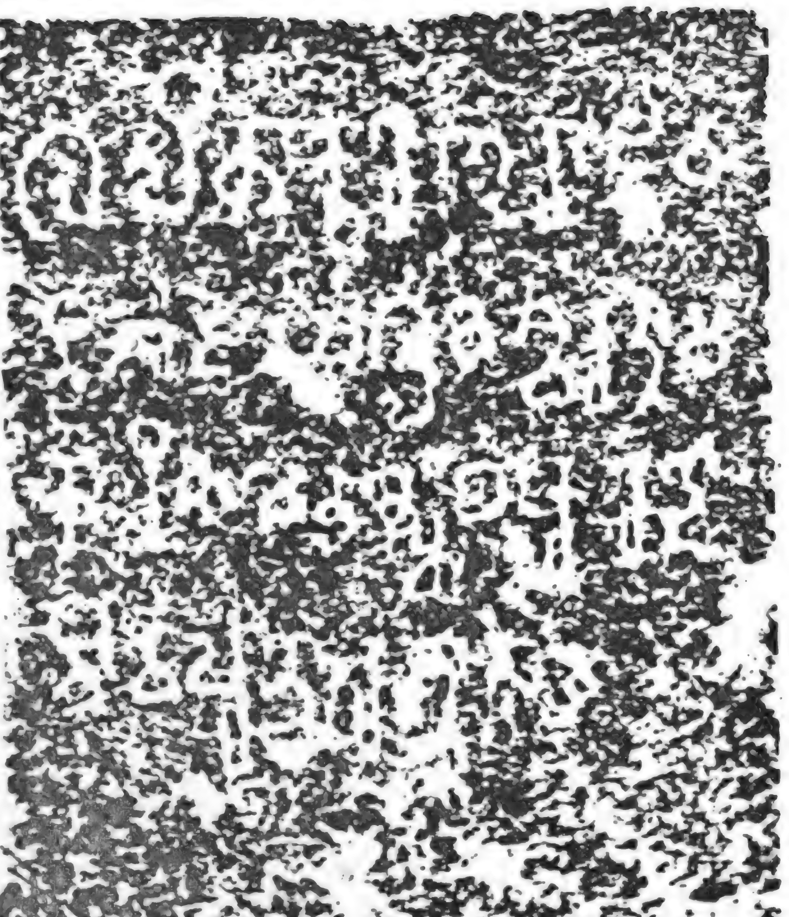
B.—Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.

This inscription (No. 68 of 1900) is engraved on the left pillar of the gate. Its **alphabet** is Tamiḷ, with the exception of the Grantha words *svasti śrî* at the beginning and *śrî* in line 10, and resembles that of the Tiruvallam rock inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman; but the letter *ṉ* has throughout its archaic form, while in the Tiruvallam inscription the modern form with fully developed central loop occurs twice.[10]— The **language** is Tamiḷ. As in the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman,[11] the rules of *saṁdhi* are not observed in *Perumbâlaiûr* (l. 7 f.)

[1] This subdivision was named after Teṉṉâttûr, No. 127 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Wandiwash tâluka.
[2] The same district is mentioned in two inscriptions at Tirumalai near Pôḷûr (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 72 and 74), in a Tiruvallam inscription (*ibid.* Vol. III. No. 58), and in the Âlampûṇḍi plate (above, Vol. III. p. 226).
[3] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 33 and 34, and Vol. II. Plate x.
[4] Above, Vol. IV. No. 19.
[5] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 72.
[6] *Madras Christian College Magazine* of November 1898, and above, Vol. III. p. 278.
[7] The synonymous *biruda* Bhuvanabhâjana occurs in the inscriptions of the Pallava kings Narasiṁha and Râjasiṁha at Mâmallapuram and Kâñchî; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 3, 7, and 25, 23rd niche.
[8] From inked estampages prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao in 1900 and 1901.
[9] By this *simile* the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.
[10] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90 and note 6.
[11] See Mr. Venkayya's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 68 f.

Siyamangalam Cave Inscriptions.

A.



SCALE ONE-THIRD.

B.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

E. HULTZSCH.

WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO.

for *Perumbâlaiyûr* and in *aḻiâmai* (l. 14) for *aḻiyâmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *aḻiyâmal*. The final *ṉ* of *kiḻavaṉ* (l. 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamiḻ form *mugamaṇḍagam* (l. 14) instead of the Sanskṛit *mukhamaṇḍapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkal inscription of Kṛishṇa III.[1]

The inscription is dated in the **third year** of the reign of **Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman,** whom I have identified with the father of the Gaṅga-Pallava king **Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman** and placed in the **ninth century** of the Christian era.[2] This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppêri, Viriñchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.[3] Since the publication of the two Âmbûr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman,[4] two inscriptions of his grandfather **Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman**[5] and four inscriptions of his own reign[6] were copied at Uttaramallûr in the Chingleput district. The Śaḍaiyar temple at Tiruchchennambûṇḍi near Kôviladi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.[7] Two of these mention **Mâṟambâvai,** "who was the great queen of **Nandippôttaraiyar** of the **Pallavatila[ka ?]** family."[8] The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore tâluka (No. 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early **Chôḻa** king **Râjakêsarivarman.** One feels tempted to conclude from this that Râjakêsarivarman put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅgavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chôḻa king.

The inscription records that the *maṇḍapa* in front of the cave temple was built by a certain Aḍavi with the permission of a **Gaṅga** chief named **Nêrguṭṭi,** who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Aḍavi was the headman of a village near **Perumbâlaiyûr** in **Ûṟṟukkâṭṭu-kôṭṭam.** This district owes its name to Ûṟṟukkâḍu, a village in the Conjeeveram tâluka, and Perumbâlaiyûr is perhaps the same as Pâlaiyûr which is mentioned in the Kaśâkûḍi plates.[9]

TEXT.[10]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] Kô Viśai-
2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kki[rama]-
3 parumaṟku yâ-
4 ṇḍu m[û]ṉṟâ-
5 vadu [Û]ṟṟukkâ-
6 ṭ[ṭu-k]kôṭṭa[t]tu-
7 [Pp]erumbâlai-
8 ûr-[11]Ttiruppâlai-
9 yûr kiḻavaṉṉ=Aḍa-
10 vi śrî-Gaṅgaraiyar
11 Nêrguṭṭi Perumâṉâ-
12 rkku viṉṉappañ=jeydu

[1] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12, note 15; *maṇḍagam* occurs twice in the Kûram plates, *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151, text lines 61 and 74.
[2] Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.
[3] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 108, 124 and 125, and Vol. III. Nos. 42 and 48.
[4] Above, Vol. IV. No. 28.
[5] No. 51 of 1898: 10th year; and No. 61: [2]1st year. An inscription at Kûram (No. 35 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.
[6] No. 63 of 1898: 16th year; No. 81: 25th year; No. 83: 26th year; and No. 82: date lost. Two inscriptions at Kûram (Nos. 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.
[7] No. 303 of 1901: 18th year; and Nos. 300 and 301: 22nd year.
[8] *Pallavatila-kulattu Nandippôttaraiyar mahâdêviyâr=âṉa aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍaṉ Mâṟambâvaiyâr.* See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 345.
[10] From two inked estampages.
[11] Read °*bâlaiyûr=*.

13 Aḍavi taṉ=ṟâyâr Naṅga[ṉ]i Naṅgaiyârkk=âga=chche-
14 yda mugamaṇḍagam [|*] id=aḻiâmai=[1]kkâttâṉ=a-
15 ḍi eṉ muḍi mê-
16 la [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the **third year** (*of the reign*) of **king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman**,— Aḍavi, the headman of **Tiruppâlaiyûr** (*near*) **Perumbâlaiyûr** in **Ûṟṟukkâṭṭu-kôṭṭam**, having made a request to (*i.e.* having obtained the sanction of) the glorious **Gaṅga king Nêrguṭṭi Perumâṉ**,— (*this*) Aḍavi made the *maṇḍapa* in front (*of the shrine*) for (*the merit of*) his mother Naṅga[ṉ]i Naṅgai.

(L. 14.) The feet of him who protects this (*gift*) without destroying (*it*), (*shall be*) on my head.[2]

No. 33.— RANGANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GOPPANA; SAKA-SAMVAT 1293.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

In the *Guruparamparâprabhâva*, a modern Tamiḻ work which professes to be based on a Sanskṛit poem in 3,000 verses by Tṛitîya-Brahmatantrasvatantrasvâmin, we are told that, when the Musalmâns[3] had captured Tiruchchirâppaḷḷi (Trichinopoly), the authorities of the Raṅganâtha temple on the island of Śrîraṅgam near Trichinopoly secretly removed the image of Aḻagiyamaṇavâḷaṉ (Vishṇu) to Tirumalai (Tirupati).[4] Subsequently a certain Gôpaṇarâyar is stated to have brought the image from Tirumalai to Śiṅgapuram near Śeñji, and thence back to Śrîraṅgam, where he reconsecrated the god and his two wives (Lakshmî and the Earth).[5] On this occasion he was praised by the Vaishṇava preceptor Vêdântadêśika in the following verse :[6]—

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनाद्रे-
श्चेञ्च्यामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्योधनुष्कान्[7] तुरुष्कान् ।
लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्रङ्गनाथ[8]
सम्यग्वर्यां सपर्यामकृत भुवि यशःप्रापणो गोपणार्यः ॥

Mr. Venkayya has drawn my attention to another Tamiḻ work, entitled *Kôyiloḻugu*, *i.e.* "Benefactions to the Temple," which registers the donations made to the Raṅganâtha temple at Śrîraṅgam from the earliest times. The authorities on which the statements of this book are based are not mentioned by the author. Among other facts it chronicles the same events which have been quoted from the *Guruparamparâ*, with fuller details. It states that in Śaka-Saṁvat 1149 expired,[9] the Akshaya-saṁvatsara, the Muhammadans (*Tulukkar*) occupied the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. When news reached the temple authorities at Śrîraṅgam that the enemies had passed Samayapuram (9 miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly), they removed the image of Aḻagiyamaṇavâḷa-Perumâḷ to Tirunârâyaṇapuram (Mêlukôṭe in the Mysore State)

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[1] Read =aḻiyâmai=.
[2] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 92 and note 1.
[3] *Turushka-Yavan-âdigaḷ.*
[4] Madras edition of Kaliyuga 4990, the Virôdhi-saṁvatsara, p. 124 f.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 127 f.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 129.
[7] Read °द्धनुष्क°.
[8] Read °नाथं.
[9] This must be an error for 1249.

by way of Jôtishkuḍi, Tirumâlirunjôlai, Kôḻikkûḍu (Calicut) and Punganûr (in the North Arcot district). The image was kept for "many days" at Mêlukôte and then removed to Tirumalai (Tirupati in the North Arcot district), where it was worshipped for "a long time." In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had conquered the Pâṇḍya country and, through the influence of Vidyâraṇya, the kingdom of Âṇaikkondi (Vijayanagara) had been established. Its king, Harihararâyar (II.), reconquered the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. One of his officers, Gôpaṇa-Uḍaiyâr, who resided at Śeñji, took the above-mentioned image from Tirumalai to Śingapuram (near Śeñji),[1] where it was duly worshipped. He advanced with a strong force and defeated the Muhammadans completely. In **Śaka-Saṁvat 1293**, the Paridhâvi-saṁvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month Vaigâśi, he brought back the image of Perumâḷ to Śrîrangam and reconsecrated the god and his two consorts. He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by) Dharmavarman[2] the same verse which has been quoted from the *Guruparamparâ*, and which reads here as follows :—

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनाद्रे-
श्चेञ्च्यामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्योद्धनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् ।
लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्रङ्गनाथं
सम्यग्वर्यां सपर्यां[3] कुरुत निजयशोदर्पणो गोपणार्यः ॥

The *Kôyiloḻugu* further states that Gôpaṇa-Uḍaiyâr granted fifty-two villages to the Ranganâtha temple, and that both his sovereign, Harihararâyar (II.), and Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyâr, the son of the latter, performed the *tulâpurusha* ceremony at the same temple.[4]

The verse quoted above and another, similar verse make up the subjoined **Grantha** inscription (No. 55 of 1892), which is engraved on the east wall of the second *prâkâra* of the **Ranganâtha** temple at **Śrîrangam**. The two verses are preceded by a chronogram representing **Śaka-Saṁvat 1293**[5] **(=A.D. 1371-72)**. This date implies that the *Guruparamparâprabhâva* either must be wrong in making Gôpaṇarâyar a contemporary of Vêdântadêśika, or— what is more probable— that the alleged birthday of Vêdântadêśika in Kaliyuga 4370, the Śukla-saṁvatsara[6] (=A.D. 1269-70), is a pure invention. Gôpaṇarâyar is referred to in the inscription as **Goppaṇârya** (verse 1) and **Gôpaṇa** (v. 2). His residence (*râjadhânî*, v. 2) was **Cheñchi** (v. 1), which is the Sanskrit form of the Tamiḻ Śeñji, *vulgo* Gingee, in the South Arcot district.[7] **Añjanâdri**[8] (v. 1) and **Vṛishabhagiri** (v. 2) are two names of Tirumalai, the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

Goppaṇa or **Goppaṇṇa** is known as an officer of Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar or Kampaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar, from an inscription at Achcharapâkkam (No. 250 of 1901)

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[1] See above, Vol. III. p. 226.

[2] This mythical king is reported to have built large portions of the Ranganâtha temple round the central shrine, which existed from times immemorial.

[3] Read °र्यामकृत.

[4] It is interesting to note that this Tamiḻ work refers to the donations of Sundara-Pâṇḍya, which are described in one of the Ranganâtha inscriptions (above, Vol. III. p. 7 ff.). The king is said to have defeated the Chêra, the Chôḻa and Vallâ[la]dêva (*i.e.* the Hoysaḷa king) and to have assumed the title *Emmaṇḍalam-goṇḍa-Perumâḷ*, *i.e.* "the king who conquered every country." Having covered a large portion of the temple with gold, he assumed the further title *Pon-mêynda-Perumâḷ*, *i.e.* "the king who covered (the temple) with gold," and set up an image of Vishṇu called after this surname. His gifts of gold and jewels are also enumerated. He is said to have spent altogether 18 *lakshas* of gold coins (*pon*) in covering the temple with gold, and the same amount in gifts.

[5] The same year is quoted in the *Kôyiloḻugu*; see above.

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 94.

[7] Above, Vol. III. p. 226.

[8] Dr. Kittel's *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, *s. v.*

and from three inscriptions at Kâñchî.[1] **Aiyaṇṇa,** the son of Aṇṇa Goppaṇṇa, is mentioned in another Kâñchî inscription of Vîra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukkaṇa-Uḍaiyar (No. 33 of 1890). The same inscription shows that Goppaṇa was a Brâhmaṇa, as it states that he belonged to the *Âpastamba-sûtra* and *Bhâradvâja-gôtra.*

It appears from the last paragraph that Goppaṇa's sovereign, **Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar,** was the son of **Bukkaṇa-Uḍaiyar** or Vîra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar. I feel no hesitation in identifying this Bukkaṇa-Uḍaiyar with king **Bukka I. of Vijayanagara,** whose name appears as 'Vîra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru of Vijayânagara' in a Kanarese inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, the Virôdhikṛit year, at Bhaṭkaḷ,[2] and in identifying Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar with Chikka-Kampaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Bukka I.[3] The word *Chikka* or *Kumâra,* which is prefixed to the name of Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar in some of his inscriptions, is evidently employed to distinguish him from his uncle Kampaṇa.[4] In the pedigree of the first Vijayanagara dynasty Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar will henceforth appear as **Kampaṇa II.,** and his uncle as Kampaṇa I. Mr. Taylor[5] calls Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar the "general or agent" of Bukkarâya of Vijayanagara and states that he repaired the temple at Śrîraṅgam in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1293**—the date of the subjoined inscription—and that he expelled the Muhammadan invaders from the Pâṇḍya country. Here we have a grain of truth among heaps of chaff. The existence, in the fourteenth century, of a dynasty of **Musalmân chiefs of Madhurâ** is testified to by chronicles and coins,[6] and Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar's conquest of the Pâṇḍya country is corroborated by an inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1287, the Viśvâvasu year, at Tiruppukkuḻi (No. 18 of 1899), which states that, "having taken possession of the kingdom of **Râjagambhîra,** he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."[7] Râjagambhîra is known to have been a surname of the Pâṇḍya king Jaṭâvarman *alias* Kulaśêkhara,[8] whose Tiruppûvaṇam plates are dated, according to Professor Kielhorn, in A.D. 1214.[9] Hence 'the kingdom of Râjagambhîra' seems to denote the **Pâṇḍya** kingdom, and it may be accepted as a historical fact that Kampaṇa II., the son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, expelled the Muhammadans from Madhurâ. Two inscriptions at Tiruppullâṇi[10] show him in possession of a portion of the Râmnâd Zamîndârî in Śaka-Saṁvat 1293 and 1296. The fact that he claimed to be 'conducting the rule of the earth' proves that he did not remain a subordinate of his father, but considered himself an independent ruler. His prime-minister (*mahâpradhâni*) **Sômappa** is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Mêlpâḍi (No. 89 of 1889) and Achcharapâkkam (No. 250 of 1901). To return to **Goppaṇa,** he seems to have taken part

[1] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 86-88. When publishing these three inscriptions (*op. cit.* p. 117 f.), I represented Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar as the son of Vîra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar on the strength of a Tirumalai inscription (*ibid.* No. 72). But, in the light of other records, I believe now that, in l. 2 f. of this record, *śrî-Vîra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar Kumâra-śrî-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar kumârar śrî-Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar* has to be translated by "Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar (*alias*) Kumâra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar."

[2] Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 1. An inscription of Vîra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar at Vêppûr (No. 20 of 1890) is dated in the Râkshasa year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1297); another at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam (*Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892) in the Nala year (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat 1298); and one at Achcharapâkkam (No. 255 of 1901) in Śaka-Saṁvat 1298, the Nala year. See also Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 90, Ml. 23 and 76; Vol. IV., Ch. 113 and 117.

[3] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; Vol. IV., Yl. 64 and Gu. 32.

[4] Above, Vol. III. p. 36.

[5] *Catalogue,* Vol. III. p. 438 f.

[6] See *e.g.* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly,* p. 42; Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. II. p. 222 f.; Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India,* p. 32 f. and p. 66 ff.; and the late Mr. Rodgers' valuable paper in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal,* Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 49 ff. No complete reading has yet been published of a silver coin which was figured on Tufnell's Plate vi. No. 2, and of which I possess a specimen; the obverse reads *Aḥsan Shâh 738* (of the Hijra, *i.e.* A.D. 1337-38), and the reverse *Al-Ḥusainiyyu.*

[7] *Irâyagambhîra-irâjyam kai-kkoṇḍu sti(sthi)ra-siṁhâsanattil pr[i](pṛi)thivi-irâjyam paṇṇi aruḷâ-ṉ[i]ṉṟa.* This passage and its bearing were first pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in one of the two *Annual Reports* which he drew up during my absence on furlough.

[8] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 289.

[9] See page 301 above.

[10] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. I. p. 301 f.

in his master's wars against the Musalmân chiefs of Madhurâ, as the Raṅganâtha inscription alludes to his conquest of the **Tulushkas.**

The subjoined list of **inscriptions of Kampaṇa II.** shows that his influence extended from Mysore in the north to Râmnâd in the south, and that he was in power **between A.D. 1361-62 and A.D. 1374.** The Tirumalai inscription of his son **Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar**[1] is dated on the 11th December A.D. 1374.[2] Of his father **Bukka I.** we have inscriptions of still later date, *viz.* A.D. 1375-76 and 1376-77.[3] To Professor Kielhorn my best thanks are due for the calculation of those among the following dates which contain astronomical details.

1.— No. 250 of 1901; at Achcharapâkkam. Kampaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 12[83], Plava.

2.—No. 89 of 1889; at Mêlpâḍi. Vîra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Plava.

3.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 86; at Kâñchî. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvâvasu.

4.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 87; at Kâñchî. Vîra-Kumâra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvâdi (*i.e.* Viśvâvasu).

5.—No. 18 of 1899; at Tiruppukkuḻi. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Bukkaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1287, Viśvâvasu. *Śakâbdam âyirattu-irunûṟṟu-eṇbattu-êḻiṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa varttamâ[na]-Viśvâvasu-saṁvatsarattu Vṛiśchika-nâ[yaṟ]ṟu pûrvva-pakshattu shashṭi(shṭhi)yum Aviṭṭamum peṟṟa Budaṉ-kiḻamai-nâḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1287 expired = Viśvâvasu the date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 19th November A.D. 1365,** when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhâ,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise."— F. K.

6.—No. 163 of 1892; at Bhussanahaḷḷi. Vîra-Kumâra-Kampaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Buk[k]aṇṇ-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 12[8]8, Parâbhava.

7.—No. 21 of 1890; at Vêppûr. Vîra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Parâba[va]-varusham Aśvika-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshshattu pañchamiyum Nâ[ya]ṟṟu-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pûśattu nâḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1288 expired = Parâbhava the date, as recorded above, is quite irregular. All that I can suggest regarding it is, that the [in Tamiḻ] strange word for the solar month, *Aśvika,* may be intended for *Âṇi,* and that *Pûśattu* may be a mistake for *Pûrattu* (Pûrva-Phalgunî). If these two alterations were adopted, the date would regularly correspond to **Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 1366,** when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pûrva-Phalgunî,** by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise."— F. K.

8.—No. 33 of 1890; at Kâñchî. Vî[ra]-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukkaṇa-Uḍaiya[r]. *Śakâbdam 12[8]8 l mêl Parâbha[va]-saṁvatsarattu Kumbha-nâ[ya]ṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu êkâdaśiyum V[i]yâḻa-kk[i]ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Pu[na]rpûśattu [nâ]ḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1288 expired = Parâbhava the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 11th February A.D. 1367,** when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise."— F. K.

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[1] See above, p. 324, note 1. In a local chronicle this name has been misspelt or misread 'Embana Udeiyâr;' see Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country,* Part III. p. 82. Another son of Vîra-Kampaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, named Nañjaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, is mentioned in an inscription at Doḍḍa-Kaulande (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 108), which is dated *Saka-varusha saṁda 1296 neya Ânaṁda-saṁvatsarada Vaisâka-su 15 Gu[ruvâra*] sômagrahaṇadalli.* Professor Kielhorn considers this date worthless, because "in Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ânanda the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśâkha ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of *Wednesday,* the 26th April A. D. 1374, and there was *no* lunar eclipse on that day."

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 3, No. 135.

[3] See above, p. 324, note 2.

9.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannâmalai. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Plavaṅga.

10.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; at Tagaḍûru. Chikka-Kampaṇṇ-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Bukkaṇṇ-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 1290, Kîlaka.

11.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 88; at Kâñchî. Vîra-Kampaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Kîlaka-varushattu Makara-ñâyaṟu apara-pashakshattu*[1] *saptamiyu*[*m**] *Śevvây-kkiḻaḻaimaiyum*[2] *peṟṟa* [*T*]*êr-nâḷ.*[3]

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî on a 7th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Makara."— F. K.

12.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yl. 64; at Mâmbaḷḷi. Kampaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4470, Saumya.

13.—No. 293 of 1895; from Kâraṇai near Kaḍambattûr, now in the Madras Museum. Vîra-Kampaṇa-[U][ḍaiyar*], the son of Vî . . . . Uḍaiyar. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 447[2*], Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, Virôdhikṛit. [*Kali**]*yuga-varusham nâlâyirattu-n*[*â*]*nûṟṟu-*[*e*]*ḻu*[*ba*]*ttu* . . . . *ṇgiya Śakâbdam âyirattu-iruṇûṟṟu-t*[*oṇ*]*ṇûṟ*[*u*]*-mûṇ* . . . . *śellâṇi*[*ṉ**]*ṟa Virôdhikṛit-varshattu* [*M*]*ithuna* . . . . *apara-pakshattu* [*pañcha*]*miyum Budaṉ-kiḻamai* . . . . *ṟa Aviṭṭattu nâḷ.*

"For Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 1293 expired = Virôdhakṛit the date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, the 4th June A.D. 1371**, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Dhanishṭhâ**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise."— F. K.

14.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 301; at Tiruppullâṇi. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1293.

15.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 32; at Guṇḍlupêṭe. Chikka-Kampaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varusha 1294 saṁda varttamâna-Paridhâvi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śu 2 Â.*[4]

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1294 expired = Paridhâvin the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month Chaitra *commenced* 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of **Sunday, the 7th March A.D. 1372.**" — F. K.

16.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 302; at Tiruppullâṇi. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1296.

17.—No. 28 of 1890; at Kâñchî. Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vîra-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Ânanda-va*[*r**]*sham Âḍi-mâda*[*m*] *10* [*têdi*] *Âshâḍa-baguḷa-chatu*[*r**]*ddaśi Śukravâramum peṟṟa n*[*âḷ*].

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ânanda the Karkaṭa-saṁkrânti took place 9 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th June A.D. 1374, which was the first day of the month of Karkaṭa or Âḍi. The 10th day of the month of Âḍi therefore was **Friday, the 7th July A.D. 1374**; but the *tithi* which ended on this day, 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th (*not* the 14th) *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Âshâḍha. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the *tithi* has been wrongly quoted in the original date."— F. K.

18.—No. 185 of 1894; at Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam. Vîra-Kumâra-Kampaṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Âṉanda-*[*va*]*rushattu Kaṉ*[*ṉ*]*i-nâyaṟu a*[*pa*]*ra-*[*pa*]*kshattu* [*da*]*śa*[*miyu*]*m* [*V*]*eḷ*[*ḷ*]*i-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa* [*Puṉar*]*pû*[*śa*]*ttu n*[*âḷ*].

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ânanda the 10th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Kanyâ *commenced* 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 1st September A.D. 1374**, when

[1] Read *-pakshattu*.
[2] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 138, No. 9.
[3] Read *-kkiḻamaiyum*.
[4] *I.e.* *Âdityavâradalu*.

the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the equal space system *from* 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga during the whole day.— Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A.D. 1374, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half *ended* 7 h. 1 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** for 7 h. 13 m. or 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*."— F. K.

From a Kanarese inscription at Penakoṇḍa (No. 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr. Sewell,[1] we learn that **Vîra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru** (*i.e.* Bukka I.) had another son, named **Vîra-Virupaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru (I.)**, by his queen **Jommâdêvi**. While Bukka I. was ruling the territory of the **Hoysaḷa** kings at **Hosapaṭṭaṇa**, and while his son Virupaṇṇa I. was governing the province (*râjya*) of **Penugoṇḍe**, which had been entrusted to him by his father,[2]— the minister (*mahâpradhâna*) Ananta[ra]sa-Oḍeyaru built the fort of Penugoṇḍe in Śaka-Saṁvat 1276, the Jaya-saṁvatsara, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Chaitra,[3] *i.e.* on the 25th March A.D. 1354.

A copper-plate grant at Narasîpura mentions a third son of Bukka I., named **Mallinâtha** or **Mallapp-Oḍeyaru**, whose son was **Nârâyaṇadêv-Oḍeyaru**.[4] It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A.D. 1397.[5]

The successor of **Bukka I.** on the throne of Vijayanagara was his son by **Gauri**,[6] **Harihara II.**, whose name is given as **Vîra-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru** in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos. 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the Tamiḻ form of his name was **Hariyaṇa-** or **Ariyaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar**.

1.—No. 57 of 1900; at Pattûr near Âraṇi. Harihara-Uḍaiya[r*]. *Śakâbdam 1299 n mêl śellâninṟa Piṅgala-varusham Âḍi-mâdam [30] têdi Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamai.*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1299 expired = Piṅgala the Karkaṭa-saṁkrânti took place 3 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1377, which was the first day of the month of Karkaṭa or Âḍi. The 30th day of the month of Âḍi therefore was **Monday, the 27th July A.D. 1377.**"— F. K.

2.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvaṇṇâmalai. Ariyaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka 1299, Piṅgala.

3.— No. 126 of 1901; at Bârukûr. Vîra-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaṁvarusa*[7] *1301 nye(ne)ya K[â*]layukta-saṁvatsarada [d]vitîya-Jy[ê*]shṭa-su 15 Śukravâradalu . . . . . sômôparâga-puṁṇ[y]akâladalu.*

"Śaka-Saṁvat 1301 *current* = Kâlayukta : **Friday, the 11th June A.D. 1378** (the full-moon day of the second **Jyaishṭha**); a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h. 1 m. to 15 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India."— F. K.

4.— No. 155 of 1901; at Bârukûr. Vîra-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vîra-Bukkaṇṇa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varusha 130[1] neya ma(va)rttamâna-Kâḷayuktâkshi-saṁvachhsa(tsa)rada Mârggasira-su 1 Sômavârad=aṁdu.*

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[1] *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 119.

[2] *Śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalêśvara ari-râya-vibhâḍa bhâshege-tappuva-râyara-gaṇḍa Hindurâya-suratrâṇa pûrvva-paśchima-samudr-âdhipati śrî-Vîra-Bukkaṇṇa-Voḍeyaru Hoysaḷ-ânvaya-mahîpâlara mêdinî-maṇḍalavanu ni[ja]-bhuja-maṇḍanav-âgi pâlisu[ta] Hosapaṭṭaṇadali sukha-saṅkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ geyyuttâ tanna paṭṭad-arasi Jomma[â]dêviyara kumâra śrî-Vîra-Virupaṇṇa-Voḍeyarig[e] Penugoṇ[ḍeya] râjyavanu koṭṭu â paṭṭaṇadali sukhadiṁ râjyava pâlisutta.*

[3] *Śaka-varsha 1276 neya Jaya-saṁvachha(tsa)rada Chaitra-su [1] Maṁ[galavâradalu*]*. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "in Śaka-Saṁvat 1276 expired = Jaya the first *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra *commenced* 7 h. 35 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A. D. 1354."

[4] Mr. Rice's *Ep Carn.* Vol III., TN. 64.

[5] See above, Vol. III. p. 115 and note 12.

[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 331, No. 10.

[7] Read *Śaka-varsha*.

"Śaka-Saṁvat 1301 *current* = Kâlayukta. The date is incorrect; it would correspond to Sunday, the 21st November A.D. 1378, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśira ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure for the *tithi* were *2*, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 22nd November A.D. 1378."— F. K.

5.—No. 32 of 1890; at Kâñchî. Vîra-Hariyaṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakâbdam 1300 ṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa K[â]layukta-varshattu Mârgaḻ[i]-mâ[sa]m 2 têdi pûrbva(rvva)-pakshattu sapta-[miyu]=Nâyaṟṟu-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Śadayattu ṉâḷ.*

"This date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1300 expired = Kâlayukta the Dhanuḥ-saṁkrânti took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November A.D. 1378. The second day of the month of Dhanus or **Mârgaḻi** therefore was Monday, the 29th November A.D. 1378, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatras* were Uttara-Bhadrapadâ and Rêvatî. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 5 m., and the *nakshatra was* **Śatabhishaj,** by the equal space system for 9 h. 12 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise of the 27th November A.D. 1378, but that day, as stated already, was a Saturday, and was the last day of the month of Vṛiśchika (Kârttigai)."— F. K.

6.—No. 59 of 1901; at Kântâvara. Vîra-Hariyappa-O[ḍe]yaru. *Sa(śa)ka-varuśa(sha) 1301 nevi(ya) Sidhdhâ(ddhâ)rtthi-saṁvatsarada* [1] *Vayiśâkha-su 1 Sômavâ[ra*]da[lu].*

"Śaka-Saṁvat 1301 expired = Siddhârthin: **Monday, the 18th April A.D. 1379**; the first *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśâkha ended 6 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise."— F. K.

7.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 64; at Homma. Harihara II. or Vîra-Hariyapp-Oḍeyaru of Vijayânagara. *Śaka-varusha 1302 neya Raudri-saṁvatsarada Śrâvaṇa-śu 5 Âdivâradalu.*

"The date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1302 expired = Raudra the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrâvaṇa ended 14 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 7th July A.D. 1380."— F. K.

8.—No. 174 of 1901; at Bârukûr. Vîra-Hariyapa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varuśa(sha) 1304 Duṁdubhi-saṁ[va]tsarada* [1] *Vayiśâkha-su 15 Sô.*[2]

"Śaka-Saṁvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi: **Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1382**; the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśâkha ended 9 h. after mean sunrise." —F. K.

9.—No. 31 of 1890; at Kâñchî. Hariyaṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakâbdam 1307 mêl śe[l*]lân[i]ṉṟa Krôdhana-varsham Âni-mâdam [12 têdi] amâvâsaiyum Guru[v]âram Mṛigaśiṟṟishattu*[3] *ṉâḷ.*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1307 expired = Krôdhana the Mithuna-saṁkrânti took place 14 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th May A.D. 1385. The 12th day of the month of Mithuna or Âṇi therefore was **Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1385**; and on this day the new-moon *tithi* (of the month Jyaishṭha) ended 9 h. 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Mṛigaśirsha,** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise."— F. K.

Harihara II. had three sons: **Virûpâksha I., Bukka II.** and **Dêvarâya I.** The first of them is known from the Âlampûṇḍi plate (No. 2 below) and from the *Nârâyaṇîvilâsa*[4] and has to be identified with **Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar (II.),** the son of **Hariyappa-** or **Hariyaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar** (Nos. 1 and 3-5 below).[5]

1.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvaṇṇâmalai. Vîra-Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1301.

2.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 225; Âlampûṇḍi plate. Virûpâksha, the son of Harihara II. Śaka-Saṁvat 1305, Raktâkshin.

[1] Read *Vaiśâkha-*.
[2] *I. e. Sômavâradalu.*
[3] Read °*śîrshattu*.
[4] Above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v.
[5] The *Kôyiloḻugu* also mentions "Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyâr, the son of Harihararâyar;" see page 323 above.

3.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvaṇṇâmalai. Vîra-Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1310, Vibhava.

4.—No. 114 of 1897; at Kôliyaṉûr. Vi[ru]ppaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyaṇa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1 . . ., Vi[bha]va.

5.—No. 112 of 1900; at Śeṅgama. Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakâbdam 131[8] ṉ mêṟ=che[llâ*]ṉiṉṟa [Dh]âtu-saṁvatsarattu Mêsha-nâyaṟṟu pûrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Tiruvâdiraiyum peṟṟa Guruvâra-nâḷ.*

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1318 expired = Dhâtu (Dhâtṛi) the date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 13th April A.D. 1396,** which was the 19th day of the month of Mêsha and when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h. 35 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Ârdrâ,** by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise."— F. K.

To the time of **Bukka II.,** the second son of Harihara II., belong the following six inscriptions.

1.—No. 41 of 1890; at Tirupparuttikkuṉṟu. Bukkarâja, the son of Arihararâja. *Dundubhi-varsham Kât[tig]ai-[m]âdatt[i]l pûrvva-pakshattu=Tt[i]ṟigaḷ-kiḻamaiyum paurṇaiyum peṟṟa Tâ(kâ)tt[i]gai-nâḷ.*

"This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi it would correspond to Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1382, with the *nakshatra* Rôhiṇî. It would be incorrect also for the lunar month Kârttika of the same year, and for the Śaka years 1303 and 1305 expired."— F. K.

2.—No. 11 of 1900; at Kambayanallûr. Immaḍi-Bukkarâya (*i.e.* 'Bukka the second'), the son of Hararâya (*i.e.* Harihara II.) and grandson of Bukkaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar (*i.e.* Bukka I.). *Kshaya-varushattu Paṅguṉ[i]-mâdam mudal t[i]yadi pûṟuva-pakshattu Uttiraṭṭâd[i]yum peṟṟa nâḷ.*

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1308 expired = Kshaya the first day of the month of Paṅguṇi (or Mîna) would correspond to either the 24th or the 25th February A.D. 1387, but on the former of these two days (which both fell in the bright half) the *nakshatras* were Kṛittikâ and Rôhiṇî (Nos. 3 and 4) and on the latter Rôhiṇî and Mṛigaśîrsha (Nos. 4 and 5), not Uttara-Bhadrapadâ (No. 26)."— F. K.

3.—No. 12 of 1893; at Kâñchî. Vîra-Pratâpa-Bukkarâya-mah[â]râ[ya]. *Śakâbdam 1328 ṉ mêl śellâ[n]iṉṟa Veya-saṁvaṟsarattu Mêsha-nâyaṟṟu pûṟuva-pakshattu śatta[m]iyum Śukkiṟavâramum peṟṟa Tiruvâdirai-nâḷ.*

"This date for Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya clearly corresponds to **Friday, the 26th March A.D. 1406,** which was the day of the **Mêsha-saṁkrânti** (that took place 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise[1]), and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Ârdrâ,** by the equal space system for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise." —F. K.

4.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 28; at Vaidyanâthapura. Bukkarâya, the son of Harihara-mahârâya. *Śaka-varusha 132[8] neya Bya(vya)ya-saṁvatsarada Jêshṭha-śu 5 Gu.*[2]

"This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1406, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyaishṭha ended 13 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise."— F. K.

5.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 55; at Vêppambaṭṭu. Vîra-Pratâpa-Bukkamahârâya. *Śakâbdam 132[8] ṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa Pârttiva-saṁvatsarattukku=chchellum Viya-saṁvatsarattu Jêshṭa-bahuḷa-amâvâsyaiyum Viyâḷa-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa nâḷ.*[3]

[1] Accordingly, the date was the last day of the month of Mîna of the solar Śaka year 1327 expired.

[2] *I.e. Guruvâradalu.*

[3] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 203, note 50.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Wednesday, the 16th June A.D. 1406, when the new-moon *tithi* of Jyaishṭha ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise." —F. K.

6.— No. 41 of 1901; at Mûḍabidure. Vîra-Bukkarâya, the son of Harihararâya. *Śaka-varsha 13[2]9 neya Vyaya-saṁvatsarada Bhâdrapada-śudhdha(ddha) 10 Budhavâradoḷu.*

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1329 *current* = Vyaya it would correspond to Tuesday, the 24th August A.D. 1406, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhâdrapada ended 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure of the *tithi* were *11*, the date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 25th August A.D. 1406." —F. K.

From manuscripts and coins[1] we know a son of **Bukka II.** by **Tipp[â]mbâ**, named **Vîra-Bhûpati**, to whom we have to assign two inscriptions of **Vîra-Bhûpati-Uḍaiyar**, which are noticed by Mr. Venkayya, *viz.* one of Śaka-Saṁvat 1331 at Śrîraṅgam,[2] and one of Śaka-Saṁvat 1336, the Manmatha year, at Tiruppandurutti.[3]

TEXT.[4]

1 स्वस्ति श्रीः । बन्धुप्रिये शकाब्दे । आनीयानीलशृंगद्युतिरचितजगद्र[ञ्ज]ना-
दञ्जनाद्रेश्चे[ञ्च्या]माराध्य कञ्चित् समयमथ निहत्योद्धनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् [।]
लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनगरे स्था[प]यन्

2 रंगनाथं सम्यग्वर्य्यां[5] स[प]र्य्याम् पुनरकृत [य]शोदर्प्पणो गोप्पणार्य्यः ॥ [१*]
विश्वेशं रंगराजं वृषभगिरितटात्[6] गो[प]णः (।) क्षो[णि]देवो नीत्वा स्वां
राजधानीं निजबलनिहतोत्सिक्ततौलुष्कसैन्यः [।] कृत्वा

3 [श्री]रंग[भू]मिम्[7] [कृत]युग[सहितान्त]न्तु ल[क्ष्मी]महीभ्यां संस्थाप्यास्यां सरो-
जोत्भव[8] इव कुरुते साधु च[र्य्य]ां सपर्य्याम् ॥ [२*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **Śaka** year (*expressed by the chronogram*) **bandhupriya** (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat **1293**).

(Verse 1.) Having brought (*the god*) from the **Añjanâdri** (*mountain*), the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives delight to the world, having worshipped (*him*) at **Cheñchi** for some time, then having slain the **Tulushkas** whose bows were raised,— **Goppaṇârya**, the mirror of fame, placing **Raṅganâtha** together with both Lakshmî and the Earth in his own town,[9] again duly performed excellent worship.

(V. 2.) Having carried **Raṅgarâja**, the lord of the world, from the slope of the **Vṛishabhagiri** (*mountain*) to his capital,[10] having slain by his army the proud **Taulushka** soldiers, having made the site of **Śrîraṅga** united with the golden age (*Kṛitayuga*), and having placed there this (*god*) together with Lakshmî and the Earth,— the Brâhmaṇa[11] **Gôpaṇa** duly performs, like the lotus-born (Brahmâ), the worship which has to be practised.

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 318, No. 6.
[2] *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892.
[3] *The same* of August 1890.
[4] From an inked estampage prepared in 1892.
[5] Read °ग्वर्य्यां.
[6] Read °तटाद्गो°.
[7] Read °भूमिं.
[8] Read °जोद्भव.
[9] *I.e.* in Śrîraṅgam.
[10] *I.e.* to Cheñchi; see verse 1.
[11] *Ks'ôṇidêva.* Compare p. 324 above.

No. 34.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL.

By E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.

A.—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR.

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal.[1] I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,[2] from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at **Tirumalai near Pôḷûr** in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is **Tamiḻ** and **Grantha**. The inscription consists of three portions:—a sentence in Tamiḻ prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śârdûla metre, and a Tamiḻ verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, *viz.* the restoration of the images of a **Yaksha** and a **Yakshî**, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned:—(1) **Eḻiṉi** (ll. 1 and 7) or **Yavanikâ**[3] (l. 4); (2) **Râjarâja** (l. 6) or **Vagaṉ**[4] (l. 9); and (3) **Viḍugâdaḻagiya-Perumâḷ** (l. 10) or **Vyâmukta-śravaṇôjjvala**[5] (l. 6). Eḻiṉi is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of **Chêra** (l. 1) or **Kêraḷa** (l. 3), *i.e.* Malabar, or of **Vañji** (l. 7), the traditional capital of the Chêra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chêramân-Perumâḷ-Kôyilûr near Tiruvañjikuḷam in the Cochin State.[6] Both Eḻiṉi and Râjarâja receive the title Adigaimâṉ (l. 1), Adhikanṛipa (l. 5 f.) or Adigaṉ[7] (l. 9), *i.e.* 'the lord of **Adigai**,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore.[8] The third king is called the lord of **Takaṭâ** (l. 6) or **Tagaḍai** (l. 10). As noted by Mr. Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamiḻ poem *Puṟanâṉûṟu* as **Tagaḍûr,** and Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with **Dharmapuri,** the head-quarters of a tâluka in the Salem district.[9] This statement is corroborated by two Chôḷa inscriptions (Nos. 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikârjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which Tagaḍûr, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of Tagaḍûr-nâḍu, a subdivision of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nâḍu*), a district of Nigarili-Śôḷa-maṇḍalam.[10] Viḍugâdaḻagiya-Perumâḷ was the son of Vagaṉ (l. 9) or Râjarâja (l. 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll. 5 and 9) of Eḻiṉi. Both he and his ancestor Eḻiṉi must have been adherents of the **Jaina** religion, because

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1 Above, Vol. IV. Nos. 9, 22 and 52, and Vol. V. No. 13, A.

2 *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 75.

3 *Yavanikâ* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamiḻ *eḻiṉi*, 'a curtain.'

4 According to the dictionaries, the Tamiḻ Vagaṉ and the Sanskrit Baka are names of Kubêra, who is also called Râjarâja.

5 The Tamiḻ words *viḍu*, *kâdu* and *aḻagiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *much*, *śravaṇa* and *ujjvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

6 See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 81, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4.

7 For references to Adigaṉ, Adigaimâṉ and Eḻiṉi in Tamiḻ literature see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 66 and 143. Adiyama, who was a feudatory of the Chôḷa king and was defeated by Gaṅgarâja, a general of the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Index), may have been one of the chiefs of Adigai.

8 The *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (x. verse 68 f.) mentions 'the great city of Adigai,' which Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore tâluka of the South Arcot district; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*râjya*) of Tiruvadi; *ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvaḍi-râjya (with the lingual *ḍ*), which was situated in the Tinnevelly district; above, Vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 28.

9 See the two pages of the *Ind. Ant.* quoted in note 7 above.

10 There is another village named Tagaḍûru in the Nañjanagûḍu tâluka of the Mysore district, which was included in Hiriya-nâḍu; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117 and 118.

they made grants at **Tirumalai,** which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of Eṇguṇaviṟai' (l. 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the **Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala**'[1] (l. 4 f.).

TEXT.[2]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] **Śêra-vaṅśattu**[3] **Adigaimâ[ṉ] Eḻiṉi** śeyda dha[r]mma-
2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyâraiyum eḻund=a[ru*]ḷuvittu eṟimaṇiyum i-
3 ṭṭu=Kkaḍappêri-kkâ[lu]ṅ=gaṇḍu kuḍutt[â]ṉ || [4]Śrîmat-**Kêraḷa**-bhûbhṛi-
4 tâ **Yavanikâ**-nâmnâ su-dha[r]mm-âtmanâ **Tuṇḍir-âhvaya-maṇḍal-Â[r]ha-su-**[5]
5 **girau** Yakshêśvarau kalpitau [|*] paśchât-tat-kula-bhûshaṇ-**Âdhika-**
6 **nṛipa-śrî-Râjarâj**-âtmaja-**Vyâmuktaśravaṇô[j*]jvalê[na** **Takaṭâ-nâ]thêna** jîrṇ-ô-
7 [d]dhṛitau || **Vañj[i]yar**[6] kula-pa[ti]y=**[E]ḻiṉ[i]** vaguttav=Iyakkar=Iyakk[i]yarô-
8 ḍ=e[ñ]jiyav=aḻivu [7]tiruttiy=av-**Eṇguṇaviṟai-tiru-malai** vait[t]âṉ=ṟu-
9 ñji taṉ [va]ḻi [va]rumavaṉ vaḻi-mudali kali **Adigaṉ Vagaṉ** nûl v[i]ñjaiyar
10 [ta]lai puṉai **Tagaḍaiyar** kâvalaṉ **Viḍugâḍaḻagiya-[P]erumâḷêy [||*]**

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! He[8] set up (*again*) (*the images of*) a Yaksha and a Yakshî,— meritorious gifts (*formerly*) made by **Eḻiṉi,** an **Adigaimâṉ** of the **Chêra** family,— presented a gong, and granted a channel (*which he*) had constructed to (*or from* ?) the Kaḍappêri (*tank*).[9]

(L. 3.) (*The images of*) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (*and*) very pious-minded **Kêraḷa** king named **Yavanikâ on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province** (*maṇḍala*) **called Tuṇḍira,** were later on saved from ruin by **Vyâmukta-śravaṇôjjvala,** the lord of **Takaṭâ** (*and*) the son of the glorious **Râjarâja— an Adhika prince** (*who was*) the ornament of his (Yavanikâ's) race.

(L. 7.) The ruins which remained (*of the images*) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshî, that had been set up by **Eḻiṉi,** the chief of the family (*ruling over*) the **Vañjiyar,**[10] were repaired and placed (*on*) this **holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities**[11] by **Viḍugâḍaḻagiya-Perumâḷ,** the protector of the **Tagaḍaiyar,**[12] the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (*and the son of*)[13] the brave **Adigaṉ Vagaṉ** —the foremost on the (*right*) path, who came from his (Eḻiṉi's) family after (*the latter*) had died.

B.—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR.

This inscription (No. 8 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dêśinâthêśvara temple at **Kambayanallûr** in the Ûttaṅgarai tâluka of the Salem district. The alphabet and language are **Tamiḻ.**

The inscription consists of a Tamiḻ verse, which opens with the date— **the 22nd year** (in words) of the reign of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḻadêva.** A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures. This is another record of **Viḍugâḍaḻagiya-Perumâḷ,** the

[1] This is a Sanskṛitised form of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam.
[2] From an inked estampage.
[3] Read *-vaṁśattu.*
[4] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 76 contains another copy of the same verse.
[5] For the sake of the metre *Arha* is used instead of *Arhat.*
[6] In this verse *Vañjiyar* rhymes with *ḍ=eñjiya, =ṟuñji* and *viñjaiyar.*
[7] Read *tiruttiy=ivv-.*
[8] The subject is Viḍugâḍaḻagiya-Perumâḷ (l. 10).
[9] The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 77.
[10] *I. e.* 'the citizens of Vañji.'
[11] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 107, note 1.
[12] *I. e.* 'the citizens of Tagaḍai.'
[13] The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskṛit portion (l. 6) and in accordance with the Tamiḻ habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son.

king of **Tagaḍai** and (son of) **Râjarâja-Adigaṉ**. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers **Pâli, Peṇṇai** and **Poṉṉi**. The inscription records that he granted a place named **Śiṟukkôṭṭai** on the bank of the **Peṇṇai** river to **Nâgai-Nâyaka** of **Kuḷaṉ**, and that he built a temple.

The Pâli must be identical with the **Pâlâṟu** river; the Peṇṇai is the **Southern Peṇṇâṟu**; and the Poṉṉi is the **Kâvêrî**. It may be assumed that the Pâlâṟu formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kâvêrî the western one, while the Southern Peṇṇâṟu passes not far north-east from his capital Tagaḍûr, the modern Dharmapuri.[1] Kuḷaṉ, where the donee came from, is another form of Kuḷam or Kuḷaṉûr, the modern **Ellore**.[2] He may have been related to the Nâyakas of Ellore, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the Telugu country.[3] His name, Nâgai-Nâyaka, is perhaps connected with **Nâgaiyaṉpaḷḷi**, an ancient name of Kambayanallûr, which occurs in two inscriptions of the Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Viśvanâthadêva (Nos. 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at **Śeṅgama** in the Tiruvaṇṇâmalai tâluka of the South Arcot district,— in the first of them (No. 115 of 1900), which is dated in **the 20th year** of *Tribhuvanachakravartin śrî*-**Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva**, as "the born **Perumâḷ**, *alias* the son of **Râjarâja-Adigaṉ**,"[4] and in the second (No. 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes **the twenty-first** (year of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷadêva?), as "**Râjarâjadêvaṉ**[5] **Viḍugâdaḷagiya-Perumâḷ**, *alias* the son of **Râjarâja-Adigaṉ**."[6] In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of **Śeṅgêṇi Ammaiyappaṉ Attimallaṉ**,[7] *alias* **Vikrama-Chôḷa-Śambuvarâyaṉ**, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III.[8] Besides, No. 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain **Śeyyagaṅgar**, who is probably identical with **Śiyagaṅgaṉ**, a subordinate of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III.[9] Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of Viḍugâdaḷagiya-Perumâḷ is dated must be **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa III.**, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178,[10] and the date of the inscription, the 22nd year, corresponds to **A.D. 1199-1200**.

TEXT.[11]

1 Svasti śrî [||*] T[i]ribuva[na]chchakkaravattiga[ḷ] śrî-**Kulôttuṅga-Śôḷadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 22 âvadu** ௳ Urai[12] maru[vu]ṅ=**Gulôttuṅga-Śôḷadêvaṟk=uraitta yâṇḍ=irubadiṉ mêl=iraṇḍiṟ=Peṇṇai=kkarai** maruvu[ñ]=**Jiṟukkôṭṭai Ku[ḷa]ṉ Nâ[gai]-Nâyagaṟk=aḷittu=kkaṟ-ṟaḷi** taṉ **pêr=i-**

2 ṭṭa **kâr**-aṉaiya-kaiyâ[ṉ] tirai-maruvun-daḍaṅ-gamala-**Ttagaḍai** maṉṉaṉ śeḷum **Pâli [P]eṇṇai Poṉṉi=ttiru-nadi** mûṉṟ=uḍaiya virai-maruvun-dâr-mârvaṉ **Râja-r[â]ja[v-A]digaṉ** vilaṅgâ-moḷi **Viḍugâdaḷagiya-Perumâḷêy** ||[13] ௳

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! **In the 22nd year** (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Kulôttuṅga-Śôḷadêva**.

[1] See page 331 above.

[2] See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 172 and note 2.

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 308.

[4] *Piṟanda Perumâḷ=âṉa Irâjarâja-[A]diga-magaṉâr.*

[5] This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a Chôḷa king to whom Viḍugâdaḷagiya-Perumâḷ or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name "Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa-Takaṭâdhirâja, *alias* Mâra-siṁhadêva," in an inscription at Râyakôṭa in the Kṛishṇagiri tâluka of the Salem district (No. 3 of 1900).

[6] The original reads *Irâja[r]âja-A[d]igaimâṉ*, which I correct to *Irâjarâja-Adiga-magaṉ* in accordance with No. 115 of 1900; see note 4 above.

[7] Instead of *Attimallaṉ* (*i.e.* Hastimalla) two other inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 132, and Vol. III. No. 61) have the title *Kaṇṇuḍaipperumâṉ*.

[8] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 121.

[9] *Ibid.* page 122.

[10] See Professor Kielhorn's Table on p. 24 above.

[11] From an inked estampage.

[12] In this Tamiḻ verse *urai maruvu* rhymes with *karai maruvu*, *tirai-maruvu* and *virai-maruvu*.

[13] In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a *visarga*.

In the year called two after twenty of the eminent **Kulôttuṅga-Śôḻadêva,—Viḍugâdaḻagiya-Perumâḷ,** who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)[1] **Râjarâja-Adigaṉ,** whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*viz.*) the **Pâli** (*whose banks are*) fertile, the **Peṇṇai** (*and*) the **Poṉṉi,** the king of **Tagaḍai** where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) **Śiṟukkôṭṭai** on the bank of the **Peṇṇai** (*river*) to **Nâ[gai]-Nâyaka** of **Ku[ḷa]ṉ** and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple.

No. 35.—TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA;

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR (OF KULOTTUNGA I.).

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of Gôdâvarî, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were "found about two months ago by one Kodi Dosigadu of **Ṭêki**[2] in the Râmachandrapuram tâluka, while working in his field."

The plates are five in number and measure about 11¼" in breadth and about 6" in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side, and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6" in diameter and about ⅝" in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4" in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface:—across the centre the legend *śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*; at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chaurîs*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goad and the sun; and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The **alphabet** is Telugu and the **language** Sanskṛit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *ṟ* and *ḻ* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l. 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yû* (ll. 54 and 90) and *mû* (l. 95) the vowel *û* is represented by the marks for *u* and *â*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the **Eastern Châlukya** family as the Chellûr and Piṭhâpuram plates of Vîra-Chôḍa,[3] but begins to differ in the description of the reign of **Kulôttuṅga I.** It does not mention his queen Madhurântakî, but states that he had several queens (v. 11), who bore him several sons[4] (v. 12). On one of these, **Mummaḍi-Chôḍa,**— whose name is given as Râjarâja in the Chellûr and Piṭhâpuram plates,— he conferred the governorship of **Vêṅgî** after the death of his own paternal uncle **Vijayâditya (VII.)** (vv. 13-16). **One year** later (v. 17) he bestowed the same appointment on Mummaḍi-Chôḍa's younger brother, **Vîra-Chôḍa** (v. 18), who held it for **six years** (v. 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, **Chôḍagaṅga,** surnamed **Râjarâja** (vv. 21-26), ascended the throne of Vêṅgî (v. 33) in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1006** (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of Jyaishṭha, in the *nakshatra* Jyêshṭhâ and in the *lagna* Siṁha (v. 34). This date

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[1] The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskṛit portion of the Tirumalai inscription (A. above).

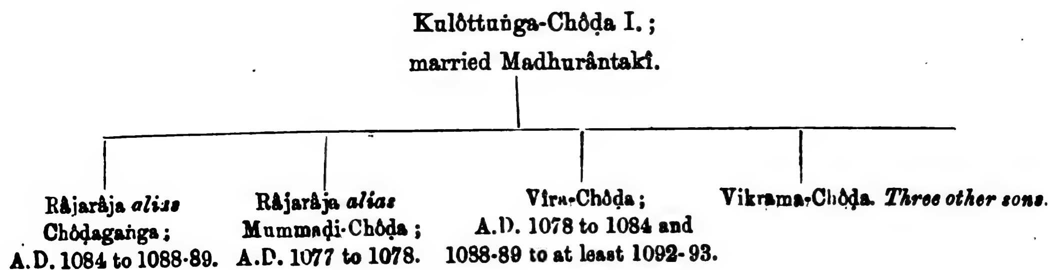
[2] No. 122 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Râmachandrapuram tâluka of the Gôdâvarî district.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39, and above, Vol. V. No. 10, respectively.

[4] According to v. 13 of the Chellûr plates and v. 12 of the Piṭhâpuram plates Kulôttuṅga I. had seven sons by Madhurântakî.

probably corresponds to **the 22nd May A.D. 1084.** At the end of the inscription (l. 108) another date is given, *viz.* **the seventeenth year of the reign.**

The above statements involve a few important changes in the pedigree and the chronology of the Eastern Châlukyas. As regards the former, the order of the sons of Kulôttuṅga I. in my Table of this dynasty[1] has to be altered; for the Ṭêki plates inform us that the eldest son was not, as I thought, Vikrama-Chôḍa, Kulôttuṅga's successor on the Chôḷa throne, but Chôḍagaṅga. As the Chellûr and Piṭhâpuram plates (v. 19) state that Vîra-Chôḍa had only two elder brothers, it is now clear that these were Chôḍagaṅga and Mummaḍi-Chôḍa, and that Vikrama-Chôḍa was a younger brother of Vîra-Chôḍa. Secondly, the dates at the end of the Chellûr and Piṭhâpuram plates, *viz.* **the twenty-first and twenty-third years of the reign,** respectively, cannot be referred, as was done hitherto, to the reign of Vîra-Chôḍa. For, taking the date at the end of the Ṭêki plates in the same manner as the seventeenth year of Chôḍagaṅga, it would correspond to A.D. 1084 + 16-17 = 1100-01, while the Chellûr plates would fall in A.D. 1078 + 20-21 = 1098-99, and Vîra-Chôḍa would thus have issued an edict during the governorship of his brother Chôḍagaṅga. The only way in which the dates of the three inscriptions can be reconciled is to refer them to **the accession of Kulôttuṅga I. in A.D. 1070.** They would then fall in **A.D. 1086-87, 1090-91 and 1092-93.** The two last dates would imply that **Vîra-Chôḍa** administrated the Vêṅgî province a second time in succession of Chôḍagaṅga. That this was actually the case is explicitly stated in his Piṭhâpuram plates. We are there told that Vîra-Chôḍa was recalled by Kulôttuṅga I. (v. 25), but sent to Vêṅgî again **in the fifth year** (v. 26). The occasion when he was recalled was evidently the appointment of Chôḍagaṅga in **A.D. 1084,** and "the fifth year" must mean the fifth year after Vîra-Chôḍa's recall, *i.e.* **A.D. 1088-89.** This explanation is in perfect accordance with the fact that the Ṭêki plates are dated two years earlier, *viz.* in the seventeenth year of Kulôttuṅga I. = A.D. 1086-87. The fact that the Chellûr plates are silent regarding the intervening governorship of Chôḍagaṅga, and that the Piṭhâpuram plates allude to it without mentioning his name, suggests that he had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother Vîra-Chôḍa. The subjoined Table shows the relationship and the dates of the three successive **governors of Vêṅgî.**



Chôḍagaṅgadêva (l. 80), surnamed **Râjarâja** (l. 78), bore the traditional titles **Sarvalôkâśraya, Vishṇuvardhana,** *etc.* (ll. 76-78), and (like his younger brother Vîra-Chôḍa) resided at **Jananâthanagarî** (l. 81), which Mr. Krishna Sastri proposes to identify with the modern Râjamahêndri.[2] He addresses the edict contained in this inscription to the inhabitants of the country between the **Mannêṛu** (river) and the **Mahêndra** (mountain) (l. 83). These must have been the northern and southern boundaries of the **Vêṅgî** province. The Mahêndra mountain is in the Gañjâm district near the Mandasa Railway Station, and the Mannêṛu river passes Siṅgarâyakoṇḍa, now a Railway Station in the Kandukûr tâluka of the Nellore district. The king's edict does not, as usual, refer to a grant of land; it confers certain honorary privileges on the

[1] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 32.
[2] Above, Vol. V. p. 71.

descendants of the **Teliki** family (l. 92). These were subdivided into a **thousand** families, ten of which are mentioned by name (l. 90 f.), and were hereditary servants of the **Eastern Châlukya** family (v. 38 f.). They were believed to have immigrated with the mythical king **Vijayâditya** of **Ayôdhyâ**[1] (v. 40) and to have settled at **Vijayavâṭâ**[2] (the modern Bezvâḍa), which seems to have been the former capital of the Eastern Châlukyas (v. 41).

The Bhâvanârâyaṇa temple at **Bâpaṭla** bears two inscriptions (Nos. 189 and 192 of 1897), dated in **Śaka-Saṁvat 1076** and recording gifts by two merchants who were members of the **Teliki thousand** (*Teliki-vêvuru*). The first of these merchants belonged to the subdivision (*gôtrà*) of the **Musunûḻḻu**, and the second to that of the **Velandunûḻḻu**, who are perhaps identical with the **Velumanûḻḻu** of the Ṭêki plates (l. 90). I subjoin the beginning of the second inscription; that of the first is identical with it. It will be seen from the following transcript that this caste claims to have ruled over the towns of Ayôdhyâ and Bejavâḻa, with both of which it is associated also in the Ṭêki plates (v. 40 f.).

Svasti [||*] Y[a]ma-niyama-[dharmma]-pâ(pa)râ[ya*]ṇa-[B]rahma-saṁbhba(bha)va-Manu-vaṁś-[â]di-śa(sa)kala-[śâstra]-viśâradulum **Ganakâpuray-Ayôdhyâpura-Ga[ja]pur-âdhi-nâyakulu[ṁ]** satya-śauch-âbhimânulu [g]uru-dêva-pâd-ârâdhakulu Paulasti-bhagavatî-sthâna-pra[t]ishṭi(shṭhi)tulu si(sa)hasra-śâkh-ânvaya-gôtrul=aina śrîma[d*]-**Bejavâḻa-sâ(śâ)sanul=aina Teliki-vêvurayaṁdu Velaṁdunûḻḻa** gôtramḍ=aina Sûri[se]ṭṭi, *etc.*

The composer and the writer of the Ṭêki plates (l. 108 f.) were the same persons as in the case of the Chellûr plates (l. 114) and the Piṭhâpuram plates (l. 280) of Vîra-Chôḍa.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 श्रीमा[न्][4] जगत्त्रयमिदं हरिरादिदेव[:*] स्रष्टु[5] विरिंचिमसृजन्निजनाभि-
पद्मात् [।*] तस्मादभूत् किल महामुनिरत्त्रिरस्मा-
2 च्चूडामणिः पुररिपोरुदितस्सुधांशुः[6] [॥ १*] तस्माद्बुधः[7] ततश्चक्रवर्त्ती
पुरूरवा(:)स्तस्मादायुस्ततो नहु[ष]: ततो ययातिः त-
3 [त]: पूरुः ततो जनमेजयः ततः प्राचीशः ततस्सैन्ययातिः ततो हय-
पतिः ततस्सार्व्वभौमः ततो जयसेन[स्ततो] महाभौ-
4 मः तस्मादैशानकः ततः क्रोधाननः ततो देवकिः तस्माद्भुकः तस्मादृ-
चकः ततो मतिवरः ततः कात्यायनः ततो नीलः [त]तो
5 दुष्यंतः ततो भरतस्ततो भूमन्युस्ततो हस्ती ततो विरोचनः तस्मादज-
मीलस्तत(त)स्संवरणस्ततस्सुधन्वा ततः परिक्षित् ततो
6 भीमसेनः ततः प्रदीपनः ततश्शंतनुः ततो विचित्रवीर्य्यः ततः[8] पाण्डुराजः
ततः पाण्डवाः तेषु वंशकरादर्ज्जनादभिमन्युः[9]

---

1 Compare l. 8 of this inscription, and the translation in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 58.

2 In l. 93 the same town is mentioned as Vijayavâṭa.

3 From the original copper plates.

4 This word is preceded by a symbol, for which see the accompanying Plate; read श्रीमाञ्जगत्त्रय°.

5 Read स्रष्टुं विरिंचि°.

6 In the letter स्सु the vowel-sign *u* is attached to either *s*.

7 The rules of *saṁdhi* are not always observed in the following prose passage up to तस्मादुदयन : (l. 7).

8 The two *visargas* before पाण्डुराज: and पाण्डवा: have been entered subsequently.

9 Read °दर्ज्जुना°.

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Chebrolu inscription of Vikrama-Chola;—Saka-Samvat 1049.

E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE ·25

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

Sevilimedu inscription of Vikrama-Chola;—the sixteenth year.

E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·15 W. GRIGGS. COLLOTYPE.

7 ततः परिच्चित् ततो जनमेजयः ततः चेमुकः ततो नरवाहनस्ततश्श-
तानीकः तस्मादुदयनः [।*] ततः प्रभृत्यविच्छिन्न[सं]ता[ने]-
8 ष्वयोध्यासिंहास[न]ासी[ने]ष्वेकान्नषष्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तद्वंश्यो विजयादित्यो
नाम राजा विजिगीषया दच्चिणापथं गत्वा
9 त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिच्चिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकांतरमगमत् [।*] तस्मिन्
संकुले पुरोहितेन वृद्धामात्यैश्च
10 सार्द्धमंतर्व्वत्नी तस्य महादेवी [1]मुडिवेम[न]ामाग्रहारमुपगम्य तद्व[ा]स्तव्येन
विष्णुभट्टसोमयाजिना दुहि-
11 तृनिर्व्विशेषमभिरच्चिता [2]विष्णवर्द्धनं नंदनमसूत [।*] सा च तस्य
कुमारकस्य कुलक्रमोचितानि कर्म्म[ा]णि कारयित्वा
12 तमवर्द्धयस[त्][3] च मात्रा विदितवृत्तांतो निर्गत्य चलुक्यगिरौ नंदाभगवतीं
गौरीमाराध्य कुमारनारायणमातृगण[ांश्च] सं-
13 तर्प्य श्वेतातपत्रैकशंखपंचमहाशब्दादीनि कु[ल]क्रमागतानि निच्चिप्तानीव
साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कडंबगंगादिभूमि-
14 पार्न्विज्जित्य[4] [से]तुनर्म्मदामध्यं दच्चिणा[प]थं पालयामास [॥*] तस्यासी-
द्विजयादित्यो विष्णुवर्द्धनचूपतेः[5] [।*] पल्लवान्वयज[ा]ताया
15 म[ह]ादेव्याश्च नंदनं[6] [॥ २*] तत्सुतः पुलकेशिवल्लभः [।*] तत्पुत्रः
कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा[7] [।*] [त]स्य तनयः श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्य-
16 सगोत्रोणां[8] हारीतिपुत्रोणां[9] कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानामश्वमेधाव[भृ]-
थ[स्न]ानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्याना[10] कुलम-
17 (लम)लंकरिष्णोंस्सत्याश्रयवल्लभेंद्रस्य[11] भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि
वेंगीदेशमपालयत् [।*] तत्सुतो जयसिंह[व]-[12]
18 ल्ल[भ*]स्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् [।*] [त]दनुज इंद्रभट्टारकस्सप्त दिनानि [।*] तत्सुतो
वि[ष्णु]वर्द्धनो नव वर्षाणि [।*] तत्सूनुर्म्मंगियुवराजः पंचविंशतिं[13] [।*]

Second Plate; First Side.

19 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश [।*] तदवरजः कोक्किलिष्षण्मासान् [।*]
तस्य भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्च[ा]ट्य सप्तत्रिंशतं [।*] तत्पुत्रो

[1] The four other published inscriptions which contain this passage read मुडिवेमु°.
[2] Read विष्णु°.
[3] Read °यत् । स च.
[4] Read °पार्न्निर्ज्जित्य.
[5] Read °भूपतेः.
[6] Read नंदनः.
[7] Read °वर्म्मा.
[8] Read °सगोत्राणां.
[9] Read °पुत्राणां.
[10] Read °नां.
[11] Cancel the *anusvâra* after ष्णो.
[12] The व at the end of this line and the ल्ल at the beginning of the next were added subsequently.
[13] The *anusvâra* of तिं is repeated at the beginning of the next plate.

iib.

iiia

Teki plates of Rajaraja-Chodaganga;
dated in the seventeenth year (of Kulottunga I.).

i.

ii a.

E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·58 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

iv b.

v.

87 व्विंक्रमाद्यैग्गुणैर्व्विर्जिं[1] [।*] ये चालुक्यक्षितीशानां प्रख्यावप्रतिपालिन: [॥ ३८*] अयो[ध्य]ाधीश्वरेणा-

88 दौ दक्षिणाशाजयैषिणा [।*] ये सहैव समायाता(:) विजयादित्यभू-

89 भुजा[ा] [॥ ४०*] रा[ज]वंशावतंसाना[2] राजधान्या महीभुजां[ा] [।*] पुरो विजयवाटेया[3]

90 ये वास्तव्यकुटुंबिन: । [४१*] ये च वेलुमनूౘ्लु पत्तिपालु नरियू- ౘ्लु[4] कुमुडाౘ्लु म-

91 ౘ्ౘूౘ्लु पोवణ्लु स्रावकुलु उणुड्ౘ्लु चनुमगोణ्लु अड्डनूౘ्लु इत्यादि[कु]-

92 [ल]सहस्रभेदप्रसिद्धा: तेलि[कि]कुलाभ्यजन्मा[न:*][5] स्वधर्म्मकर्म्मनिष्ठितमनस- [स्ते]षाम-

93 मीषां विजयवाटप्रमुखनिखिलपुरनगरग्रामपट्टनप्रभृ-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

94 तिषु स्थानेषु सर्व्वेषु विवाहोत्सवेषु प्रवर्त्तमानेषु मिथुनस्य[6] वी[थी]षु तुरगा-

95 रोहणेन पर्य्यटनमथ[7] विवाहोत्सवावसाने राजश्रीपादमूले महार्घ्घे-

96 वासोयुगलु[8] निथाय प्रणतानामेषां कनकपात्रेण तांबूलप्रदानं च पू-

97 र्व्वमर्य्यादा[स]मागतमधुना [9]परमभक्तिपरितोषितैरस्म[ा*]भिराचंद्रार्क्क[10]

98 शासनीकृत्य दत्तमिति विदितमस्तु व: [।*] धर्म्मोयमस्मदंशजै: पा-

99 र्त्थिवै: प्रयत्नेन पालनीयं[11] [।*] शत्रुणापि कृतो धर्म्म: पालनीयो

100 मनीषिणां [।*] शत्रुरेव हि शत्रु[:*] [12]स्यांधर्म्मशत्रुर्न्न कस्यचित् [॥ ४२*] धर्म्मात् पैज-

101 वनो राज[ा] चिराय बुभुजे भुवं[13] [।*] [14]अधर्म्मादेव नहुष: प्रतिपेदे रसातल[15] [॥] . [४३*]

102 य[:*] स्वयं कुरु[ते] धर्म्मं यश्च पाति कृतं [प]रै: [।*] तया:[16] पालयिता श्रेष्ठ इति

---

[1] Read °र्व्वर्म्मुखैर्व्विर्जिते:.   [2] Read °सानां.   [3] Read °वाटाया.

[4] The रि is entered below the line.   [5] The कु of कुल is entered below the line.

[6] Read मिथुनस्य.   [7] Read °मथ.   [8] Read °युगलं निधाय.

[9] Read °भक्ति°.   [10] The *anusvára* stands at the beginning of the next line.

[11] Read °नीय:.   [12] Read स्यान्न°.

[13] The *anusvára* is corrected from a *visarga*.   [14] Read अधर्म्मा°.

[15] Read °तलं.   [16] Read तयो:.

103 प्राहुर्म्मनीषिण: [॥ ४४*] [ध]र्म्माद्विवर्द्धते राज्य[1] धर्म्मात् कीर्त्तिश्च शाश्वती । धर्म्मा[त्*] तृ-

Fifth Plate.

104 प्यंति [पित]रो धर्म्मात्तुष्यंति देवता[:] । [४५*] तस्माधर्म्म:[2] प्रयत्नेन रक्षणीयो म[ही]-

105 क्षितो[3] [।*] स्वक्षतोन्यक्षतो वापि लोकद्वयहितैषिणा ॥ [४६*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो

106 हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रमि: [॥ ४७*] बहुभिर्व्व-

107 सु[ध]ा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

108 लं ॥ [४८*] श्रीविजयराज्य[सं]वत्सर[4] सप्तदशे दत्तस्यास्य शासन[स्य][ा*]-ज्ञप्ति: कटकाधिप: कर्त्ता

109 विद्दय(भं)भट्ट: लेखक[:*] पेम्माचार्य्य: ॥[5]

TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 36 the text is identical with that of the Piṭhâpuram plates of Vîra-Chôḍa, ll. 1-43; above, Vol. V. pp. 74-77.]

(Verse 11.) There were to this chief of kings (*viz.* **Kulôttuṅga I.**) (*many*) virtuous queens, born in the families of renowned princes, always devoted to (*him*), full of love, (*and*) gracious,—as to the ocean (*many*) holy rivers, sprung from the ranges of lofty mountains, always running towards (*it*), full of water, (*and*) limpid.

(V. 12.) Rejoicing in the sons (*kumâra*) who were born (*to him*) in due course by these queens, who resembled him, (*and*) who were worthy to be worshipped by princes, this godlike (*king*) surely laughs at Îśa (Śiva) who has (*only*) a single Kumâra (Skanda).

(V. 13.) Appointing (*his*) sons in due order to different districts (*vishaya*), as the soul (*directs*) the senses to different objects (*vishaya*), he spake as follows to prince **Mummaḍi-Chôḍa**:—

(V. 14.) "Dear child! Being desirous of conquering the world, I formerly conferred the kingdom of the country of **Vêṅgi** on my paternal uncle, prince **Vijayâditya.**[6]

(V. 15.) "And, ruling the earth for only **fifteen years,** this godlike prince, who resembled the five-faced (Śiva) in power, has (*now*) gone to heaven."[7]

(V. 16.) Out of obedience he (Mummaḍi-Chôḍa) took up that burden (*viz.* the kingdom of Vêṅgî) which (*his*) father, the emperor, had given him with these words, though he could not bear the separation from him.[8]

---

1 Read राज्यं. 2 Read तस्माद्धर्म्म:. 3 Read °क्षिता.

4 Read °वत्सरे. 5 Here follow three symbols, for which see the accompanying Plate.

6 This verse is identical with v. 13 of the Piṭhâpuram plates, and nearly identical with v. 14 of the Chellûr plates of Vîra-Chôḍa.

7 This verse is nearly the same as v. 14 of the Piṭhâpuram plates and v. 15 of the Chellûr plates. After it v. 15 of the Piṭhâpuram plates is omitted, though required by the context; see above, Vol. V. p. 95, note 1.

8 Verses 16 and 17 bear the same numbers in the Piṭhâpuram and Chellûr plates.

(V. 17.) "The kingdom (*is*) no pleasure at all (*compared*) with the pleasure of worshipping the holy feet of the elders;" having considered thus, he returned to (*his*) parents after having ruled the country of **Vêṅgî** for **one year.**

(V. 18.) Then his younger brother, the brave prince **Vîra-Chôḍa,** was ordered by (*his*) father to protect the country of **Vêṅgî** (*and*) proceeded (*there*).

(V. 19.) Desirous of prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of the elder one among (*his*) brothers, thirsting to embrace the younger one whose head was bent in devotion (*to him*), longing to do obeisance to (*his*) father and meditating on (*his*) lotus-feet, this poor boy spent **six years** in fear of transgressing the command of (*his*) father.

(V. 20.) The politic king of kings, who had subdued (*all*) rulers of the earth, recalled to himself that son whose only wish was thus to be united with (*his*) father and brothers.

(Vv. 21-27.) Then the emperor, who knew (*his*) duty (*and*) who had conquered the circle of the earth by valour, spake as follows to (*his*) first-born dear son[1] **Chôḍagaṅga,** having affectionately addressed (*him*) by the name **Râjarâja** (*i.e.* 'king of kings'), which was full of meaning because (*he thought that*) this lotus-eyed one would become a king of kings, (*and*) having embraced (*him*) who had prostrated himself (*and*) had folded his hands :—

(V. 28.) "There is a country famed by the name of **Vêṅgî,** (*which is*) the birth-place of the noble **Chalukyas,** as the ocean (*is*) of precious pearls.

(V. 29.) "Having reached high eminence there, the members of my family overcome even mighty kings,[2] as the planets, having risen in the east, surmount even lofty mountains.

(V. 30.) "While thou, **Râjarâja,** art seated on the lion-throne in the **Vêṅgî** country in order to protect the whole earth unopposed, may the lustre of (*thy*) feet be enhanced by clusters of gems in the diadems of many kings, as the beauty of the lotus by swarms of bees!

(V. 31.) "As long as the king of serpents (Śêsha), (*who is*) the only lord of the snake-tribe, as thou (*art*) the only lord of a troop of elephants, is ruling the lower world, and as long as the lord of heaven (Indra), being worshipped by hundreds of gods and demi-gods, (*is ruling*) heaven, so long protect thou the earth, purifying the horizon as the impurity in the shape of enemies is washed away by the water of the edge[3] of the sharp, large sword in thy hand!"

(V. 32.) When the prince, having thus obtained the blessing of the king (*and*) afterwards the true blessings of (*his*) mother, (*and*) having bowed to both, was about to start for his country, the sound of the conches (*announcing his*) departure and of shrill auspicious bugles reached the ends of the quarters.

(V. 33.) When the glorious **Râjarâja** had ascended (*the throne of*) the **Vêṅgî** country, (*as*) the sun the eastern mountain, the night of enmity was dispelled; darkness in the disguise of foes was driven away; the stars in the semblance of necklaces disappeared from the firmament—the wives of the enemies; (*and*) fire in the shape of sorrow sprang up in the sun-crystals— the hearts of the wives of foes.

(V. 34.) **In the Śâka year** reckoned by the tastes (6), the sky (0), the atmosphere (0), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* **1006**)— in the month **Jyaishṭha,** in the **bright** fortnight, on the **full-moon** *tithi*, on a **Thursday,** when the moon had joined **Jyêshṭhâ,** in the excellent *lagna* **Siṁha,**— the sinless lord, the glorious **Râjarâja,** having been anointed to the kingdom of the whole earth, put on the tiara to the joy of the world.

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[1] The word *agrajam* occurs in l. 46 and *priyâtmajam* in l. 50. I omit the intervening epithets of Chôḍagaṅga, from which we learn little more than that he was a worshipper of Śiva and "an ornament of the Châlukya family" (v. 22).

[2] The words *tuṅgân=api mahîbhṛitaḥ* may also contain an allusion to the Râshṭrakûṭas, who had the surname Tuṅga;' see above, Vol. IV. No. 40, verse 6, and Vol. V. No. 20, verse 6.

[3] The word *dhârâ* has to be taken also in the sense of 'a stream.'

[V. 35 is identical with v. 23 of the Piṭhâpuram plates.]

(V. 36.) This ocean plentifully supplies heaps of wonderful gems,— surely[1] (*because it*) fears a repetition of (*its*) bridging, retreating, stirring, swallowing and overleaping[2] from him (*who is*) a Râmabhadra in archery, a Bhârgava in splitting hosts of enemies, a Mandara mountain in firmness, a pitcher-born sage in (*absorbing*) the ocean of sciences, (*and*) a son of the wind in prowess.

[Ll. 67-76 illustrate by a series of *vyatirêkâlaṁkâras* that the king as regent of the middle sphere was superior to the regents of the ten directions. The pun (*ślêsha*) in the word *dakshiṇâśâ* (l. 70) is particularly amusing.]

(L. 76.) While this asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalôkâśraya*), the glorious **Vishṇuvardhana-Mahârâjâdhirâja**, the *Râjaparamêśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the very pious one, who delights all regions of the world by (*his*) second name **Râjarâja**, the dust of whose lotus-feet adorns the diadems of lords of provinces (*maṇḍalêśvara*), who purifies the whole horizon by the great mass of (*his*) pure fame that is being praised by the whole world, who is distinguished by the marks of an emperor, the glorious **Chôḍagaṅgadêva**, was enjoying the pleasure of the sport of ruling the whole earth,— once, being attended on all sides by the retinue consisting of the troop of all vassals, *etc.*, in the *darbâr* hall of the palace, which had very lofty pinnacles, which possessed the splendour of the Kailâsa mountain, (*and*) which produced the impression of a lump of his fame that remained after the interior of the whole world had been filled (*with it*), at the capital of (*his*) family, the city (*nagarî*) named (*after*) **Jananâtha**,— called together all the *Râshṭrakûṭas* and other ryots living between the **Mannêṟu**[3] (*river*) and the **Mahêndra** (*mountain*) and ordered as follows in the presence of the councillors, the family priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers and the ministers :—

(V. 37.) "There are (*many*) servants, dependent on the lotus-feet of the kings of my family, clever in service, (*and*) possessing courage and other virtues.

(Vv. 38-41.) "Among them (*are those who have been*) always intent on pleasing the minds of the kings of my family by great devotion, strength and intelligence; who have protected the **Châlukya** kings at the beginning with their riches, with their lives, (*and*) with their courage and other virtues; who have come already at the beginning with king **Vijayâditya**, the lord of **Ayôdhyâ**, who was desirous of conquering the southern region; the ryots dwelling in the town **Vijayavâṭâ**, the capital of the kings (*who were*) ornaments of the race of the Moon (*Râjavaṁśa*) ;[4]

(L. 90.) "And who are born in the **Teliki** family, whose minds are intent on the performance of their duties, (*and*) who are known to be divided into a thousand families such as **Velumanûḷḷu, Pattipâlu, Nariyûḷḷu, Kumuḍâḷḷu, Maṟṟûḷḷu, Povaṇḍlu, Srâvakulu, Uṇḍrûḷḷu, Anumagoṇḍalu** and **Aḍḍanûḷḷu**.

(L. 92.) "Be it known to you that, being pleased by (*their*) great devotion, we have now granted to these people by an edict (*śâsana*), as long as the moon and the sun shall last, that when marriage festivals are celebrated at all places such as **Vijayavâṭa** and all other towns, cities,

[1] The particle *nûnam*, 'surely,' introduces the figure (*alaṁkâra*) of 'poetical fancy' (*utprêkshâ*), which in the present case pertains to a cause (*hêtugâ*), *viz.* the fear felt by the ocean, and is founded on a series of metaphors (*rûpaka*), *viz.* the identity of the king with Râma, *etc.*

[2] These humiliating experiences the ocean had undergone successively at the hands of Râma, Paraśurâma, the Mandara, Agastya and Hanumat.

[3] *Mannêṭi* is the Telugu genitive of *Mannêṟu*.

[4] Compare *Râja-kula-pradîpa* in verse 7 of this inscription, which seems to mean 'the light of the race of the Moon,' rather than 'the light of the warrior-caste,' as I had translated it in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 59, verse 8.

villages and hamlets (?), the married couple may proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they place a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king and prostrate themselves, betel will be given (*to them*) in a golden vessel, (*as*) handed down by old custom.

(L. 98.) "This gift must be assiduously protected by the kings descended from our family."

[Vv. 42-48 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 108.) The *âjñapti* of this edict, which was given **in the seventeenth year** of the prosperous and victorious reign, (*was*) the commander of the camp;[1] the composer **Viddayabhaṭṭa**; (*and*) the writer **Pennâchârya**.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date of the **accession of Râjarâja-Chôḍagaṅga** (above, p. 345, verse 34).

"The date is irregular for Śaka-Saṁvat 1006, both expired and current. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1006 expired the full-moon *tithi* of Jyaishṭha ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 22nd May A.D. 1084, when the *nakshatra* was **Jyêshṭhâ**, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., by the Brahma-Siddhânta for 1 h. 58 m., and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise. **Siṁha** was *lagna* from 4 h. 32 m. to 6 h. 41 m. after true sunrise.

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1006 current the same *tithi* ended 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 2nd June A.D. 1083, when the *nakshatra* by the equal space system only was **Jyêshṭhâ**, for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise (while it was Mûla by the Brahma-Siddhânta and according to Garga). **Siṁha** was *lagna* from 3 h. 51 m. to 6 h. 0 m. after true sunrise.

"The date would be irregular also for Śaka-Saṁvat 1005 current and 1007 expired."

No. 36.— RANASTIPUNDI GRANT OF VIMALADITYA; DATED IN THE EIGHTH YEAR.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is engraved were discovered about 70 years ago while quarrying earth for bricks in the fields of the ancestors of a ryot in the Amalâpuram tâluka of the Gôdâvarî district, and are now in the possession of Valavala Jagganna who lives at Amalâpuram. They were received from the Collector of Gôdâvarî through the Government of Madras in 1899 and will have to be returned to the owner. Dr. Hultzsch has kindly permitted me to publish them.

The plates are five in number and were strung on a ring, which had not yet been cut when they were received. The ring measures about 6¼" in diameter and about ⅝" in thickness. Its ends are secured in a four-petalled flower, which forms the base of a circular seal of about 3¼" diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*. Below the legend is an eight-petalled flower, and above it a running boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant-goad; behind it the crescent of the moon; and above it the sun flanked by two *chauris*. The breadth of the plates is 10½", and their height 5¼". Their edges are raised into rims for protecting the writing, with the exception of the first side of the first plate, which is blank, and of the second side of the fifth plate, which bears only two lines of writing. The writing is on the whole in a state of good preservation, but a number of places are damaged by verdigris.

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[1] With *kaṭakâdhipa* compare *kaṭakâdhirâja, etc.*; above, Vol. IV. p. 309, note 1, and Vol. V. p. 131, last line.

The **alphabet** is ancient Telugu, while the **language** is mostly Sanskṛit verse and prose. The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 87-94) is in a mixture of Sanskṛit and Telugu prose. I would draw attention to the following points in the alphabet of the inscription. The long *â* after consonants is marked in different ways; compare *dhâ*, *nâ*, *râ* and *hâ* in line 1 with the *smâ* of the first *tasmâd=* in line 3, and with the *smâ* of the second *tasmâd=* in the same line. The long *â* added to conjunct consonants of which the *rêpha* is a member is generally omitted, except in *rttâ* of *vaṁśa-karttâ* (l. 4) and *rshâ* of *varshâṇi* (l. 29). The syllable *jâ* occurs eight times in the inscription; but it is written correctly only once (in *mahârâjâdhirâja*, l. 61), while in the remaining seven cases the long *â* is not marked at all. Initial *i* occurs in ll. 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87 and 97. In a large number of cases the *rêpha* is added to the *i*-symbol above consonants, the addition being denoted by a slight indenture at the base of the latter, *e.g.* in *rtti* (ll. 4, 16, 60) and *rvvi* (ll. 19, 33, 34, 41). Initial *î* occurs in l. 91. The secondary form of the long *î* is rarely distinguished from that of the short *i*; but in *śrî* (ll. 1, 2), *sî* (l. 3) and *chî* (l. 5) an attempt is made to mark the length. Initial *u* occurs in l. 94. In combination with consonants this vowel is denoted in three different ways; compare *ru* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4), *śu* (l. 2) and *pu* (l. 3) with *nmu* (l. 2) and *tsu* (l. 3), and with *yu* (ll. 3, 4, 8). The secondary form of the long *û* is also denoted in three different ways; compare *bhû* (l. 1) with *sû* (ll. 2, 3) and *chû* (l. 2), and with *tsû* (ll. 8, 30, 33), *trû* (l. 41) and *ssû* (l. 70). Initial *ê* occurs in ll. 36, 75, 91. Combined with consonants, this vowel is denoted in two ways; compare *tê* (l. 3), *mê* (l. 4) and *kê* (l. 7) with *jñê* and *nê* (l. 2). Initial *ai* is found in l. 6, and initial *ṛi* in l. 7. Final *k* occurs in l. 68; final *m* in ll. 3, 37, 41, 46; final *n* in ll. 31, 35, 36, 41 (twice), 53, 62; and final *t* in ll. 17, 20, 29, 38, 52, 64, 67. In the majority of cases no distinction is made between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*; compare *chûḍâmaṇi* (l. 81) with °*vâraṇ-âdis=* (l. 83) and *mad=alâbhi* (l. 84); but in *pratiḍakkâ* (l. 22), *Kaḍaṁba* (l. 23), *Kâramachêḍu* (l. 84) and *Peggaḍa* (l. 85) the loop of the *ḍ* is quite distinct. The aspirate *chha* occurs twice in the inscription (ll. 14, 59), and in both cases in conjunction with *cha*. In all other cases its place is taken by the unaspirated *cha*. Double *shsha* is written as if it consisted of *sha* and *va*; see ll. 32, 35 and 43. The *upadhmânîya* occurs in ll. 1, 4, 5 (twice), 11 (twice), 14, 15, 38, 46, 70, 73.

Of **orthographical** peculiarities the following deserve to be noted:— The syllable *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* in *Richuka* for *Ṛibhuka* (twice in l. 7), *kritvâ* for *kṛitvâ* (l. 9), °*vritâṁtas=* for °*vṛittâṁtas=* (l. 21) and °*kritya* for °*kṛitya* (l. 86). The syllable *yi* is used for initial *i* in *yiti* (l. 9) and *yiva* (ll. 45, 47, 55, 56 (twice), 57, 68). *G* is doubled after an *anusvâra* in *Gaṁgg-âdi* (l. 23) and °*saṁggatir=* (l. 81) and before *r* in °*ggrâhiṇas=* (l. 12), and *t* before *r* in *Ttrilôchana* (l. 17). After *r* consonants are generally doubled, except in *-Bhîm-Ârjuna-* (l. 12) and *nirjitya* (l. 23). *Sâṁbrâjya* occurs for *sâmrâjya* in l. 23.

The inscription opens with the Paurâṇik genealogy of the **Eastern Châlukya** kings (ll. 1-15) and with a legendary account of their ancestors (ll. 15-25). Ll. 25-42 furnish the historical genealogy of the donor **Vimalâditya.** The date of his coronation is given in verse 13. He is praised in general terms in vv. 14-20 and in the subsequent prose passage (ll. 54-61). L. 61 f. contains the king's titles **Sarvalôkâśraya, Vishṇuvardhana,** *etc.* Vv. 21-34 describe the donee and his ancestors. Then follows the grant itself, the description of the boundaries of the village granted, and of a field which belonged to it. The inscription closes with the date of the grant, and the names of the executor, the composer and the writer.

The Paurâṇik, legendary and historical portion of the genealogy agree almost literally with the corresponding passage of the **Nandamapûṇḍi grant of Râjarâja I.**[1] as far as the description of the reign of Vimalâditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (v. 11). The Korumelli plates of **Râjarâja I.**,[2] the Ṭêki plates of Chôḍagaṅga,[3] the Chellûr plates of Vîra-Chôḍa,[4] and the Piṭhâpuram plates

[1] Above, Vol. IV. No. 43.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48 ff.

[3] No. 35 above.

[4] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39.

of the same king[1] also agree with the Raṇastipûṇḍi grant to a great extent, while the Piṭhâpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadêva[2] furnishes substantially the same facts regarding the early Eastern Châlukyas and their ancestors. The historical portion commencing with the reign of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana is known from grants earlier than the time of Vimalâditya. But the Raṇastipûṇḍi grant is the earliest inscription hitherto discovered, which contains the Paurâṇik and legendary portions (ll. 1-25).

This is the first inscription which has been found of king **Vimalâditya,** the son of **Dâna** or **Dânârṇava** by his wife **Âryâmahâdêvî**[3] (v. 12) and younger brother of that king **Śaktivarman** who ruled immediately after the interregnum in the Vêṅgî country. An important item of information furnished by our grant is the date of Vimalâditya's accession, which until now had to be obtained by deducting the duration of his reign as given in the copper-plate grants from the date of the accession of his son and successor Râjarâja I. as found in the Korumelli plates[4] and in the Nandamapûṇḍi grant.[5] According to verse 13 of the subjoined inscription, **Vimalâditya's coronation** took place in the Siṁha *lagna* and the Pushya *nakshatra*, on Thursday, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Vṛishabha in **Śaka-Saṁvat 933.** Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on this date :— "In line 43 read *pañchamyâṁ*, 'on the fifth *tithi*,' instead of *yash=shashṭhyâṁ*. With this alteration the date corresponds, for Śaka-Saṁvat 933 expired, to **Thursday, the 10th May A.D. 1011.** The fifth *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month Jyaishṭha) in the solar month Vṛishabha ended at 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga, for 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. For a place situated at 16° Northern Latitude, the Siṁha *lagna* on that day lasted from 5 h. 14 m. to 7 h. 24 m. after true sunrise."

The above date removes a discrepancy in the duration of the **interregnum** between Dânârṇava and Śaktivarman. All the grants assign 27 years to this interregnum. The interval between the accession of Amma II. (Śaka-Saṁvat 867) and that of Râjarâja I. (Śaka-Saṁvat 944) is 77 years, while the total duration of the intervening reigns is only $25+3+12+7=47$ years. It had therefore to be inferred that the interregnum lasted $77-47=30$ years. This discrepancy has already been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.[6] As we know now that Vimalâditya's reign commenced in Śaka-Saṁvat 933, the interregnum is reduced to roughly **27 years,** the period actually mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions.

If we subtract from A.D. 1011 the period of the reign of Vimalâditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (12 years), we get the approximate date of the accession of **Śaktivarman** himself, *viz.* **A.D. 999.** The interregnum which preceded Śaktivarman's reign and which lasted 27 years has thus to be placed roughly between **A.D. 972 and 999.** Hitherto it has been supposed that the interregnum in the Vêṅgî country was caused by a Chôḷa invasion.[7] The earliest Chôḷa king who claims to have conquered Vêṅgî is **Râjarâja I.,** who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. The conquest of Vêṅgî is first mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 14th year of his reign=**A.D. 998-99.**[8] Consequently, the interregnum could not have been caused by the invasion of the Chôḷas, but was probably put an end to by that event. If this conclusion is correct, the Chôḷa king Râjarâja I. must have restored order in Vêṅgî by placing Śaktivarman on the throne, and the interregnum must have been due to causes other than the Chôḷa invasion during the time of Râjarâja I. There is also reason to believe that no Chôḷa invasion could have taken place before the time of Râjarâja I.

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[1] Above, Vol. V. No. 10.

[2] Above, Vol. IV. No. 33.

[3] This queen is mentioned as Â[r]yadêvî in the Piṭhâpuram inscription of Mallapadêva; above, Vol. IV. No. 33, verse 19.

[4] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 50 and p. 53, text lines 65-67.

[5] Above, Vol. IV. p. 302.

[6] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 32, note 10.

[7] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 272.

[8] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 5.

The later Eastern Châlukya inscriptions, beginning with the Nandamapûṇḍi grant, report that Vimalâditya reigned **7 years**, while the subjoined inscription is dated in his **8th year** (l. 97). His accession took place in A.D. 1011, and that of his successor Râjarâja I. in A.D. 1022. Thus the duration of Vimalâditya's reign was **11 years**, *i.e.* 4 years in excess of the period assigned to him. The explanation of this difference has perhaps to be sought for in the following facts. Two inscriptions on the **Mahêndragiri** hill in the Gañjâm district (Nos. 396 and 397 of 1896) record that (the Chôḷa king) **Râjêndra-Chôḷa** defeated **Vimalâditya** and set up a pillar of victory on the hill. The date when this event took place is not known. But as this fact is not recorded in the usual historical introduction of Râjêndra-Chôḷa's Tamiḻ inscriptions, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his military career, when his father Râjarâja I. was still living. Again, there is an inscription in the Pañchanadêśvara temple at **Tiruvaiyâṟu** near Tanjore (No. 215 of 1894), dated in the **29th year** of the reign of the Chôḷa king **Râjarâja I.**, which records certain gifts to the temple by **Vishṇuvardhana-Vimalâditya**, who is no doubt identical with the Eastern Châlukya king of the same name. There is thus reason to believe that Vimalâditya was at or near Tanjore in **A.D. 1013-14**. This fact, coupled with the defeat recorded in the Mahêndragiri inscriptions, appears to show that Vimalâditya was taken prisoner to Tanjore by Râjêndra-Chôḷa. While in the Chôḷa country, he must have married **Kundavâ**, the daughter of the Chôḷa king Râjarâja I. and younger sister of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I.[1] After this marriage Vimalâditya may have been sent back to his dominions about **A.D. 1015**. Taking these inferences for granted, it may be assumed that, though the period counting from his accession in A.D. 1011 to the date of his death in A.D. 1022 is 11 years, the later Eastern Châlukya records recognise neither his original accession in A.D. 1011 nor the period of his stay in the Chôḷa country, but reckon his reign from the time when he began to rule after his return from the Chôḷa country, and thus give only 7 years as the duration of his reign.

The inscription attributes several surnames to Vimalâditya, *viz.* **Birudaṅka-Bhîma** (ll. 44 and 73 f.), **Tribhuvanâṅkuśa** (l. 47), **Mummaḍi-Bhîma** (l. 51) and **Bhûpa-Mahêndra** (l. 74). Birudaṅka-Bhîma occurs also in the Nandamapûṇḍi grant (l. 52). The surname Mummaḍi-Bhîma means **'the third Bhîma'** and is appropriate for Vimalâditya, as there were only two among his ancestors who bore the name Bhîma. Before introducing the surname Mummaḍi-Bhîma (v. 19), the composer of the subjoined inscription refers to certain predecessors of the king who were looked upon as founders of the family, and states that Mummaḍi-Bhîma was also one of those founders. Again, in two different places the king is spoken of as 'the rescuer of (his) family' (l. 57 f.) and as 'the only rescuer of (his) family' (l. 75). If any significance is to be attached to these statements, they must imply that Vimalâditya took proper care to ensure the succession in his family and to strengthen its position. It is not impossible that there is a remote reference in these passages to Vimalâditya's alliance with the powerful Chôḷas by his marriage with the Chôḷa princess Kundavâ, and perhaps also to the actual birth of an heir to the throne, *viz.* Râjarâja I. The disastrous effects of the anarchy which prevailed in **Vêṅgî** immediately before the accession of Vimalâditya's predecessor could not have been altogether forgotten at the time when the subjoined grant was issued, and the king's attempts to render the position of his family firm and stable were apparently appreciated by the composer, if not by all the people in Vêṅgî.

The donee was a minister of the king, called **Vajra** (vv. 24, 26, 28, 30) or, in Telugu, **Vajjiya-Peggaḍa** (l. 85). He belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* (v. 22), was a resident of the village of **Kâramachêḍu** (l. 84), and bore the surnames **Budhavajraprâkâra** (v. 31 and l. 85), **Amâtyaśikhâmaṇi** and **Saujanyaratnâkara** (v. 33 and l. 85). The composer was **Bhîmana-bhaṭṭa**, son of **Râchiya-Peddêri**. This person must have been the father of the composer of

[1] *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 126.

the Korumelli plates, Chêtanabhaṭṭa, who calls himself the son of Râchiya-Peddêri-Bhîma. The writer of the subjoined grant was **Jontâchârya,** who may have belonged to the same family as his namesake, the writer of a grant of Amma II.[1]

Raṇastipûṇḍi, the village granted, belonged to the **Guddavâdi-vishaya**[2] (l. 62). I am unable to identify either Raṇastipûṇḍi or the other villages which are mentioned in the description of its boundaries. As regards **Kâramachêḍu,** where the donee is stated to have come from, it may be mentioned that there is a village named Kârimchêḍu, 9 miles west of Bâpaṭla in the Kistna district.[3]

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

1 ❁ श्रीधाम्नᳶपुरुषोत्तमस्य महतो नारायणस्य प्रभोर्न्नाभीपंकरुहाद्बभूव जगतस्स्रष्टा स्वयंभूस्त-

2 तः [।*] जज्ञे मानससूनुरचिरिति यस्तस्मान्मुनेरचितस्सोमो वंश[क]रस्सुधांशु-बदित[:*] श्रीकण्ठचूडामणिः । [१*]

3 तस्मादासीत्सु[धा*]सूतेर्ब्बुधो बु[ध]नुतस्ततः [।*] ज[ा*]तः पुरुरवा[5] नाम चक्रव[र्त्ती स]विक्रमः । [२*] गद्यम् । तस्मादायुरा-

4 युषो नहुषः नहुषाद्ययातिश्चक्रवर्त्ती वंशकर्त्ता ततᳶपुरुरि[ति] चक्रवर्त्ती ततो जनमेजयाश्वमेधत्रितय-[6]

5 स्य कर्त्त[ा*][7] । ततᳶप्राचीशᳶप्राचीशात्सैन्य[8]यातिस्सैन्ययातेर्हयपतिर्हयपते-स्सार्व्वभौमस्सार्व्वभौ-

6 माज्जयसेनः जयसेनान्महाभौमः महाभौमादैशानकः ऐशानकात्क्रोधाननः क्रोधाननाद्देवकिः

7 देवकेरिभुकः[9] रिभुकादृक्षकः ऋक्ष[काद]तिनरस्सचयागयाजी[10] सरस्वतीनदीनाथः ततः कात्या-

8 यनः कात्यायनान्नीलः नीलाद्दुष्यन्त(:)स्त[स्सू]तः[11] । भरत[ा*] । गंगा-यमुनातीरे यदविच्छिन्नंबिधाय[12] यु-

9 प[ा*]न्क्रमशः [।*] ज्ञित्वा[13] तथाश्वमेधानाम महाकर्म्मभरत यिति[14] योऽलभत(:) । [३*] ततो भरताद्भूमन्युर्भूमन्योस्सुहोत्रस्सुहोत्रा-

10 द्धस्ती हस्ति[नो विरोच*]नः विरोचनादजमीलः अजमीलात्संवरणः संवर-णस्य तपनसुतायास्तपत्याश्च सुधन्वा सुधन्व-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 17.

[2] On Guddavâdi see above, Vol. V. p. 123 and note 2.

[3] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. I. p. 83.

[4] From the original copper-plates.

[5] Read पुरूरवा.

[6] Read °त्रयीश्वमेध°.

[7] See above, Vol. IV. p. 304, note 3.

[8] Read °ात्सैन्य°.

[9] Read °केर्भुकः ऋभुका°.

[10] Read °न्तिवरस्सत्र°.

[11] Read नीलाद्दुष्यन्तस्तत्सुतः.

[12] Read °विच्छिन्नं निधाय यू°.

[13] Read जित्वा.

[14] Read इति.

Third Plate ; First Side.

37 त्य देशात्पिष्टेतरेषामपि शात्रवानाम्[1] [।*] अम्मराज[ा*]गुजराजभीमो भीमस्समा द्वादश रक्षति स्म । [७*] [2]तत्सुतुरानतारा-

38 तिरम्मराजो [3]नृपाग्रणी ऽ पंचविंशतिवर्षाणि (।) वेंगीभुवमपालयत् । [८*] द्वैम[ा*]तुरोम्मनृपतेर्ह[ा]ंसंनृपो[4] राजभीमनृ-

39 पतनय: [।*] विद्याकलापचतुरश्चतुरंतधरामपात्समा[स्त्य]स्र:[5] । [९*] अनु [6]दा[ना*]र्णवादासीद्दैवदु[श्चे]ष्टया ततस्सम-[7]

40 [8]विंशतिवर्षाणि वेंगीमहिरणायिका[9] । [१०*] अत्रान्त(ा)रे दाननरेन्द्र-सूनु[:*] श्रीशक्तिवर्म्म[ा*] सुरराट्सधर्म्म[ा ।*] यश्शौर्य्यशक्त्या वि-

41 निहत्य शत्रू(न्)न्स द्वादशाब्दा(न्)न्समरक्षदुर्व्वीम् । [११*] तस्यैव दाननृ-पतेस्साध्व्याश्चार्य्य[ा*]मह्यदेव्या: [।*] सू-

42 [10]नुर्व्विमलादित्यस्सत्याश्रयवंशवर्द्धनो देव: । [१२*] अनलानलरन्ध्रगते शक-वर्षे वृषभमासि

43 सितपक्षे [।*] यष्षष्ठ्यां गुरुपुष्ये सिंहे लग्ने प्रसिद्धमभिषिक्त: । [१३*] शशिविशदयशोव्याप्त्या स्व-

44 शरीरविबोधनार्त्थमवहत्कण्ठे [।*] शशलक्ष्मलक्ष्मलक्ष्मीं शंभुर्व्विरुदंकभीमनृ-पतेर्य्यस्य । [१४*]

45 अरिकरटिकुंभविदलनमुक्तसमासुक्तरुचिरमुक्तानिकर: [।*] हार यिव[11] यस्य दोरसिर(ा)ध्यासितजयश्रियो

46 भाति चिरम् । [१५*] यत्तेज ऽ प्रपलायितरिपुपुरग्टहशालभंजिकामुख-रोधी [।*] लूतापटस्तु परजनविलोकना-

47 सहनबद्धपट यि[व][12] भाति । [१६*] दुस्साधनाधिकविरोधिगजे[न्द्र]संघ-निर्भ्भेदतस्त्रिभुवनांकुशनाम युद्धे [।*] अन्वर्त्थं-

48 त[ा*]न्निजमजीगमदुद्धतं यो बं[हि]ष्ठसिंहपरिहासिपराक्रमश्री: । [१७*] यस्सार्व्वभौमधरणीश्वरनीतकल्प-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

49 [13]प्राघूर्ण्णकेभमदसिक्तमहीविभाग: [।*] यस्तर्ज्जितानिलजवाश्वसहस्रसंघधाव्या-[हृ]ताहितशिरोंकित-

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[1] Read °वाणाम्.
[2] Read तत्सूनु°.
[3] Read °ग्रणी: । पंच°.
[4] Read °र्द्धांनृपो.
[5] Read °मास्थित:.
[6] Read दानार्णवा°.
[7] Read तत: । सप्त°.
[8] Read °विंशति°.
[9] Read °रनायका.
[10] Read °नुर्व्वि°.
[11] Read इव.
[12] Read इव.
[13] Read °प्राघूर्ण्ण°.

Ranastipundi Grant of Vimaladitya; the eighth year.

i.

ii a.

ii b.

E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·5. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

iii a.

iii b.

iv a.

50 शूलकोटिः । [१८*] आदौ शंभुशिरोमणिश्च च सुधासूतिस्सुधांशुस्ततस्तद्वं-
[श्यो] भरत[स्त*]तश्च विजयादित्य-

51 श्चलुक्यांकितः [।*] श्रीसत्याश्रयवल्लभस्तदपि च श्रीसर्व्वलोकाश्रयो [देवो]
मुम्मडि[भी]मनामनृपतिर्य्यो व-[1]

52 शकर्त्त[ा]भवत् । [१९*] सौराष्ट्रान्दारयन्ती निशितपरशुधारायमाना
शकानां ला[टा]नां गु[र्ज्ज]राणामथ भवति मनो-

53 हारिणी वल्लभा वा । शूरान्स्व[:*]स्थान्विधत्ते कुलतिवदखिला[न्वै]र-
[मन्यान्वि]भीतान् काष्ठान्तस्तत्त-

54 प[:*]श्रीरिर्षा[2] नयति रणे शौर्य्यसम्पद्यदीया । [२०*] स वीरमकर-
ध्वजः मकरध्वज यिव[3] ध्वस्तविग्र-

55 हः ग्रहपतिरिवाच्छिताम्धतमसापहरः हर इव राजकलाधरः धरणीधर यिव[3]

56 रमारामाभिरामः राम यिव[3] परशुक्रियासहः [सह]देव यिव[3] देव[ा*]-
ध्यर्य्युनन्दनः

57 नन्दनविशेष [4]यिवाभिलषितफलसमुल्कविसद्दशः सहस्राक्षोपमानः मानव्यस-
गोत्रः गोत्रनि-

58 स्तारकः तारकाधिपान्वयवर्त्ती वृद्धिनिशाकरः करदीकृतारातिपर[म्प]रः
परनरपतिनिकरमुकुट-

59 तटघटितमणिगणकिरणपरिकरितसमरुणितचर[णे]न्दो[व]र[:] वरवराहलांच्छ-
नालोकनम[ा*]-

60 त्र(ा)विनाशिताखिलधराधीशचक्रः चक्रवर्त्तिपदवीसमुचितानेकधवलच्छत्रच्छाया-
च्छादितसर्व्व-[5]

Fourth Plate; First Side.

61 लोक(:)स्सर्व्वलोकाश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्ट[ा]रकपरम-
ब्रह्मण्यपरम-

62 माहेश्वरः । [6]गुद्दवाद्दिवि[ष*]यनिवासिनो [7]राष्ट्रकुटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबि[न]-
स्सर्व्व[ा]न्समाहूय मन्त्रिपुरोहि-

63 तसेनापतियुवराजदौवारिकाध्यक्षमित्यमाज्ञापयति यथा । आद्यो य[:*]
स्वयमुद्भूव परमब्र-

64 ह्मा निसृज्यान्वपो वीर्य्यन्तास्ववसृष्टमण्डमभवद्वैमम्नहत्तेन[8] यत् । तस्माल्लो-
कपितामहो विधिरभूत्त-

[1] Read वंश°.
[2] Read °श्रीरिव.
[3] Read इव.
[4] Read इवा°.
[5] Read °च्छत्रच्छायाच्छादित°.
[6] Read गुद्दवाद्दि°.
[7] Read राष्ट्रकूट°.
[8] Read °मम्राह°.

65 स्वाम्बरोथ्यादय:[1] पुत्रा ये दश जज्ञिरे श्रुतिमय[ा*] वर्च्चस्विनो म[ा*]-
नसा: । [२१*] तेषां श्रेष्ठत(ा)-

66 मो वसिष्ठ इति यस्मादन्धतीको मुनिस्तस्मात्कण्डिन[2] इत्यभूदध[3] च तत्कौ-
ण्डिन्यगोत्रे क्र-

67 म[ा*]त् [।*] यो विद्यानुदितोदितद्विजवरो द्रोण: [4]प्रमाणीभर[द्दृ]त्त[:*]
स्तुत्ययमतिर्व्विंत्योदय-[5]

68 स्सत्यवाक् । [२२*] दत्ताभिधानसचिवो हरदत्तवरप्रसाद यिव[6] तस्य
सुत: [।*] शुभलक्षभा-

69 वमहित: प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहशक्ति(य)संयुक्त: । [२३*] तस्य च सद्गुणधाम्न:
पतिव्रतायाश्च चौडमं[ा*]बाय[ा*]: [।*] व-

70 ल्लाभिधान इति यस्सूनुस्सूनृतवचास्सुमेधास्सुमण:[7]। [२४*] नित्याकर्ण्णनया[8]
शश्वद्वटुभि⋊पटुभिर्गृहे [।*] वेद-

71 शास्त्राणि यद्गान्नि पधन्ति[9] शु[क]शारिका: । [२५*] भीमेश्वरसमो देवो
वेंगोश्वरस[मो नृ]प: [।*] वल्लामात्यसमोमा-

72 त्यो न भूतो न भविष्यति । [२६*] [10]नागेन्द्रेर्हिंगिभेश्च षोडशनृपैराद्ये-
ष्ठितां[11] क्ष्मा[धु]र[ां] वोरैरप्यति[शू]द्रकप्रभृति-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

73 भिश्चाजेर्द्धुरं दुस्सहां [।*] बिभ्रद्य⋊पथि[तं][12] क्रमागतयवलाहाहावलात्प्राप्त-
वान्स[ा*]हाय्यं बिकुदंक-[13]

74 भीमनृपते: कार्य्येण खड्गेन च । [२७*] [14]गो[चं]चेत्तुररिचमाधरकुलोद्र्-
दाम[हेन्द्रात्सम][:*] [श्री]माभूपमहेन्द्र

75 एव नितरां गोत्रैकनिस्तारक: [।*] तद्वचादतिरिभ्यते[15] लघुतराद्वल्लाभिधोयं
गुरुर्य्यत्राथोपि च यज्ञ-

76 टश्च विबुधव्रातैरि[ति*] स्तूयते । [२८*] [16][य]त्रेधानलधूमधूमघटितैरभ्रै-
र्न्निजेहाहितक्षोणीभृत्पुरदाहधूमजनि-

77 तांभोभृत्सहस्रैस्समम[17] । व्याप्तं व्योम तदीयशत्रुललनादृक्पाथसा[मा च]मा
सिक्ता यत्परिपा-

[1] Read °रीयादय:.

[2] Read °त्कुण्डिन.

[3] Read °दय.

[4] Read °भवद्°.

[5] Between य and म the engraver has omitted five *aksharas*.

[6] Read इव.

[7] Read °सुमना:.

[8] Read °कर्ण्णनया.

[9] Read पठन्ति.

[10] Read नागेन्द्रै°.

[11] Read °राद्यैर्धृतां.

[12] Read प्रथितं.

[13] Read बिरुदंक°.

[14] Read गोचर्चेत्तु°.

[15] Read °रिच्यते

[16] Read यत्रेधा°.

[17] Read °स्समं.

78 वनातिथिपदप्रथा[ल*]नाद्यांभसा[1] । [२८*] य[:*] श्रीवच्चामात्यो [2]धन-
सन्तप्पितजगज्जनस्तुत्य: [।*] भूसुर[वं]गा-[3]

79 दित्यश्शुचिरतिचतुरो वचोनिरत्ययसत्य: । [३०*] बुधवव्यप्राकारा[4] गृहनि-
यमितारिसैनिकचक्र[:[5] ।*]

80 चक्रभृद्दृढग्रीव[:*] श्रीकण्ठपदारविन्दषट्भरण:[6] । [३१*] सदा स्ववाचा
मनसा च कर्म्मणाप्यकारि ये-

81 नाधिगुणेन कुण्ठिन: [।*] प्रवृत्तवैतानिक(व)धर्म्मसंगतिर्द्विज[ा*]धिनाधी-
ययदारतानिधि:[7] । [३२*] चालुक्यचूडामणिपा-

82 दभक्तो भक्तैकचूडामणिरीश[मू]र्त्ति: [।*] कीर्त्यन्वि[तोम]त्यशिखामणि[:*]
श्रीसौजन्यरत्नाकरनामधेय:[8] । [३३*] समांगके कृ-

83 पपदे प्रभुता प्रधाना तादृश्यमात्यपदवी खलु तद्दितीय[9] । [10]श्रीहारपिंछ-
करकातपवारणादिस्तस्यां वि-

84 शेषमहिमा मदलाभि येन । [३४*] तस्मै महात्माय कृतक्षेमाय
कारमचेडुवास्तव्याय कौण्डिन्यगोत्रा-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

85 य[ा*]मात्यशिखामणये बुधवव्यप्राकाराय सौजन्यरत्नाकराय वज्जियपेग्गड
इति प्रसिद्धाभिधा-

86 नाय भवद्विषय[11] (।) पाळवळनामग्रामेण सार्द्ध रणस्ति[पू]ण्डिनामग्रा-
मोग्रहारीकृत्य[12] मत्संवर्द्धि-

87 तत्व(ा)निमित्ते मय[ा*] दत्त इति विदि[त]मस्तु व[:] । अस्यावधय:
पू[र्व्वं]त: कौत नडिपिय [चे]ळवु पळमटि क-

88 ट्ट । आग्नेयत: मोंतुकळ्तियु बा[लूरियु] र[ण]स्तिपूण्डियु सुय्यलिकु-
ट्ळन वेलंगगुण्ठ[13] पळमटि कट्ट । दक्षि-

89 णत: पेंजेळवु कट्ट डिग्गु[ना]लि चोव । नैरित्यत:[14] पालूरियुं गोळ-
कोटियु रणस्तिपूण्डियु

90 सुय्यलिकुट्ळन चिन्तगुण्ठ[15] । पश्चिमत: कोळकोटि पोदळ । व[ा*]-
यव्यत: ळमसीमैव सीमा ।

---

[1] Read °नाच्छांभसा.
[2] Read °सन्तर्प्पित°.
[3] Read °वंशा°.
[4] Read °प्राकारो.
[5] Instead of सै the metre (Udgîti) requires a short syllable.
[6] Read °षट्चरण:.
[7] Read °नाधीयमुदार°.
[8] Read °रत्नाकर°.
[9] Read तद्द्वितीया.
[10] Read °पिंछ°.
[11] Read °विषये.
[12] Read °रीकृत्य.
[13] Read °गुण्ट.
[14] Read नैर्ऋतत:.
[15] Read °गुण्ट.

91 उत्तरतः कఱपఱ्तियुनेఱ्टयु सीमैव [सो]मा । ईशानतः[1] घఱ्टयु म्रोन्तुकఱ्तियु रणास्तिपूण्डि-

92 यु सुब्बलकुट्ఱ । एतद्रण(र)स्तिपूण्डिनाम[ा*]ग्रहारसंबन्धिनः तांकఱ-पोलसुनामक्षंघनचे-

93 त्रस्यावधयः पूर्व्वतो दक्षि[णत]श्च [ग]ांगखेఱ । पश्चिमतः सिरि[पोदि]-पूण्डियु गोंगनव्रोलियु ఱक्षयुं बोत्तुन कोक्किकुఱ్ఱ ।

94 उत्तरतः सिरिपोदिपूण्डि[सीमैव] सीमा । अस्योपरि न केनचिद्बाधा कर्त्तव्या [।*] यः करोतिं स पंच[मह]ापात(ा)को भव-

95 ति । तथा चोक्तं भगव[ता] व्यासभट्ट[ा]रकेनापि[2] । बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपा[लिता] [।*] [यस्य यस्य] [य*]दा

96 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तद[ा फ]लं । [२५*] [स्व]दत्तां प[रदत्तां] व[ा*] यो हरेतु[3] वसुन्धरां [।*] षष्टिं वर्ष(ा)सह[स्र][ा*][णि विष्ठायां ज][ा*]यते क्रि-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

97 मिः । [२६*] अष्टमवर्षवर्द्धने सिंहम[ा*]से दत्तस्यास्य शासनस्य श्रो-दण्डनायक इति द्विज[ा*]धिनायकः । आज्ञप्तिर्न्[प*]का-

98 मो राचियपेद्देरितनयभीमनभट्टः [।*] कर्त्तैषां काव्यानामथ[4] शासनले-खकस्य जोन्ताचार्य्यः [॥ २७*] ❁

TRANSLATION.[5]

[Up to line 36 the text is nearly identical with that of the Chellûr plates (ll. 1-42)].[6]

(Verse 7.) Having expelled this **Yuddhamalla** from the country and having crushed the other enemies, the terrible **Râjabhîma,** the younger brother of **Ammarâja (I.),** protected the earth **for twelve years.**

(V. 8.) His son **Ammarâja (II.),** the foremost of princes, before whom enemies prostrated themselves, ruled the country of **Vêngî for twenty-five years.**

(V. 9.) The son of king **Râjabhîma** (*and*) brother of king **Amma (II.)** by a second mother, king **Dâna,** (*who was*) skilled in all sciences, ruled **for three years** the earth to (*its*) four ends.

(V. 10.) Then after (*the reign of*) **Dânârṇava,** through the evil action of fate, the country of **Vêngî** was without a ruler **for twenty-seven years.**

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[1] Read ऐशानतः.

[2] Read °केणापि.

[3] Read हरेत.

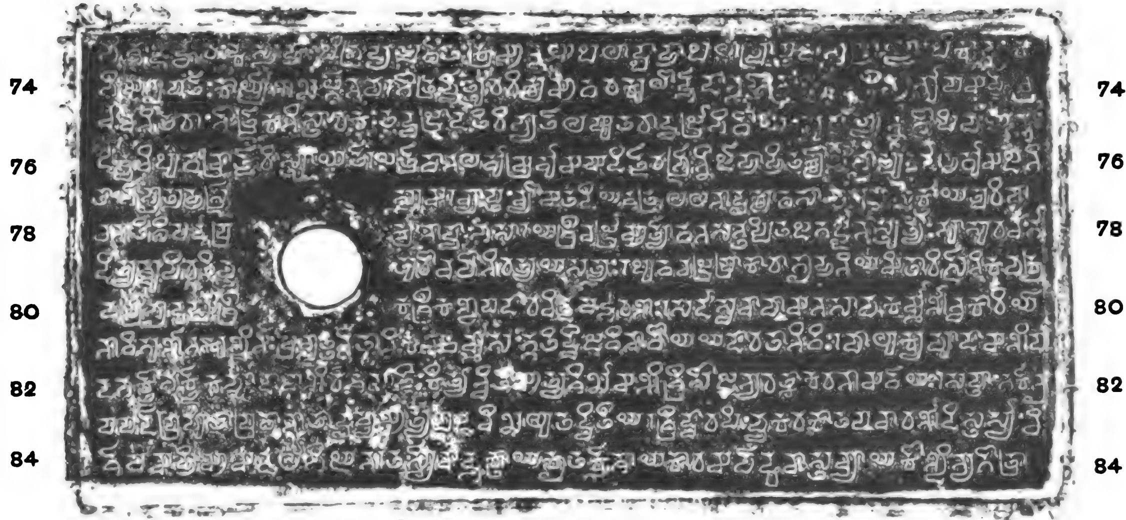
[4] Read °मथ.

[5] It is my duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Hultzsch for the translation of a number of verses, the meaning of which I could not make out.

[6] See the translation in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 57 f.

Ranastipundi Grant of Vimaladitya; the eighth year.

iv b.



v a.



v b.



E. HULTZSCH. SCALE ·5. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

(V. 11.) At this point the son of king **Dâna**, that glorious **Śaktivarman**, who resembled (Indra) the king of the gods, having overcome the enemies by the force of (*his*) valour, protected the earth **for twelve years.**

(V. 12.) The son of this same king **Dâna** and of (*his*) virtuous great queen **Âryâ** (*was*) king **Vimalâditya**, who made the **family of Satyâśraya** (*i.e.* of Polakêśin II.) prosper.

(V. 13.) In the **Śaka** year contained in the fires (3), the fires (3) and the openings of the body (9),— (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṁvat **933**),—in the month **Vṛishabha**, in the **bright** fortnight, on the **sixth** *tithi*, in (the *nakshatra*) **Pushya** (combined with) **Thursday**, in the *lagna* **Siṁha**, he was publicly anointed.

(V. 14.) As (*the whole world*) was filled by the fame—white as the moon—of this king **Biruḍaṅka-Bhîma**, (*the god*) Śaṁbhu (Śiva), in order to make his (*white*) body recognizable, wore on (*his*) throat (*a black spot possessing*) the splendour of the spot in the moon.

(V. 15.) The sword in his arm, to which were sticking a mass of glittering pearls which had dropped at the splitting of the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, is resplendent for a long time, as if it were the necklace of the goddess of victory who rested (*on his arm*).

(V. 16.) The cobwebs, which cover the faces of the statues in the houses of the towns of the enemies routed by his valour, appear as if they were veils put on (*because they*) could not endure the sight of strangers.

(V. 17.) He, the glory of whose valour laughed at the strongest lions, made significant in battle his proud name **Tribhuvanâṅkuśa** (*i.e.* 'the elephant-goad of the three worlds') by splitting (*the temples of*) a crowd of numerous mighty elephants of the enemy, which were hard to overcome.

(V. 18.) The ground (*in front of*) his (*palace*) was sprinkled with the rut of strong foreign[1] elephants, brought by the rulers of the country of Sârvabhauma.[2] Crores of stakes were surmounted by the heads of enemies, which had been brought (*back*) from raids (*undertaken by*) his troops of thousands of horses which rivalled the wind in swiftness.

(V. 19.) In the beginning the founder of the race was **(the Moon)**, the jewel on the head of Śaṁbhu (Śiva), the nectar-producer, the nectar-rayed; then his descendant **Bharata**; then **Vijayâditya** surnamed **Chalukya**; (*then*) the glorious **Satyâśrayavallabha**; and then the glorious king **Sarvalôkâśraya**, the prince named **Mummaḍi-Bhîma.**[3]

(V. 20.) At its free will his great valour in battle, like the edge of a sharp axe, cuts up the **Saurâshṭras**; like a wife who captivates the mind, deprives the **Śakas**, **Lâṭas** (*and*) **Gurjaras** of (*their*) courage; like good deeds, causes all heroes to reside in heaven; (*and*) drives others who are afraid to the ends of the quarters, as if the fervency of their austerities led (*them*) to the highest goal.

(L. 54.) This Cupid among heroes, who has put an end to war (*vigraha*), as Cupid has lost his body (*vigraha*); who destroys (*his*) enemies, as the sun dense darkness; who is skilled in royal sciences (*râja-kalâ*), as Hara (Śiva) wears the crescent of the moon (*râja-kalâ*); who is beloved by the goddess Lakshmî (*Ramâ-râmâ*), as a mountain is adorned with pleasure-gardens (*ram-ârâma*); who is skilled in the use of the axe, like Râma; who pleases gods and priests, as Sahadêva is the son of the *Adhvaryus* of the gods (*i.e.* the Aśvins); who gladdens thousands of poets (*samut-kavi-sahasra*) (by granting) the fruit of (*their*) desires, as a kind of Nandana

[1] Literally 'guests.' The kings of the North had come on their elephants to visit Vimalâditya.

[2] *I.e.* by the kings of the North. Sârvabhauma is the name of the elephant of the god Kubêra, the regent of the Northern direction.

[3] This verse implies that Vimalâditya, to whom the titles Sarvalôkâśraya and Mummaḍi-Bhîma refer apparently, was considered equal in importance to his ancestors: the Moon, Bharata, Vijayâditya (of Ayôdhyâ) and Polakêśin II.

(*tree*) (*bears*) desirable fruits coveted by thousands of birds (*samutka-vi-sahasra*); who resembles the thousand-eyed (Indra); who belongs to the *gôtra* of the **Mânavyas**; (*who is*) the rescuer of (*his*) family; who increases the **race of the Moon**; (*who resembles*) the moon in waxing; who has made crowds of enemies tributary; whose lotus-feet are surrounded and reddened by the rays of clusters of jewels set into the diadems of crowds of (*bowing*) hostile kings; by the mere sight of whose excellent **boar-crest** the circle of all the rulers of the earth is terrified; the shade of whose many white parasols, worthy of the dignity of an emperor, overspreads the whole world; the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalôkâśraya*), the glorious **Vishṇuvardhana-Mahârâjâdhirâja**, *Paramêśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the very pious one, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), having called together the *Râshṭrakûṭas* and all other ryots residing in the district (*vishaya*) of **Guddavâdi**, orders as follows in the presence of the ministers, the family-priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, and the door-keepers:—

(V. 21.) The primeval supreme Brahman, who was born spontaneously, subsequently created the waters. The seed emitted by him into these became a great golden egg. Out of this was produced the Creator, the progenitor of the world. From him were born ten learned (*and*) brilliant sons of the mind, commencing with Marîchi.

(V. 22.) The best of them was the sage called Vasishṭha whose (*wife*) was Arundhatî. To him was born Kuṇḍina. And then in due course in that Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* (appeared) **Drôṇa**, a learned Brâhmaṇa conversant with the tradition, whose conduct became authoritative, whose mind . . . . . . was praiseworthy, who was continually rising (*and*) truthful.

(V. 23.) His son (*was*) the minister called **Datta**, who, like an excellent boon granted by Hara (Śiva), performed good deeds, was honoured on account of (*his*) greatness, (*and*) possessed the (*regal*) powers, (*viz.*) majesty, counsel and energy.

(V. 24.) The son of this abode of good qualities and of (*his*) devoted wife **Chidamâmbâ** is named **Vajra**, whose speech is true and pleasant, (*who is*) wise (*and*) benevolent.

(V. 25.) In his residence parrots and *mainâs* recite the Vêdas and Śâstras, as they hear (*them*) continually every day in the house from clever students.

(V. 26.) There never was nor will there be a god like **Bhîmêśvara**,[1] a king like the **lord of Vêṅgî** (*viz.* Vimalâditya), (*and*) a minister like the minister **Vajra**.

(V. 27.) He obtained in due course the high position of companion of king **Birudaṅka-Bhîma**,— carrying by means of (*his*) administration through the power of (*his*) policy the heavy burden of the earth, which had been supported by the lords of serpents, the elephants of the quarters, and the sixteen first kings, and (*holding*) by (*his*) sword through the power of (*his*) arm the front of the battle, (*which had been held*) also by heroes like Atiśûdraka (?).

(V. 28.) Hosts of wise men praise both the master and the servant, because the glorious **Bhûpa-Mahêndra** (*i.e.* Vimalâditya) alone is much more able than (*the god*) Mahêndra, who destroyed the mass of hostile mountains (*as the former*) hostile kings, (*but*) split families[2] (*while the former is*) the only rescuer of (*his*) family, (*and*) because the weighty man named **Vajra** is superior to his (*viz.* Indra's) very light thunderbolt (*vajra*).

(V. 29.) The sky is filled with the clouds formed by the dark smoke of his triple fire, together with the thousands of clouds produced by the smoke of the conflagration of the cities of (*all*) kings on this earth hostile to him, (*while*) the earth is sprinkled by the pure water (*used in*) washing the feet of his holy guests, together with the tears of the wives of his enemies.

(V. 30.) This glorious minister **Vajra** is to be praised by (*all*) the people of the world whom (*he*) has gratified by (*gifts of*) money, the sun of the Brâhmaṇa caste, pure, very clever (*and*) of faultless truth in (*his*) speech.

[1] Evidently the temple at Drâkshârâma is meant; see above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

[2] The author here attributes this meaning to Indra's surname *Gôtrachchhêttṛi* or *Gôtrabhid*, which properly means 'the mountain-splitter.'

(V. 31.) (*This*) **Budhavajraprâkâra**[1] keeps the troop of the soldiers of the enemy at home,[2] possesses the happiness and prosperity of the discus-bearer (Vishṇu), (*and is*) a bee at the lotus-feet of Śrîkaṇṭha (Śiva).

(V. 32.) This very virtuous lord of the twice-born, who always equalled Kuṇḍina[3] in his speech, thoughts and actions, has performed a mass of sacrificial rites (*and is*) a treasury of liberality.

(V. 33.) (*This*) **Amâtyaśikhâmaṇi**[4] is devoted to the feet of the **crest-jewel of the Châlukyas** (*viz.* Vimalâditya), (*is*) the only crest-jewel among devotees, resembles Îśa (Śiva), has acquired fame, (*and*) bears the glorious name **Saujanyaratnâkara.**[5]

(V. 34.) Among the seven constituent parts of a kingdom the foremost is sovereignty, (*and*) second to it (*is*) a suitable ministry. Special distinctions, such as *śrîdvâra*,[6] a peacock's tail, a water-pot and a parasol, he (*viz.* Vajra) received from me in that (*office*).

(L. 84.) "Be it known to you that, for the sake of my prosperity, I have granted the village named **Raṇastipûṇḍi** in your district, having made (*it*) an *agrahâra*, together with the village named **Pâṛuvaḷa,** to this **Amâtyaśikhâmaṇi Budhavajraprâkâra Saujanyaratnâkara,** who is known by the name **Vajjiya-Peggaḍa,** is devoted to me, has taken pains (*in my service*) resides at **Kâramachêḍu,** (*and*) belongs to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*."

(L. 87.) The boundaries of this (*village are*) :— In the east, the western bank of the tank in the middle of **Kauta**; in the south-east, the western bank of the Wood-apple pond (*Velaṅga-guṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of **Mrontukaṛṛu, Pâlûru** and **Raṇastipûṇḍi** meet;[7] in the south, the road on the ridge (*âli*) sloping to the bank of the Big tank (*Peñjeṛuvu*); in the south-west, the Tamarind pond (*Chinta-guṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of **Pâlûru, Koṛukêṛu** and **Raṇastipûṇḍi** meet; in the west, a bush in **Koṛukêṛu**; in the north-west the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Ḻulla**; in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Kaḷapaṛṛu** and **Eḷṭa**; in the north-east, the spot where the three boundaries of **Eḷṭa, Mrontukaṛṛu** and **Raṇastipûṇḍi** meet.

(L. 92.) The boundaries of the *Âmallaṅghana* (?) field in the fields of *Tâṅkaḷa*, which belongs to this *agrahâra* named **Raṇastipûṇḍi,** (*are*) :— In the east and south, the **[G]âṅgalêṛu** (*river*); in the west, **Kollikuṛṛu** near (?) **Siripodipûṇḍi, Goṅganavrôlu** and **Ḻulla**; in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Siripodipûṇḍi.**

(L. 94.) Nobody shall cause trouble to this (*grant*); he who does (*it*) becomes possessed of the five great sins.

(L. 95.) And the venerable lord **Vyâsa** has also said :— [Verses 35 and 36 contain admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 97 and v. 37.) The executor (*âjñapti*) of this grant, which was given in the prosperous **eighth year,** in the month **Siṁha,** (*was*) **Nṛi[pa]kâma,** the lord of the twice-born, entitled the glorious *Daṇḍanâyaka*. The author of these verses (*was*) **Bhîmanabhaṭṭa,** son of **Râchiya-Peddêri.** And the writer of the edict (*was*) **Jontâchârya.**

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[1] *I.e.* 'the wall of adamant (in protecting) wise men.'
[2] *I.e.* they are afraid to leave their houses.
[3] According to verse 22, Vajra belonged to the *gôtra* of Kuṇḍina.
[4] *I.e.* 'the crest-jewel of ministers.'
[5] *I.e.* 'the ocean of gentleness.'
[6] Compare *makaratôraṇa* which, as well as the peacock's tail, was one of the emblems of the Eastern Châlukyas. Compare also above, Vol. III. p. 92, verse 38, and Vol. IV. p. 48, verse 3.
[7] Regarding *muyyalikuṭṛu* see above, Vol. IV. p. 96, note 4.

INDEX.[1]

[1] The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the *additions* on pp. v. to vii. The following other abbreviations are used:— *ch.* = *chief*; *co.* = *country*; *di.* = *district* or *division*; *do.* = *ditto*; *dy.* = *dynasty*; *E.* = *Eastern*; *f.* = *female*; *k.* = *king*; *m.* = *male*; *mo.* = *mountain*; *ri.* = *river*; *s. a.* = *same as*; *sur.* = *surname*; *te.* = *temple*; *vi.* = *village* or *town*; *W.* = *Western*.

B

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